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# THE QUARTERLY REVIEW

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ART. I.—*Polynesian Researches, during a Residence of nearly Six Years, in the South Sea Islands; including Descriptions of the Natural History and Scenery of the Islands; with Remarks on the History, Mythology, Traditions, Government, Arts, Manners, and Customs of the Inhabitants.* By William Ellis, Missionary to the Society and Sandwich Islands, and author of the ‘Tour of Hawaii.’ 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1829.

A MORE interesting book than this, in all its parts, we have never perused, and seldom so immethodical a one. Leaving, however, its other rich materials untouched, we will endeavour to draw from it a connected view of the mission in the Georgian and Society Islands.

The mission to Tahiti appeared to have ended as hopelessly, though not as tragically, as that of Tongataboo, when, in 1809, after twelve years of patient perseverance, the missionaries were compelled to leave the island, in consequence of a civil war. Their houses were burnt, their plantations destroyed, their books torn up for cartridge-paper, their types melted into musket-balls. They had, however, the consolation, that no errors of their own had in any degree contributed to bring on the catastrophe. Regarding the great cost of this benevolent enterprise as lost, and their labours as having been utterly unproductive, they removed to Botany Bay; all except Mr. Hayward, who remained in Huahine, and Mr. Nott, who resided at Eimeo, with Pomare, the ejected king.

Pomare was the second of a name, which (like Pharaoh and Ptolemy) belonged to the reigning prince; though it had no appropriate meaning, and had been chosen by his father only because he had been pleased with the sound of the syllables in accidental collocation. The first Pomare was originally only the chief of that district which Captain Cook visited; but the attentions which were paid to him then, and by the commanders of British ships which afterwards touched at Tahiti, the presents of muskets and ammunition which he received from them, and lastly the aid of the poor Bounty mutineers, enabled him to extend his authority over the whole island. There is a natural aristocracy in most of the South Sea Islands, but especially in Tahiti and those adjacent; the persons of hereditary rank being, ‘almost without exception,

exception, as much superior to the common people, in stateliness, dignified deportment, stature, and bodily strength, as they are in rank.' And this difference is so marked, that it has been accounted for by the supposition that they are of two races, the stronger of which had subdued the feebler. But of this there is no trace in their traditions, nor in their historical poems; neither is the opinion, probable as it may seem, supported by any difference, that has yet been discovered, between the language of the higher and lower orders; for that the priests have a peculiar and sacred language is denied by the missionaries; and though Omai asserted that they had, and that he could repeat some of it, though he did not understand it, and some of the words were taken down from his pronunciation by Lieutenant (the late Admiral) Burney, this is a point upon which the missionaries have had the means as well as the desire of fully satisfying themselves. They account for the physical difference by different treatment in infancy, better food, and different habits of life. If they are right in this opinion, the only analogy which can be found for it is, in the power that bees possess, of so feeding an insect of the common race, in its first stage, as to increase its size, develop its organs which would otherwise never have been developed, and thus make it into a queen bee: but we know of nothing which, in any degree, resembles this, in the natural history either of man or beast. The difference in diet and habits of life between the rich and poor is as great in many, or most parts of Europe, as in Polynesia, yet no such effect is produced by it. And in animals, all that can be done by feeding is to fatten them, or bring them to their maximum of strength, a point at which they cannot be kept. Any improvement in the race can only be effected by attention to the breed. The probable solution, then, seems to be, that the nobles are, what Frederick of Prussia would have had his grenadiers, a race of men above the ordinary height. Rank, in these islands, is still attainable by prowess in war, which, as in the days of chivalry, depends greatly upon personal strength, and that, of course, in no slight degree upon stature. Possibly, we may here discover the original motive for that execrable law, or custom, by which children, born of a woman who is inferior to the father in rank, are put to death; pride, and a diabolical religion having continued an accursed usage, which began in the apprehension of a real and physical deterioration.

The Polynesian nobles, then, seem to be like the children of Anak. Teu, the father of Pomare I., and grandfather of the king with whom the single remaining missionary resided, was, at the time of his death, the oldest man in the island; 'tall, and well made, his countenance open and mild, his forehead high, his hair

## *Polynesian Researches.*

hair-blanced with age, and his beard, as white as silver, hanging down upon his breast—together of a most venerable appearance.' The natives esteemed him much, and supposed him to be favoured by the gods. He led a peaceful life, and died, in 1802, of mere old age. What his stature might have been, when in his full strength, is not known; but his son, Pomare, was six feet, four inches high, 'his limbs active and well proportioned, his whole form and gait imposing.' A club of polished iron-wood, that would have been almost sufficient for an ordinary native to have carried, was his walking-stick: when he used a spear, its staff might have been compared to a weaver's beam. It is likely that, had it not been for the diabolical custom of the country, he, like the giant of Gath, might have had a family of Anakim, for the only son who survived him was above six feet in stature. The father, though not remarkable for personal courage, was a man of great activity and perseverance, and had the improvement of the island and of the people at heart. He set them an example, by planting with his own hands; and there are extensive cocoa-groves now flourishing, which he planted, both in Tahiti and Eimeo. But his mind, strong and active as it was, was completely subdued to the superstitions of the country; he was always kind to the missionaries, and always protected them when he could, and, at his death, recommended them to the protection of his son; and he would readily have worshipped the God in whose name they presented themselves, if they could have worshipped his gods also, or have admitted their divine character and rights. Such a compromise the Jesuits are accused of having made in China; but even their policy, though supple as the serpent, and as subtle too, could have effected no such coalition here. In China, they found natural theism, by which, under favourable circumstances, men would have been prepared for the reception of divine truth; and all-conforming atheism, which, if it saw any interest in so doing, would have encouraged an importation of more fables. But the idolatry of these islands was such, in its character and consequences, that the missionaries rightly regarded it with as much horror as the Jewish prophets felt concerning the abominations of the Canaanites.

When the missionaries first landed, they formed a most unfavourable judgment of Pomare II., then called Otu, from his countenance and demeanour; they learned to form a better and truer opinion, both of his understanding and of his disposition towards them, before his father's death; but he still continued a fervent and bloody worshipper of the national god, Oro. The war which drove him from Tahiti originated in a dispute for the possession of that idol. In these islands, as in so many other



parts of the pagan world, priestcraft had closely connected itself with rank and royalty. The kings were honoured, after their death, with an apotheosis, like the Roman emperors. When the first Pomare died, a priest affirmed that he had seen his deified spirit 'above the waters of the sea, having the upper part of his form bound with many folds of finely-braided cinet.' His widow also declared that she, too, had seen his apparition, and assumed a new name, in reference to it. The people, as soon as they fully comprehended the missionaries' object, regarded it either with neglect, or ridicule, or hatred. They disturbed them in their attempts to preach, by setting dogs or cocks to fight, and so drawing off their auditors; or they reproached them as having brought upon them all those miseries, which were, indeed, the effect of their intercourse with European visitors; they set before them, sometimes, poor miserably deformed and diseased creatures, as proofs of the efficacy of their malignant prayers, and the vindictive character of the God to whom they were addressed. And, when in a less excited and less fearful state of feeling, they scoffed at them, asking if the king or any of his family had cast away Oro; and saying in derision, that when the king and the chiefs heard the word of Jehovah, they would also;—this was said merely in mockery—a scornful promise, dependent upon what they thought an impossibility. And the apparition of Pomare's spirit, affirmed, as they believed authentically, by a priest, and confirmed by the queen's change of name, strengthened them in their hereditary superstition, to the truth of which they had this new miraculous evidence.

Montesquieu observes of the Jesuit missionaries in India, that they always loved to find despotic governments there—*parce que, n'y allant qu'à pour y faire de grands changemens, il leur est plus aisé de convaincre les princes qu'ils peuvent tout faire, que de persuader aux peuples qu'ils peuvent tout souffrir.* It seems to have been the opinion of Humboldt, that these our missionaries acted in the spirit of the Jesuits; for he says that they succeeded in changing the face of things at Tahiti, by profiting from the internal dissensions there. But no such inference can justly be drawn, either from the course of events, or the conduct of the missionaries. However their views may have been modified, when they were in a situation which made them understand the necessary connexion between religion and government, there was no admixture of policy in their original motives or intentions; sincerer or simpler-hearted men never engaged in the difficult duty of preaching the gospel to a pagan people. Far from taking credit to themselves for any dexterity in directing events, or making advantage of them; they say that the conversion of

of these islands, considering 'the circumstances under which the change occurred, the agency by which it was accomplished, and the permanency of its effects, is altogether one of the most remarkable displays of Divine power that has occurred in the history of mankind; and is, perhaps, unparalleled since the days of the apostles.' It is too soon to call it permanent,—before the first generation has passed away!—but one means of endeavouring to render it so will be, to look into and well consider the causes which may threaten its permanence. Except in this premature confidence, the view which they take of their own success is one in which a judicious reader, and under no influence of enthusiasm, may, with little hesitation, concur.

But if their motives and first measures have been without any alloy of mere policy, what is Pomare to be deemed? a suspicious convert, like Constantine? a plainly politic one, such as Clovis (the first Louis) assuredly was? or a thoughtful and sincere one, like our Edwin of Northumbria?

We have nowhere so full and satisfactory an account of any national transition from paganism to Christianity, as in the case of these islands. It might seem, therefore, at first, that the details here would reflect light upon the most important part of the history of mankind, and thereby enable us to form a clearer judgment of what took place in the conversion of other nations. This it must needs be found to do, in whatever relates to the workings of the human intellect and human heart, and (why should we hesitate to add?) the operations of heavenly grace. But, in all external circumstances, the difference is so great from all former conversions, that no resemblances can be traced—in so singular a relation did the missionaries stand toward the people among whom they presented themselves. The natives, knowing and appreciating their great superiority in arts and useful knowledge, received them with respect and deference, both which were abated as soon as they comprehended the purport of their coming. The obvious question was asked—wherefore, if this new religion was a matter of such importance, no mention of it had been made by any of the former vessels which the king of England had sent to them? He had sent presents, and professed friendship, and yet his messengers had said nothing of the Word! And the islanders were confirmed in their incipient contempt for the missionaries, by the conduct of all the merchant-ships which touched at Tahiti, after their arrival. If not disclaimed by their government, it was clearly perceived that they were despised by their countrymen, as people of a different, and, possibly, an inferior, class or caste.

If the king entertained this opinion of them also at one time, he

he did not long retain it. He was in closer and more continued intercourse with them, and was, moreover, of an inquiring mind, upon which few opportunities of improvement, and none of observation, were lost. He had been their dangerous enemy, and had allowed his followers to plunder them; in consequence of which the greater part of them had abandoned the mission in despair, and sailed for Port Jackson, before the general departure. His ill-will towards them had been so well understood, that Peter the Swede, a ruffian whom they found upon the island, often advised him to give orders for having them killed, when they were on their knees at prayer. But this dislike gave way, when he perceived that they were influenced by no views of advantage to themselves, and could have no other possible motive for the privations and dangers to which they voluntarily exposed themselves, than the apparently unaccountable one which they avowed—a desire of contributing to the eternal welfare of those by whom they were scoffed, and reviled, and ill-treated. This chief, too, was the most intellectual of his nation; so surely, when great changes are to be effected, are the great instruments in those changes prepared by Providence for the work which is to be brought about, through their strength or their weakness, their virtues or their crimes. Even before the principle of idolatry appeared to be in the slightest degree weakened in him, he, who had been their dreaded enemy, became their first pupil, and the ablest assistant of their studies in the language. This could not go on without producing something of that good will which arises among men who are mutually serviceable to each other, even when there is no better foundation for it. Grief then came upon him, and was followed by adversity. He lost his queen, a mild and affable woman, to whom he was attached; she was ‘addicted to all the vices of her country,’ and was, in fact, the victim of an execrable practice, which she had been taught to consider as a commendable custom, instead of a crime. Prayers and ceremonies had been offered in her behalf to the idols without effect; and Pomare was left childless, for all her children had been destroyed. About two years afterwards, he was driven, by a successful rebellion, out of the larger island, to take shelter in Eimeo. His misfortunes were ascribed, by friends and enemies, to the displeasure of the gods, carefully as he had been trained in their worship, (for his parents are said to have been more infatuated with idolatry than even the priests themselves,) and eagerly as he had often engaged in their inhuman rites.

Whether these circumstances led him to doubt the truth of that idolatrous religion on which he had invariably relied in all his enterprises; or, whether, Mr. Ellis says, ‘the leisure they afforded  
for



for contemplation and inquiry, under the influence of these feelings, inclined him to reflect more seriously on the declarations he had often heard respecting the true God, and to consider his present condition as the chastening of that Being whom he had refused to acknowledge, it is impossible to determine.' But affliction had evidently subdued his spirit, and softened his heart. Nothing can be more improbable, than that he should have determined upon giving ear to the new religion as a politic course; it was a course by which he could gain over none of his enemies, and might lose many of his friends. He wrote, however, to the missionaries at Port Jackson, urging them to come to him at Eimeo. Mr. Nott confirmed his representations, that this might be done with safety; and, after nearly two years, they returned accordingly. He received them with cordial joy; and Mr. and Mrs. Bicknell, who arrived first, resided some time in the same house with him. He spent much of his time in conversation with them, and earnest inquiry about God, and the way of acceptance with Him; and a change had now evidently been wrought in him, which was watched fearfully by his native friends, because they apprehended it would produce an unfavourable effect upon his subjects. In our Northumbrian conversion, the chief priest was the first who put the power of his false gods to the test, by publicly profaning the sacred bounds of his temple; but this was in a concerted scene, the change, which ensured his safety, having previously been effected. Pomare could calculate on no support, and when he gave the first public testimony of contempt for the usages of the established idolatry, he acted in the strength of his own character alone. It was one day, when a turtle was brought him,—food which was always held sacred, and to be dressed with sacred fire, within the precincts of the marae (or temple), part of it being invariably offered to the idol,—his attendants were carrying it to the altar as usual, when he called them back, and told them to prepare an oven, bake it in his own cooking-place, and serve it up to him, without offering any part in sacrifice. They were astonished, and hesitated to obey, as if doubting whether he was in earnest, or if he had lost his senses. Upon repeating his directions, they did as he commanded; but it was in fear and trembling: and when the turtle was served, they stood round, expecting that, as soon as the king should touch it, he would be seized with convulsions, or struck dead for his impiety. Not one could be induced to partake of it, when, having begun to eat, he invited them; he endeavoured to convince them that the idols which they worshipped were altogether worthless, and that they had hitherto been the subjects of a delusion, but his discourse produced no effect; and they removed the

the dishes with expressions of astonishment, and a confident expectation that some judgment would overtake him before the morrow.

It might have done so, had there been a vindictive priest, or a party of enemies at hand. But he was among the tried friends of his family, some of whom had accompanied him on his expulsion, and others, principal chiefs of the Leeward Islands, who had resorted to him. These he had endeavoured to persuade to renounce idolatry with him, and believe in Christ, if they wished to be happy after death, and to be saved at the day of judgment. Their answer was, that, whatever he might do, they would adhere to Oro. He had, however, no opposition to apprehend from them, and he came forward alone, and requested the missionaries to baptize him. He was not offended at their proposing to defer this till he should be more fully instructed, for they feared that 'he was rather an earnest inquirer after divine truth, than an actual possessor of its moral principle and spiritual influence.' At that time, they seem to have held, with the Baptists, that those only who were 'true converts to Christianity were proper subjects for the Christian rite of baptism;' and they wished, also, to receive some further evidence of his sincerity, and of the uprightness and purity of his conduct. On his part, there was no impatience; he requested further instructions from them, and proposed that a large place of worship should be erected. To this, also, the missionaries objected; he was at this time an exile, his prospects were discouraging, and it was even rumoured that the successful rebels would invade him in Eimeo. ~~themselves~~ themselves, too, they considered that place as only a temporary residence, till they should resume their labours in Tahiti, or establish a mission in the Leeward Islands. But he replied, 'No, let us not mind these things; let it be built.'

A month had not elapsed after this public avowal of his conversion, when two chiefs arrived from Tahiti, inviting him to return thither, and resume the government. He hesitated not to accept the invitation, and removed accordingly, with his friends; leaving the missionaries where they were, till it should be seen what course his affairs might take. His departure in this critical state of mind, they observe, was much to be regretted, as it deprived him of the instructions of his teachers, exposed him to many temptations, and much persecution. The promises by which he had been induced to attempt the recovery of his dominions were but imperfectly performed; many of his best allies died, others returned to their own islands; and though many chiefs sent a profession of submission, and the district of Matavai was surrendered to him, he distrusted, and with a reason, the sincerity with which



which those professions and that surrender were made. Under these circumstances he continued true to the profession of his new faith, and in so doing there can have been no views of worldly policy at this time; for his open renunciation of the national idolatry 'exposed him to no ordinary degree of ridicule and persecution, not only from his idolatrous rivals, but from his allies and the members of his household and family.' The word persecution, as thus used by the missionaries, must be taken in a qualified sense;—it implies neither personal danger, duress, nor inconvenience of any kind;—he was persecuted only by representations that all his reverses were attributable to the favour with which he regarded the new religion, and that he could expect no better fortune, since he had forsaken the gods of his ancestors, and insulted those, to whose divine influence his family were beholden for their elevation. Such representations would be distressing to him, because they proceeded from sincere and affectionate good will; but further than this they could give him no uneasiness. Meantime, his example was producing a slow but sure effect; the sincerity of his conversion was not doubted by his people, and it carried with it the greater weight, because no other person in the islands was so well acquainted with the old religion, or had taken so much pains to acquaint himself with the new; nor was there any one whose capacity could better qualify him to decide between them.

The seed which had been cast upon the waters began now to appear, after many days. It was reported to the missionaries, that there were some in Tahiti, who, after the king's example, had renounced idolatry, and professed to believe in the true God. Two of the brethren, therefore, (Messrs. Scott and Hayward,) crossed over from Eimeo. The former, on the morning after his landing, retired to the thicket for prayer, according to custom, because in their houses, which never contained more than one room, there was no opportunity for such retirement. While he was thus occupied, the voice of a native drew his attention; some words which he distinguished induced him to approach nearer, and he then distinctly heard petitions and thanksgivings addressed to the Almighty. Oito (this was the native's name) had formerly been an inmate of the mission family, and the instructions which he had then received, though they seemed unproductive at the time, quickened in him now, when he had occasionally been with Pomare, and heard that king's remarks. He had found, in his friend Tuahine, one who was in a similar state of preparation and of feeling: they confirmed each other; several young men and boys attached themselves to them, and this little band had agreed to refrain from idolatry, to renounce the abominable practices

tices of the country, to observe the sabbath, and to worship that God whom the missionaries had made known. This account the missionaries communicated to their brethren in Eimeo.

‘I have often,’ says Mr. Ellis, ‘heard Mr. Nott speak with evident indications of strong feeling, of the emotion with which this letter was read. And when we consider the long and cheerless years which he and some of his associates had spent in fruitless, hopeless toil, on that unprofitable field, the slightest prospect of an ultimate harvest, which these facts certainly warranted, was adapted to produce unusual and exalted joys,—*emphatically* a missionary’s own—joys “that a stranger intermeddleth not with.”’

A more public manifestation soon took place in Eimeo, where, as the king had no opponents, his known sentiments were likely to produce greater effect. When the place for public worship, which had been erected by his orders, was opened, such persons as were desirous of relinquishing their old customs were invited to attend. Forty appeared to the invitation; thirty-one of these desired to have their names written down, as those who had renounced their idols, and desired to become the disciples of Christ; the others said, they also intended to cast away their idols, but did not wish as yet to have their names written down. The object of the missionaries, in making such a list, was ‘not only to instruct them more fully, but to become personally acquainted with them, and to exercise over them a guardian care, which they could not do without knowing their names, and places of abode, &c.’ Eleven were soon added to this number, among whom were Taaroarii, the young chief of Huahine and Sir Charles Sanders’s Island, and Matapuupuu, a principal Areoi, and chief priest of Huahine, ‘who had long been one of the main pillars of idolatry in the island to which he belonged.’ Puru, the father of this young chief, king of Huahine himself, and chief of Eimeo, said he did not wish to oppose his son, or prevent his hearing whatever the missionaries might have to communicate, though he had no desire after these things himself. There were no people more superstitiously devoted to their idolatry than the natives of Huahine, and this, their king; and the young chief had been induced to inquire after Christianity, and then to profess it, not by the missionaries, but by what he had learnt from Pomare. Frequently he sent for Mr. Nott, to preach to his followers. In one of these visits, Patii, the priest of that district in which the missionaries resided, accompanied the preacher, listened most earnestly to what was said, and, as he walked home with him along the beach, declared that in consequence of what was now his clear conviction, he would on the morrow bring out the idols from his Marae, and publicly burn them.

Though

Though the missionaries heard this, they say, with an emotion of “mingled admiration, gratitude, and hope, to a degree that may be better imagined than expressed,” neither they nor their pupils were without some reasonable apprehension of the consequences which might ensue from so daring an act. Altogether, they were less than fifty: they were surrounded by idolaters who already began to wonder ‘whereunto this thing might grow;’ and Pomare, who might have proved some protection to them, was absent in Tahiti. Patii, however, it appears, knew the nature of his countrymen as well as of his idols. He and his friends collected a quantity of fuel, and piled it on a point of land near the marae; they did this deliberately, employing in it the whole of the morning, and it was not completed till the afternoon. Meantime, multitudes had assembled to behold what most of them believed to be an act of audacious impiety, and to witness, as they expected, the divine vengeance which would fall upon the criminal. The missionaries, of course, and their little band, would not be absent; and the evident emotions which they saw in the countenances of the people,—the hope and the fear, and the expectation of something unknown but dreadful, reminded them of the scene on Mount Carmel, when Elijah came before the people, and said, ‘How long halt ye between two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him; but if Baal, then follow him.’ A little before sunset, the priest came forth, and ordered the pile to be kindled. He then hastened into the depository where the idols were kept, brought them out, and laid them on the ground, when he approached the burning pile. Some of them were carved wooden images, in rude and ridiculous imitation of the human form, into which, at certain times, the gods themselves were believed to enter; others were mere logs, covered with finely-wrought cinet, and ornamented with red feathers. Patii tore off the sacred cloth in which they were enveloped from vulgar eyes, and stripped them of their ornaments; then, one by one, he threw the idols into the flames, sometimes pronouncing its name and fabled pedigree, expressing his own regret that he had ever worshipped it, and calling upon the spectators to behold that these objects of a false worship were not able to help themselves. Many were evidently disappointed when they saw that no miracle was wrought, nor divine vengeance taken; but they made no attempt to interrupt him, nor to rescue their idols from the fire, nor to revenge them.

This would have been deemed a most rash outrage upon popular feeling, if any tumult had been occasioned by it; for in that case, it is admitted by the missionaries, that their own lives might have been endangered, and the destruction of the pro-  
lytes



lytes must have been inevitable. But it appears, that though aware of this danger, they made no attempt to dissuade their convert from the perilous experiment: probably they thought that the course which he was taking was appointed, and that their duty was, in so doubtful a point, not to interfere, but to abide the result. It produced, they tell us, the most decisive effects, both upon priests and people. Numbers in Tahiti, as well as Eimeo, burnt their idols, demolished their maraes, stript and overthrew their altars, and converted the wood which had been employed in their construction into fuel for their cookery. 'He,' says Jean Paul Richter, 'who finds a God in the physical world, will also find one in the moral, which is history. Nature forces on our hearts a Creator—history a Providence.' In times of perplexity, it may often be observed, that men are like sheep: not knowing which way to turn, as soon as one takes the lead, in whatever direction it may be, they follow impetuously. There is but one instance of a religion wherein there was no admixture of truth, having been formidably attacked, and yet obtaining a final victory; in every other instance, systems of paganism have been swept away, like mists before the breath of heaven, and left not a rack behind. The exception is in Japan, and it would not be difficult satisfactorily to explain the cause of it. The great mystery of iniquity is manifested there only where a superstructure of falsehood is erected upon a foundation of eternal truth, as in Popery and Mahomedanism. Here the change was like the breaking up of the ice upon a river—sudden, but not unprepared. The missionaries had reduced the language to writing, and taught many of the natives to read; they had obtained spelling-books, in that language, from England; they had sent a catechism to be printed in New South Wales; and they were ready with a translation of St. Luke's Gospel. Sooner or later, every pupil was likely to become a convert, though he himself looked on to no such consequence when he began to learn the alphabet. But, what was of more importance, it was to the direct benefit of the women that the old superstition should be abolished; conversion was emancipation to them, held, as they were, in a degrading state of inferiority. They were not allowed to eat the same kind of food as the men, nor in the same plate, nor to prepare it at the same fire: they were to eat their inferior food in solitude. This further advantage was given them by Christianity, that it forbids polygamy, and renders marriage indissoluble. The women were not the only part of the people to whom change of religion was acceptable, as bringing immediate relief; for, as in Mexico, the yoke of the old idolatry was galling, and the burden too heavy to be borne. There were sacred houses, in which every pillar that supported

supported the roof was placed upon the body of a human victim ! and any individual who happened in any way to be obnoxious either to the chiefs or priests, was in danger of being seized whenever a victim was called for. This extended to families and districts. When an individual had been sacrificed, the family to which he belonged was considered as *tabu*, or devoted ; so was the district : and when ceremonies, in which it was usual to offer human sacrifices, recurred, the people of such a family or district fled to the mountains, and hid themselves there in dens or caverns till the time of danger was over. Such ceremonies were dreadfully frequent. The higher classes, if made prisoners in war, were liable to the same fate. Truly, then, by a people so circumstanced, might the gospel, if they looked only to its temporal effects, be considered as tidings of great joy. Nor is it to be admired, that some of the priests themselves were among the most zealous of the converts. They had not, like the members of the Inquisition, taken to their accursed profession by choice ; for they were a caste, the priestly office being hereditary in all its departments. There were, therefore, many among them, whose hearts, not being naturally hard, revolted at the horrors which it was their business to perpetrate ; and before they offered a human sacrifice, these unhappy men have been known to intoxicate themselves, if so they might obtain the brutal insensibility that should enable them to go through the dreaded and dreadful business of the day !

What had begun thus prosperously in Eimeo, was soon extended to the Society Islands. Several of the chiefs of those islands, who had come to assist Pomare, had become converts, and were, therefore, on their return, themselves efficient missionaries ; and they earnestly requested that teachers and books might be sent them. Thus the progress of Christianity was such, that if Pomare had regarded it only in a political light, it was now clearly his interest to uphold it with a high hand. He returned from Tahiti, after having vainly endeavoured, during two years, to recover his authority there. During that time, he had not been able to withstand the temptation of indulging in the use of ardent spirits, in the art of distilling which, the natives, to their bane, had been instructed. The missionaries knowing this, though, they say, he was ‘ not addicted to entire intoxication,’ began to fear, that, ‘ like Agrippa, he was but almost a Christian.’ They could not but entertain unfavourable apprehensions on his account ; yet, considering his previous habits, that intemperance had ever been the vice to which he was most addicted, and the peculiar temptation to which his residence in Tahiti had exposed him, ‘ they could not relinquish the hopes they had entertained respect-  
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ing him.' There was indeed no great reason why they should ; for though the ardour of his first feelings might have abated, his judgment remained the same, and he had been the convert, not of impulse and sympathy, but of reflection and calm thought. He brought with him, also, to Eimeo, a large train of adherents and dependents, ' all,' says Mr. Ellis, ' professors, at least, of Christianity ;' but, at such a time, professions were as valuable as votes at a contested election, whatever may be the inward opinions of the parties. These persons regularly attended the school, so that civilization was making some progress among them ; and they increased the congregation so greatly that it was necessary to enlarge the place of worship. "

Pomare had married, for his second wife, a daughter of the king of Raiatea, which is the largest of the Society Islands. The sister of this queen came to visit her in Eimeo, with a numerous train, most of whom were professedly Christians. It is the custom to entertain a distinguished visitor with what, in the South Seas, as in modern London, is called a *feed* — the import looks better in its Tahitian dress—*faamura'a* ;—but the entertainment, containing the choicest display of native cookery, and the finest fruits of the season, is sent by the donors to the encampment of the honoured guest. Such an entertainment was prepared for the queen's sister, by the chiefs of Eimeo. At such times, it was usual for one or more priests to attend, and, before any part of the food was tasted, to sanctify the whole, by selecting portions for the idols, and depositing them upon the altar. This ceremony Pomare wished to prevent, especially on so public an occasion : just, therefore, as the assembled multitude were looking when it should be performed, one of the principal persons in the queen's sister's train, came forward, uncovered his head, and pronounced a Christian grace over the food, which was thereby rendered unpresentable to the native gods. This was considered as a signal triumph of the new religion, and was indeed a sufficient proof that Pomare was determined to proceed in the course that he had chosen. The queen and her sister departed after this for Tahiti, where Pomare had left his infant daughter, Aimata, in his hereditary district ; and he sent over a book to the child, plainly indicating his intention that she should be brought up in the new religion. The converts to this religion were now numerous enough in that island to form a party, who were designated by the contemptuous name of Bure Atua, the ' praying people ;' but, from being at first objects only of scorn, their rapid increase soon exposed them to jealousy and hatred, especially as it required little sagacity to perceive that Pomare, whose affairs would otherwise have been in no hopeful posture, was, by this means,



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means, acquiring a great body of adherents. When the queen and her sister landed in Pomare's own district, they were deterred from their intention of going round the island,—an intention which had probably been formed more for the purpose of policy than of pastime. The feeling with which they were regarded by the more violent idolaters was declared, when a customary present of food and cloth was sent to them by some of the chiefs. The priests attended, and observing that the usual marks of reverence to the idols were not rendered, they pointed to some bunches of red feathers, to which the idols were supposed to impart a portion of their divinity; and, using reproaches and insults to the queen's companions, for forsaking the gods of their forefathers, threatened them with the vengeance of those offended powers. Upon this, *Tarefau*, the same person who had said the grace in *Eimeo*, pointed, in his turn, to the sacred feathers, and replied—'Are these the mighty things with whose anger ye threaten us? You shall see their inability to preserve themselves!' And, running to the spot where they had been set up, he seized them, and cast them into a large fire close by, where they were instantly consumed. The people stood aghast, and uttered exclamations of horror; but the vengeance for which they thirsted was delayed, in order that it might be taken more effectually.

A massacre, therefore, of the *Bure Atua* was planned by the idolatrous chiefs of *Pare*, *Matavaï*, and *Hapaiano*: the former of these was Pomare's patrimonial district; the second, that in which the missionaries had originally been settled. But as the intended victims were formidable, both for rank and numbers, the chiefs of *Atehuru* and *Papare* were invited to join in the execution. These parties, who for a long time had been enemies, were made friends on this occasion. At midnight, the praying people were to be attacked, their houses set on fire, and every one who should be taken, slaughtered on the spot. The secret was kept till the eve of the appointed time: it was providentially disclosed when the whole of the Christians, having to attend a meeting, either for public worship, or for some other general purpose, were assembled near the sea. No time was to be lost. Their canoes, which were lying on the beach, were instantly launched; and hurrying away what few things they could take, they embarked soon after sunset, and reached *Eimeo* the next morning in safety. Had they not thus been convened at the very place convenient for escape, and had there been no delay on the part of the conspirators, their destruction must have been inevitable. The *Porionu*, as the inhabitants of the three districts are called, would have been on the one side, and in their rear; the men from *Atehuru* and *Papare* on the other. 'A large body of armed and

and lawless warriors, belonging to rival chieftains, brought together under irritated feelings, and perhaps mutually accusing each other as the cause of their disappointment, were not long without a pretext for commencing the work of death among themselves.' Old animosities were rekindled: the people of the two districts that had been called in as allies, attacked the Porionu, and defeated them. The people of Taiarabu joined the victorious party, and laid waste with them the whole north-eastern part of the island. These Taiarabuans then quarrelled with those whom they had come to assist; but they also were defeated, and driven to their fortresses in the mountains of their craggy peninsula, and the Oropaa, as they are called, were left masters of the island.

In these wars, neither Pomare nor the chiefs of Eimeo took any part, but they watched the course of events anxiously, and not without apprehension of being invaded. Numbers of the vanquished had taken refuge with them, pagans, as well as those who secretly inclined to the new religion, but durst not avow it till they found themselves in safety. Four hundred names were at this time inscribed in the missionaries' list, and their pupils were between six and seven hundred; but the strength of what may be called the Christian party is less to be estimated by their numbers than by the rank and talents, and influential character, of its leaders. The work of conversion went on in Eimeo; though many of the chiefs there were not attached to the Pomare family, and being at the same time firm supporters of idolatry, considered his apostacy from the old faith as the cause of his own troubles, and of the wars which were then devastating Tahiti. This state of things could not continue long: as on the one side there could be no compromise, it was evident that there could be no toleration on either; and the missionaries were aware, that unless they soon became dominant, the least which they had to apprehend must be expulsion for themselves and their disciples, from Eimeo as well as Tahiti. Affairs, they say, were at this time (the beginning of 1815) evidently leading to a crisis; and although the converts had carefully avoided all interference in the late wars which had desolated the larger island, they were convinced that the time was not very remote, when their faith and principles must rise pre-eminent above the power and influence of that system of delusion and crime, of which they had so long been the slaves. To maintain the Christian faith, and enjoy a continuance of their present peace and comfort, they foresaw would be impossible. Under these impressions, they set apart a day for fasting and prayer, and 'experienced,' we are told, 'a chastened and dependent frame of mind, which led them to be prepared for whatever,



whatever, in the course of Divine providence, might transpire.' This preparation, however, was for action. The missionaries appear to depreciate the apocryphal books as indiscriminately as the papists overrate them, but they had taken a wholesome lesson from the book of Maccabees. They were evidently of opinion

'——that he who calls on heaven  
For help against his temporal enemies,  
Then with most cause and surest hope prefers  
His supplication, when he best exerts  
The prudence and the strength which God hath given him.'

The crisis for which they looked was at hand. Messengers came from the idolatrous chiefs of Tahiti inviting the refugees to return, and reoccupy their lands. They accepted the invitation; and, as the king's presence was necessary for certain ceremonies observed on such occasions, Pomare went over about the same time to reinstate them with the customary forms; but a number of his adherents who were of the new religion, accompanied him, and they were uninvited, as well as a number of the inhabitants of Huahine, Raiatea, and Eimeo, who were of that religion also; and Mahine, the king of the former island, and Pomare-Valine, the 'heroic daughter of the king of Raiatea,' and sister of Pomare's queen. It will be seen that the warlike epithet is as fitly bestowed upon her as upon Camilla, Bradamante, Clorinda, or Britomart. The idolaters considering such a retinue, as it appears, in the light of an invading force, mustered in hostile array upon the beach, forbade them to land, and repeatedly fired upon them. The firing was not returned. Pomare sent a flag of truce to them, with a proposal for peace: messages were interchanged, and the negotiation proceeded so far, that he and his followers were allowed to land, and several of the refugees entered, without molestation, upon their respective lands. The treaty was carried on for an adjustment of all differences between the king and the chiefs who were in possession of the island, and at length concluded, to the apparent satisfaction of both parties,—though the one had determined upon breaking it, and the other suspected that such was the intention. 'The idolaters had indeed joined with Pomare in binding the wreath of amity and peace, while they were at the same time secretly and actively concerting measures for his destruction.' What followed may best be related in Mr. Ellis's own words.

'The 12th of November, 1815, was the most eventful day that had yet occurred in the history of Tahiti. It was the Sabbath. In the forenoon, Pomare, and the people who had come over from Eimeo, probably about eight hundred, assembled for public worship at a place called Nari, near the village of Buraui, in the district of Atehuru.

At distant points of the district, they stationed piquets; and when divine service was about to commence, and the individual who was to officiate stood up to read the first hymn, a firing of muskets was heard; and, looking out of the building in which they were assembled, a large body of armed men, preceded and attended by the flag of the gods, and the varied emblems of idolatry, were seen marching round a distant point of land, and advancing towards the place where they were assembled. It is war! It is war! was the cry which re-echoed through the place; as the approaching army were seen from the different parts of the building. Many, agreeably to the precautions of the missionaries, had met for worship under arms; others, who had not, were preparing to return to their tents, and arm for the battle. Some degree of confusion, consequently prevailed. Pomare arose, and requested them all to remain quietly in their places; stating, that they were under the special protection of Jehovah, and had met together for his worship, which was not to be forsaken or disturbed even by the approach of an enemy. Auna, formerly an areoi and a warrior, now a Christian teacher, who was my informant on these points, then read the hymn, and the congregation sang it. A portion of scripture was read, a prayer offered to the Almighty, and the service closed. Those who were unarmed, now repaired to their tents, and procured their weapons.

‘ In assuming the posture of defence, the king’s friends formed themselves into two or three columns, one on the sea-beach, and the other at a short distance towards the mountains. Attached to Pomare’s camp, was a number of refugees, who had, during the late commotions in Tahiti, taken shelter under his protection, but had not embraced Christianity; on these the king and his adherents placed no reliance, but stationed them in the centre, or the rear, of the column. The *Bure Atua* requested to form the *viri* or frontlet, advanced guard; and the *paparia*, or cheek of their forces; while the people of Eimeo, immediately in the rear, formed what they called the *tapono*, or shoulder, of their army. In the front of the line, Auna, Upaparu, Hitote, and others equally distinguished for their steady adherence to the system they had adopted, took their station on this occasion, and showed their readiness to lay down their lives rather than relinquish the Christian faith, and the privileges it conferred. Mahine, the king of Huahine, and Pomare-vahine, the heroic daughter of the king of Raiatea, with those of their people who had professed Christianity, arranged themselves in battle-array immediately behind the people of Eimeo, forming the body of the army. Mahine, on this occasion, wore a curious helmet, covered on the outside with plates of the beautifully spotted cowrie, or tiger shell, so abundant in the islands; and ornamented with a plume of the tropic, or man-of-war bird’s feathers. The queen’s sister, like a daughter of Pallas, tall, and rather masculine in her stature and features, walked and fought by Mahine’s side, clothed in a kind of armour of net-work, made with small and strongly-twisted cords of *romaha*, or native flax, and armed with

with a musket and a spear. She was supported on one side by Farofau, her steady and courageous friend, who acted as her squire or champion; while Mahine was supported on the other by Patini, a fine, tall, manly chief, a relative of Mahine's family; and one who, with his wife and two children, has long enjoyed the parental and domestic happiness resulting from Christianity,—but whose wife, prior to their renunciation of idolatry, had murdered twelve or fourteen children.

‘ Pomare took his station in a canoe with a number of musketeers, and annoyed the flank of his enemy nearest the sea. A swivel mounted in the stern of another canoe, which was commanded by an Englishman, called *Joe* by the natives, and who came up from Raia-tea, did considerable execution during the engagement.

‘ Before the king's friends had properly formed themselves for regular defence, the idolatrous army arrived, and the battle commenced. The impetuous attack of the idolaters, attended with all the fury, imprecations, and boasting shouts, practised by the savage when rushing to the onset, produced by its shock a temporary confusion in the advanced guard of the Christian army: some were slain, others wounded, and Upaparu, one of Pomare's leading men, saved his life only by rushing into the sea, and leaving part of his dress in the hands of the antagonist with whom he had grappled. Notwithstanding this, the assailants met with steady and determined resistance.

‘ Overpowered, however, by numbers, the *virī*, or front ranks, were obliged to give way. A kind of running fight commenced, and the parties were intermingled in all the confusion of barbarous warfare.

“ Here might the hideous face of war be seen,  
Stript of all pomp, adornment, and disguise.”

‘ The ground on which they now fought, excepting that near the sea-beach, was partially covered with trees and bushes, which at times separated the contending parties, and intercepted their view of each other. Under these circumstances it was, that the Christians, when not actually engaged with their enemies, often knelt down on the grass, either singly or two or three together, and offered up an ejaculatory prayer to God—that he would cover their heads in the day of battle, and, if agreeable to his will, preserve them, but especially prepare them for the results of the day, whether victory or defeat, life or death.

‘ The battle continued to rage with fierceness; several were killed on both sides; the idolaters still pursued their way, and victory seemed to attend their desolating march, until they came to the position occupied by Mahine, Pomare-vahine, and their companions in arms. The advanced ranks of these united bands met, and arrested the progress of the hitherto victorious idolaters. One of Mahine's men, *Raveae*, pierced the body of *Upufara*, the chief of Papara, and the commander-in-chief of the idolatrous forces. The wounded warrior fell, and shortly afterwards



afterwards expired. As he sat gasping on the sand, his friends gathered round, and endeavoured to stop the bleeding of the wound, and afford every assistance his circumstances appeared to require. "Leave me," said the dying warrior; "mark yonder man, in front of Mahine's ranks; he inflicted this wound; on him revenge my death." Two or three athletic men instantly set off for that purpose. Raveae was retiring towards the main body of Mahine's men, when one of the idolaters, who had outrun his companions, sprang upon him before he was aware of his approach. Unable to throw him on the sand, he cast his arms around his neck, and endeavoured to strangle, or at least to secure his prey, until some of his companions should arrive, and despatch him. Raveae was armed with a short musket, which he had reloaded since wounding the chief; of this, it is supposed, the man who held him was unconscious. Extending his arms forward, Raveae passed the muzzle of his musket under his own arm, suddenly turned his body on one side, and, pulling the trigger of his piece at the same instant, shot his antagonist through the body, who immediately lost hold of his prey, and fell dying to the ground.

'The idolatrous army continued to fight with obstinate fury, but were unable to advance, or make any impression on Mahine and Pomare-vahine's forces. These not only maintained their ground, but forced their adversaries back; and the scale of victory now appeared to hang in doubtful suspense over the contending parties. Tino, the idolatrous priest, and his companions, had, in the name of Oro, promised their adherents a certain and an easy triumph. This inspired them for the conflict, and made them more confident and obstinate in battle than they would otherwise have been; but the tide of conquest, which had rolled with them in the onset, and during the early part of the engagement, was already turned against them; and as the tidings of their leader's death became more extensively known, they spread a panic through the ranks he had commanded. The pagan army now gave way before their opponents, and soon fled precipitately from the field, seeking shelter in their pari's, strong-holds, ~~or~~ hiding places, in the mountains; leaving Pomare, Mahine, and the princess from Raiatea, in undisputed possession of the field.'—vol. i. p. 247—252.

Upufara was deeply regretted by those who knew him best. He is described as an interesting and intelligent man, whose old faith had been so shaken, that at the last he was hesitating whether to renounce his idolatry or uphold it. Only a day or two before the battle, he said, 'Perhaps we are wrong; let us send a message to the king, and ask for peace; and also for books, that we may know what this new religion is.' But the priests opposed these proposals, and promised that Oro would deliver the praying people into their hands, and that the government and power would be with the gods of Tahiti. A lively dream had disturbed him, from which he awoke in such a state of emotion, that he was covered

covered with profuse perspiration; for he thought it was intended to show him the fiery torments prepared for the wicked after death. But that dream might be from his own gods, whom, possibly, he dreaded the more, because he had begun to doubt them. He was at the head of the old religion—his pride was engaged in the cause—his character, perhaps, in some degree, at stake; and thus he suffered himself to be carried away, upon the stream of circumstances, to destruction. Such men are always to be found in such times: compelled by events, while wavering in mind, to take a decided part, and so fated to fall,—or, more unhappily for themselves, to triumph,—in a cause which at length their understandings and their hearts disavow,—men not to be excused, and yet as surely not to be regarded with unqualified condemnation.

His body was conveyed to his own district, there to be interred among the tombs of his forefathers; for this victory was followed by none of the usual outrages upon the living or the dead. The slain, who, on any other occasion, would have been mutilated and left to the wild dogs or swine, were decently interred by the conquerors, and the fugitives were not pursued. Pomare exclaimed—‘It is enough!’ as soon as the battle was won, and forbade his people to offer any further hurt to his enemies either in their persons or property; but he sent Farefau, with a chosen party, to destroy Oro’s temple, altars, idols, and all. His orders were, ‘Go not to the little island, where the women and children have been left for security; turn not aside to the villages or plantations, nor enter into the houses, nor destroy any property, but go straight along the high road.’ More wars had arisen for the possession of this idol, which was their great national god, than from all other causes. The national marae was at Tautera, in the peninsula of Taiarua; and the people of that peninsula, considering it an honour and a privilege to have the sanctuary among them, were more zealous in their idolatry than any other inhabitants of the island. Some apprehension, therefore, was felt, of such a resistance as was made by our own druids in Mona. But the manner in which Pomare had acted after his victory seems to have produced a deep impression, which was no doubt strengthened by the calm and decided manner of the praying people who had been sent to perform this service; for they related what had taken place, and on what business they were come, and no opposition was offered when they entered the precincts of the temple. The priests and the other Taiarubians stood in silent expectation, and saw the idol, to which so many human victims had been offered, brought out, stript of its ornaments and sacred coverings, and laid contemptuously upon the ground. It was a rude uncarved wooden

wooden log, about six feet long. The altars were then pulled down, and the sacred houses; and all that could be consumed by fire was committed to the flames, except the body of Oro, as it was called: this was carried away, and laid at Pomare's feet. It was afterwards fixed up as a post in his kitchen, where it became as much an object of contempt as it had formerly been of veneration and dread; and when this politic purpose had been sufficiently answered, it was riven up for fuel. Throughout the island, temples, altars, and idols, were in like manner destroyed. 'The most zealous devotees were, in general, now convinced of their delusion; and the people united in declaring that the gods had deceived them, and were unworthy of their confidence.'

Here it must be observed, that in these islands war had hitherto been carried on with the most relentless cruelty. The total extermination of a people—the total desolation of a country, had often been the avowed object, and that intent had been carried into effect. Every inhabitant of an island, except the few who might escape in their canoes, have been slaughtered; the bread-fruit trees have been cut down, the cocoa trees killed, by cutting off their crowns, and leaving the stems in leafless ranks, as if they had been struck by lightning. No age or sex was spared. The old northern pirates, not even the Berserkir, who, among that ferocious race, professed a further degree of ferocity, were not more inhuman in war than these Polynesians. They practised every imaginable cruelty upon their victims. There are at this time wild men among the mountains of Tahiti, who, having fled thither in former wars, have almost lost the use of speech, and the very semblance of humanity. We may suppose, therefore, what an effect would be produced upon the people by the Christian clemency with which Pomare used his victory. The fugitives had taken to the mountains, and they sent spies from thence, under cover of the darkness, to the places where they had left their women and children, and aged; and when they were told that none of these had been injured, but that, on the contrary, public assurances of security were made to all without exception, it appeared to them incredible. Gradually they ventured out, and finding that it was indeed as they had heard, they had not only an ostensible motive for acquiescing in the national change, but a substantial one, which was satisfactory to themselves, and reconciled them to their defeat. The mercy which had been shown could have been occasioned by nothing but the new religion. They were indebted to that religion for the preservation of their families, as well as for their own safety; and when Pomare was now, by the unanimous consent of all, reinstated in the supreme authority, not a voice was raised in support of the old idolatry, but all the people declared



declared themselves desirous to be instructed in the new faith, and to receive it.

A canoe had been dispatched to the missionaries immediately after the victory. 'It was indeed to them a joy unspeakable,—the joy of harvest. In that one year they reaped the harvest of sixteen laborious seed-times, sixteen dreary and anxious winters, and sixteen unproductive summers.' The revolution extended to the Society as well as the Georgian Islands. The most influential of their chiefs were already connected with Pomare in faith as well as by other ties; and the idolatry, which had probably been brought to those islands by the first inhabitants, was in one year abolished throughout them. In most of the islands, as in Tahiti, the work of conversion went on without the presence of a missionary, or rather, so many of the natives had been instructed in the principles of Christianity, and taught to read, that they proved good missionaries at this time. A spelling-book had been printed for them in England some years before; and a summary of scripture history, composed entirely of scriptural extracts, at Port Jackson. Besides these books, they had many manuscript copies of part of St. Luke's Gospel. There may be some warmth in the missionaries' colouring, (insensible, indeed, must they be, if it were not so,) but there is no reason to think that they have exaggerated on the one hand, or withheld any thing unfavourable to their own wishes on the other. They describe chiefs and priests, and warriors, as sitting at their letters, hour after hour, on the benches in the school, beside some little boy or girl, and thankful to be taught by such teachers. Under the old idolatry, women had not been allowed to partake with the men in any act of worship: they rejoiced now in this privilege, and all who were able to attend, were present regularly at the Sunday service, which was devoutly as well as orderly performed. Some of those who had been longest under instruction conducted the service,—singing a hymn, reading a portion of the scripture history, and using prayers of their own composing, which were sometimes, it appears, written. Mr. Ellis has one of Pomare's, in that king's own handwriting, which had often been read, and which he believes to have been written about this time. It has been thus translated by Mr. Nott, as a specimen of the style and sentiments employed by the Tahitians in their devotional services:—

'Jehova, thou God of our salvation, hear our prayers, pardon thou our sins, and save our souls. Our sins are great, and more in number than the fishes in the sea, and our obstinacy has been very great, and without parallel. Turn thou us to thyself, and enable us to cast off every evil way. Lead us to Jesus Christ, and let our sins be cleansed in his blood. Grant us thy good Spirit to be our sanctifier.

• Save

Save us from hypocrisy. Suffer us not to come to thine house with carelessness, and return to our own houses and commit sin. Unless thou have mercy upon us, we perish. Unless thou save us, unless we are prepared and made meet for thy habitation in heaven, we are banished to the fire, we die; but let us not be banished to that unknown world of fire. Save thou us through Jesus Christ, thy Son, the price of life; yea, let us obtain salvation through him. Bless all the inhabitants of these islands, all the families thereof; let every one stretch out his hands unto God, and say, Lord save me, Lord save me. Let all these islands, Tahiti with all the people of Moorea, and of Huahine, and of Raiatea, and of the little islands around, partake of thy salvation. Bless Britain, and every country in the world. Let thy word grow with speed in the world, so as to exceed the progress of evil. Be merciful to us and bless us, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.'—vol. i. pp. 263, 264.

The author of these volumes had learned the art of printing before he left England upon the mission, and types and a press had been sent out with him, in 1816, before the religious revolution which had taken place could be known in Europe. The printing-office was erected in Kimeo; that mighty engine for good and evil was never anywhere more needed, nor more beneficially employed. In many families, where all were scholars, there was but one book; but many hundreds who had learned to read were without one. Many had written out the whole spelling-book; others, who could not procure paper for this purpose, 'had prepared pieces of native cloth with great care, and then, with a reed, dipped in red or purple native dye, had written out the alphabet, spelling and reading lessons, on these pieces, which were made of the bark of a tree.' Others had written portions of scripture, and texts, which they had heard preached from, on scraps of paper, or fragments of such cloth. Pomare, who, in his desire of promoting the improvement of his people, has not been surpassed by any of those princes who have rendered themselves deservedly illustrious for that merit, was exceedingly delighted, when the press arrived, and furnished every assistance for erecting the printing-house; and requested that he might be sent for when everything was ready to begin. Accordingly he came, accompanied by a few favourite chiefs, and followed by a large concourse of people. Mr. Ellis took the composing-stick in his hand, and, seeing with what curious delight the king was looking at the new and shining types, asked him if he would like to put together the first alphabet. His countenance brightened at the proposal, and he set up the capital and the smaller alphabet, to which the few monosyllables composing the first page of the spelling-book were afterwards added. Pleased at seeing this page in the types, he was yet contented to wait till the whole sheet should be ready, before



before he saw it struck off. Meantime, he visited the missionaries almost daily; and, when they were ready to print the first sheet, came, with only two chiefs, but followed by a numerous train, who had heard that the work was about to begin. Crowds had already collected round the door; they made way for him, and when he and his two companions had been admitted, the door was closed, and a window was darkened, by which he might have been overlooked; for he wished to prevent this. He examined minutely, and with great pleasure, the form as it lay on the press; and, as he prepared to take off the first sheet ever printed in his dominions, charged his companions, good-naturedly, not to look too closely at him, nor laugh at him if he should not do it well. Mr. Ellis instructed him how to use the ink-ball, then placed the paper, and directed him to pull the handle. The sheet was well printed—for there could be no failure; Pomare took it up, looked first at the paper and then at the types, with evident admiration; then handed it to one of the chiefs; and, while he struck off two more copies, the first was shown to the crowd without, who set up a general shout of astonishment and joy. There were few days in which he did not come to watch the progress of the work. Observant of everything as he was, he counted several of the letters, and seemed surprised to find that, in sixteen pages of this spelling-book, there were more than five thousand of the letter a. Two thousand six hundred copies of this book were printed; then a Tahitian catechism; a collection of Scripture extracts; and St. Luke's Gospel. Paper for fifteen hundred copies of these was all that remained, when a supply from the Bible Society arrived in time to double the impression; and that society has furnished paper for every portion of the Scriptures that has since been printed in these islands.

'O Britain, land of knowledge!' was the frequent exclamation of those who crowded to the doors and windows of the printing-office. Multitudes arrived from every part of Eimeo, and even from other islands, to see the work, and to procure books. The excitement is likened to what the English felt at witnessing, for the first time, the ascent of a balloon, or the movement of a steam-carriage. The beach was lined with canoes; the houses of the inhabitants were crowded with guests; and small parties pitched their temporary encampments in every direction round about. For several weeks before the first portion of the Scriptures was finished, the district in which the printing-house stood resembled a public fair. In order to preserve the books, it was necessary to put them in some substantial binding, before they were delivered: Mr. Ellis had learned how to do this in England; his materials, indeed, were scanty, but supplies, or substitutes, were found. A  
good

good pasteboard was manufactured from bark-cloth ; old newspapers were stained with a deep purple dye, for covering the sides ; and when the few sheep-skins which had been brought out were consumed for backs and corners, leather became in great request, to the cost of cats, dogs, and goats. The march of intellect was a sore evil to these poor animals, which had hitherto lived in undisturbed ease and freedom ; they were hunted now for their skins. Sometimes the people brought ‘ the tough skin of a large dog, or of an old goat, with the long shaggy matted hair and beard attached to it ; or the thin skin of a wild kitten, taken in the mountains.’ When they were instructed how to dress them, they did it at their own houses, and no object was then more common than a skin, stretched on a frame, and suspended on the branch of a tree, to dry in the sun. The elementary books had been gratuitously distributed, and continued to be so. But for this, a larger and more important book, it was thought best to require such a payment as might just cover the expense of paper and printing materials, that the people might not undervalue it, as a thing of no cost. A certain small quantity of cocoa-nut oil was the price fixed ; this was what they could most easily procure, and it was cheerfully paid. Incessant, and, at times, exceedingly oppressive, as the labour was, of printing and binding these books, in a tropical climate, and at a season when the sun was vertical, Mr. Ellis says that it was one of the happiest parts of his life. He says—

‘ I have frequently seen thirty or forty canoes from distant parts of Eimeo, or from some other island, lying along the beach ; in each of which, five or six persons had arrived, whose only errand was, to procure copies of the Scriptures. For these many waited five or six weeks, while they were printing.’ Sometimes I have seen a canoe arrive, with six or ten persons, for books ; who, when they have landed, have brought a large bundle of letters, perhaps thirty or forty, written on plaintain leaves, and rolled up like a scroll. These letters had been written by individuals, who were unable to come and apply personally for a book, and had, therefore, thus sent, in order to procure a copy.’—vol. i. p. 403.

‘ One evening, about sunset, a canoe from Tahiti, with five men, arrived on this errand. They landed on the beach, lowered their sail, and, drawing their canoe on the sand, hastened to my native dwelling. I met them at the door, and asked them their errand. *Luka, or Te parau na Luka*,—“ Luke, or, The word of Luke,” was the simultaneous reply, accompanied with the exhibition of the bamboo-canes, filled with cocoa-nut oil, which they held up in their hands, and had brought as payment for the copies required. I told them I had none ready that night, but that if they would come on the morrow, I would give them as many as they needed ; recommending them,

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in the mean time, to go and lodge with some friend in the village. Twilight in the tropics is always short, it soon grew dark; I wished them good night, and afterwards retired to rest, supposing they had gone to sleep at the house of some friend; but, on looking out of my window about day-break, I saw these five men lying along on the ground on the outside of my house, their only bed being some platted cocoa-nut leaves, and their only covering the large native cloth they usually wear over their shoulders. I hastened out, and asked them if they had been there all night: they said they had: I then inquired why they did not, as I had directed ~~them~~, go and lodge at some house, and come again. Their answer surprised and delighted me: they said, "We were afraid that, had we gone away, some one might have come before us this morning, and have taken what books you had to spare, and then we should have been obliged to return without any; therefore, after you left us last light, we determined not to go away till we had procured the books." I called them into the printing-office, and, as soon as I could put the sheets together, gave them each a copy; they then requested two copies more, one for a mother, the other for a sister; for which they had brought payment. I gave these also. Each wrapped his book up in a piece of white native cloth, put it in his bosom, wished me good morning, and without, I believe, eating or drinking, or calling on any person in the settlement, hastened to the beach, launched their canoe, hoisted their matting sail, and steered rejoicing to their native island.—vol. i. pp. 404, 405.

A volume of hymns was the next production of the missionary press, and this, being in verse, became very popular, for the people delight in metrical compositions, for which their language seems excellently adapted, by its remarkable euphony. It is to be hoped ~~that~~ the missionaries will collect and preserve their historical and mythological ballads, which are very numerous, and 'adapted (they tell us) to every department of society and every period of life.' *Ubus*, their poems are called; and children were early taught to recite, and, in some degree, to act them; for they sometimes had a pantomimic or dramatic character. 'They had one song for the fisherman, another for the canoe-builder, one for felling the tree, another for launching the canoe. But they were, with few exceptions, either idolatrous or impure, and were, consequently, abandoned, when the people renounced their pagan worship.' Let those which are impure perish; and would that whatever we have, of home or of continental growth, in the same kind, could perish also! But let us entreat the missionaries to preserve, not only the substance of their mythological, and historical, and romantic poems, but also the poems themselves, in their original form; and to let us have them translated as closely as possible to the original idiom. With all allowances for the misinterpretations of credulity, and the interpolations of pious fraud,



it is yet certain that vestiges of scriptural truth are found, far and wide, in the traditions of savages and semi-civilized people. And such corroborative evidences, however slight, are not to be despised, because they are not needed: there are minds habitually careless to 'proofs of holy writ,' which may unexpectedly be awakened by them, perceiving how striking the resemblance is, and how inexplicable upon any other solution than that there is a foundation of truth. Mythic poems are among the most valuable treasures that can be rescued from the ruins of time. It is the more desirable that these Tahitian songs should be preserved, because they contain many words which are no longer in common use;—proof, therefore, of their antiquity. Mr. Ellis, indeed, is disposed, he says, to ascribe the highest antiquity to them. They are highly figurative; highly impassioned, where the subject requires it; and, as far as can be judged from the scanty specimens which are given in this most interesting work, they seem to be in the best spirit of eastern poetry.

The first missionaries took out with them a small vocabulary, which one of the unfortunate men belonging to the *Bounty* had compiled—an officer among the mutineers, who suffered death, and had given these papers, as the best thing he had to give, to the clergyman whose mournful office it was to attend him in his confinement. They found it of more use than every other aid; and though, in acquiring the language, they had experienced that difficulty which is always found in studying a language essentially as well as radically different from our own, their task was easier than if it had been a savage tongue; for in the language, as well as the institutions, of the Polynesians, there are proofs of old civilization, far exceeding that of the state in which our navigators discovered them. Mr. Nott had resided long enough in their island to become as familiar with the language as any person can be with a foreign tongue; and the labours of the first missionaries had so much facilitated the acquirement to those who came after them, that Mr. Ellis could converse familiarly in it on any common subject, in less than twelve months after his arrival; though it should be noticed that his progress was much advanced by his employment in printing the Tahitian books, which brought so many words continually under his eye, and familiarized him imperceptibly to the orthography. They were, therefore, qualified for the translation which they undertook, and also for composing in this language; and they had always the most intelligent of the natives to assist them; from no one, however, did they derive more assistance than from Pomare. This remarkable person, who excelled all his subjects in application, and in capacity was inferior to none of them, took great delight in his native language; he made

made a study of it, when his views expanded with his acquirements, and had begun to compile a dictionary, which his thorough knowledge of the usages and ancient institutions of the people would have made invaluable, if he had lived to complete it.

With his assistance, and the general desire for improvement, great progress was made; the whole of the New Testament was translated and printed, and parts of the Old, while the remainder was in progress. If, indeed, Pomare's power had been commensurate with his desires, he would have vied with those princes who have been most celebrated for their works of piety. Without consulting the missionaries, he determined upon erecting what they have called a Royal Mission Chapel—an astonishing structure it is, 'considering the imperfect skill of the artificers, the rude nature of their tools, the amazing quantity of materials used, and the manner in which the workmanship is completed.'

'It is seven hundred and twelve feet in length, and fifty-four wide. Thirty-six massy cylindrical pillars of the bread-fruit tree sustain the centre of the roof, and two hundred and eighty smaller ones, of the same material, support the wall-plate along the sides, and around the circular ends, of the building. The sides or walls around are composed of planks of the bread-fruit tree, fixed perpendicularly in square sleepers—the whole, either smoothed with a carpenter's plane, or polished, according to the practice of the natives, by rubbing the timber with smooth coral and sand. One hundred and thirty three windows or apertures, furnished with sliding shutters, admit both light and air, and twenty-nine doors afford ingress and egress to the congregation. The building was covered with the leaves of the pandinus, inclosed with a strong and neat, low *aumoa*, or boarded fence; and the area within the inclosure was filled with basaltic pebbles, or broken coral. The roof was too low, and the width and elevation of the building too disproportioned to its length, to allow of its appearing either stupendous or magnificent. The interior of this spacious structure was at once singular and striking. The bottom was covered, in the native fashion, with long grass, and, with the exception of a small space around each pulpit, was filled with plain but substantial forms or benches. The rafters were bound with curiously-braided cord, coloured in native dyes, or covered nearly to the top of the roof with finely-woven matting, made of the white bark of the purau, or *hibiscus*, and often presenting a chequered mixture of opposite colours, by no means unpleasing to the eye. The end of the matting usually hung down from the upper part of the rafter, three, six, or nine feet, and terminated in a fine broad fringe or border.'—vol. ii., pp. 102, 103.

There are three pulpits in the cathedral of Tahiti, about two hundred and sixty feet apart from each other, but without any partition between. When it was opened, three sermons were preached there at the same time to three distinct congregations, each



each consisting of more than two thousand hearers; and the size of the building is such, that a space remained between these congregations, and no confusion was occasioned by the simultaneous delivery. The missionaries more than once expressed their regret that so much time and cost should be expended in erecting so large a building, when one of smaller dimensions would have been quite as useful. But Pomare was not to be dissuaded from a purpose, which, if not judicious, originated certainly in a just and noble feeling. The most spacious and durable structures which had ever been erected in those islands, he said, were the maraes—(they bear, indeed, though far inferior in magnitude, an observable resemblance to the Aztec temples, or *cus*)—it behoved them, therefore, who had past from that cruel idolatry to the service of the true God, to construct a better temple for the happier and holier worship which it was now their duty to perform. And he asked them whether Solomon, who was a good king, did not erect a house for Jehovah superior to every building in Judea or the surrounding countries?

It is to be regretted that one whose disposition would have led him to erect a minster, which should have remained to be the admiration of succeeding ages, could raise only a structure perishable as the first wattled edifice for Christian worship in Great Britain! . Indeed, though it was opened in the spring of 1819, the roof had begun to decay in 1822,—and it is more than probable that it is by this time in ruins. Such, however, as it was, Mr. Ellis, though aware of its perishableness and comparative inutility, did not enter it for the first time without emotion.

‘Although divested,’ he says, ‘of every thing like stateliness or grandeur, the first visit I paid to the chapel left a strong impression on my mind. I entered from the west; and the perspective of a vista, extending upwards of seven hundred feet, partially illuminated by the bright glow of a strong noon-day light entering through the windows, which were opened at distant intervals, along the lengthened line of pillars that supported the rafters—the clean rustic appearance of the grass-spread floor—the uniformity of the simple and rude forms extending throughout the whole building—the pulpits raised above them—heightened the effect of the perspective. Besides these, the singular, novel, light, waving, and not inelegant adornments of the roof, all combined to increase the effect. The reflections also associated with the purpose for which it had been erected, and the recent events in the history of the people, whose first national Christian temple we were visiting, awakened a train of solemn and grateful emotions. How it might be when the house was filled, I do not know; but when empty, the human voice could be distinctly heard from one end to the other, without any great effort on the part of those who at this distance called or answered.

‘A long

• A long aisle or passage, between the forms, extends from one end to the other. In walking along this aisle on my first visit, I was surprised to see a watercourse five or six feet wide, crossing, in an oblique direction, the floor of the chapel. On inquiry of the people who accompanied our party, they said it was a natural watercourse from the mountains to the sea; and that, as they could not divert its channel so as to avoid the building without great additional labour, and constant apprehension of its returning, they had judged it best to make a grating at each side under the wall, and allow it to pass in its accustomed channel. As it was not during the rainy season that we were there, it was dry; the sides were walled, and the bottom neatly paved; but in the rainy season, when the water is constantly flowing through, its effect must be rather singular on the minds of those sitting near it during public worship.—vol. ii., p. 104—106.

Is there any cause for apprehending that the religion which this poor prince succeeded in establishing, with so much policy, and with so careful a desire for the improvement of his countrymen, should be as little durable among them as the great temple which he erected in the pride, and the joy, and the piety of his heart? The question may well be asked by those who know that of the happy communities which the Jesuits formed in Paraguay, and maintained for more than a century, not a wreck is now remaining; and who know also how nearly Jesuitized Christianity had become the ruling religion in Japan. Nor will it be considered an unimportant question by all those who feel interested for the welfare of their fellow-creatures. The population of the Georgian and Society islands, in which Christianity has now been made the professed religion of the rulers and the people, amounts, with that of the adjacent clusters, wherewith the natives of those isles maintain a constant intercourse, and to which Christianity has been conveyed by native or European teachers, to little less than fifty thousand souls. The Marquesas are not included in this estimate: their population is supposed to be about thirty thousand; and thither, also, teachers are gone. To come at any well-founded opinion upon this point, it must first be inquired how far the conversion has been any thing more than nominal in the great body of the inhabitants, and whether the missionaries have proceeded as wisely and as unexceptionably in the civil as in the religious part of their ministry.

Even if the mass of these new Christians understood the motives of their apparent conversion as little as those American Indians whom the Spanish missionaries sprinkled with besoms to the right and left till they blistered their hands by the work; or as our own Anglo-Saxon ancestors, when they were baptized by thousands in the Swale; the change would still be effectual in the next generation, if only care were taken to train up the children in the way

way they should go, and to prohibit all old practices connected with the abolished idolatry. In this respect Providence has shaped for the missionaries a plan ; they had not so much as rough-hewn one for themselves when they entered upon their undertaking. But there is reason to think that never before, in any national conversion, was there so large a proportion of persons who heartily renounced their old errors, and sincerely received the truths which were proposed for their belief. At the very time when the missionaries thought their exertions had been altogether wasted, they had in reality achieved one of the most important and most difficult objects, and one without which no progress could ever have been made. They had shown, beyond all doubt, that the welfare of the natives was the whole and sole aim of their desires ; and that they had not come thither to seek their own interest, nor to lead an idle, still less a licentious life ; they had explicitly stated this as soon as they could make themselves understood, and their whole conduct had been in accord with their profession. The natives were thoroughly convinced of this before any other effect was produced upon them. And when they understood, which it was not difficult for them to understand, that religion only had induced these Europeans to reside among them, and labour for their good, through frequent dangers and continual discouragement, they could not but think favourably of the religion which produced such a frame of mind. The next step was to compare it with their own, more perhaps at first in its immediate effects, than in the hopes and fears which it held out ; but as soon as they dared entertain a doubt concerning their own superstition, its atrocity was such that they could not but regard it with abhorrence.

The extreme wickedness also which was connected with that superstition operated in a remarkable manner toward the change. There are false religions, which call for painful sacrifices from their votaries,—sacrifices not to be performed without the most entire faith, and the most heroic self-devotion : such are those life-long penances which the fakirs of India at this day inflict upon themselves ;—such (in those rare cases where it is purely voluntary) is the immolation of the Hindoo widow upon her husband's funeral pile ; and such, in former times, (to adduce a more appalling example,) was the devotion of those parents who offered up their children in the fire to Moloch,—which no compassionate heart could bear to think of, if, in the case of those who acted thus under a dreadful mispersuasion of their duty, it were not allowable for us to trust in the uncovenanted mercies of our all-merciful Father. These diabolical religions prepossess their unhappy votaries against the ad-  
mission



mission of a better faith by the pride of human nature, which they excite, and gratify, and delude. But the state of feeling in Polynesia is very different,—and the missionaries notice it as unlike any thing which has been remarked in former conversions. They say,

‘ We never met with one who doubted the natural depravity, or innate tendency to evil, in the human heart. We never met with any who were inclined to suppose they could, without some procuring cause, be justified in the sight of God. This may perhaps arise from the circumstance of there being no individual among them, whose past life had not been polluted by deeds which, even natural conscience told them were wrong, and consequently no arguments were necessary to convince any one that he was guilty before God. They must deny the existence of the Deity, and of all by which the living and true God is distinguished from their own senseless idols, before they could for a moment suppose their past lives appeared otherwise than criminal before Him. Their fearful state, and the consequences of guilt, they never disputed, but were always ready to acknowledge that they must not only appear criminal, but offensive to the Most High, on account of their vices.’—pp. 315, 316.

Their primitive notions of the nature of sacrifice, which they called, in their language, ‘ a disentangling from guilt,’ prepared them also to admit the reasonableness of that ‘ all-sufficient sacrifice once made,’ of which, when they comprehended it, (as far as man may presume to call it comprehensible,) they felt and acknowledged the necessity, and the inestimable value. No neophytes could, in this respect, have been in a more docile state.

‘ When asked,’ says Mr. Ellis, ‘ as we sometimes were, “ How do you know the Bible is the word of God?” we did not adduce an infallible church, by which it had been determined what were the canonical books, and by whom they had been preserved; nor did we refer them often to the testimony of history, to prove that the persons, whose names were affixed to the different parts, actually wrote the books ascribed to them, but we referred them to their internal evidence, their harmony or accordance with the works of creation, and the dispensations of Providence, in their display of the Divine character and perfections, their admirable adaptation to the end for which they were given, and the universality of their application to mankind. Next to the agency of that blessed Spirit, under whose influence those Scriptures were first penned, and by which alone they become the means of spiritual illumination to any individual, the internal evidences of the Bible have operated upon the minds of the natives with great force. When they have been asked why they believed the Scriptures to be the word of God, they have answered, “ We believe they have a higher than human origin, because they reveal what man could never know; not only in reference to God himself, but our own origin and destinies, and what, when revealed, appears to us true; because



because its declarations accord with the testimony of our own consciences, as to the moral character of our actions ; and because, though written by persons who never saw us, or knew our thoughts, it describes so accurately our inclinations, imaginations, motives, and passions. It must have been dictated by One who knew what man was, better than we know each other, or it could not have displayed our actual state so correctly." These, or declarations to the same effect, if not given in precisely the same words, were the reasons they frequently assigned for believing the divine origin of the Scriptures.' —pp. 322, 323.

With this docility, they were a sober people in their transition of belief. The missionaries observe, that there were ' but few of what could be called sudden conversions : ' the fewer, we should say, the better. ' In general, the process by which their views and feelings have been changed has been gradual, and almost imperceptible, as to its precise manner of operation, though most decisive in its nature, and unquestionable in its tendency.' We are told of no devotional raptures, and of no agonies of mind. The natives, when fully sensible of the enormous sins which they had committed in their idolatrous state, seem to consider that these things were done ' ignorantly, in unbelief,' and so repose in full trust upon the covenant of mercy. ' The missionaries, being accustomed to a great display of religious emotion at home, wonder at this, and know not how to account for it. ' It does not appear,' they say, ' generally, that their emotions are so acute as ours, or that they are equally susceptible of joy and sorrow with persons trained in civilized society.' Yet there is nothing in their manners or former institutions to induce (as among the North American tribes) a pride of stoicism ; nor are they in that miserably low degree of savage life which hebetates the moral and intellectual faculties. More probably may this apparent want of religious emotion be explained, by simply supposing, that, as yet, there has been no temptation for them to profess more than they feel.

Of that feeling on this momentous subject, which was most to be desired and expected, these volumes, indeed, contain affecting proof. Natural questions have arisen in their awakened minds—not to shake their unhesitating belief, but to trouble and to distress them. They asked their teachers, if none of their ancestors, nor any of the former inhabitants of these islands, had gone to heaven ? ' This,' says Mr. Ellis, ' to us and to them was one of the most distressing discussions upon which we ever entered. To them it was peculiarly so ; for we may naturally suppose, the recollection of the individuals whom many of them had perhaps poisoned, murdered without provocation, slain in battle, or killed for

for sacrifice, would, on these occasions, probably recur to their minds; and at these times, many a parent's heart must have been rent with anguish, to us inconceivable, at the remembrance of those children in whose blood their hands had been embued.' 'There was,' he says, 'a degree of painful emotion among them whenever this subject was introduced,—a feeling at times so overpowering as to suspend the conversation, or make an abrupt transition to some other subject necessary.' At such times, the missionaries themselves were led to entertain opinions more wise, more just, and more merciful, than those of the school in which they had been trained. Shrinking then from that impious belief which connects the glory of the Almighty with the eternal sufferings of his creatures, they said that it was not for them to say what was the state of the departed; that the heathen had not been left without the admonition of conscience, on the evidence of which witness they would be acquitted or convicted at the awful bar; and that whatever crimes they might have to answer for, rejection of the gospel would not be one,—which would be the heaviest condemnation on those by whom it was neglected or despised.

In these inquiries, there is proof of a deep and well-founded religious feeling. Under more affecting circumstances, concerning the children which they had lost: 'Are their spirits,' they would say, 'in outer darkness, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth, or are they happy?' To this the missionaries would reply, though the opinion, they say, was not given with confidence, 'that there was reason to hope and believe they had their part in the covenant of redemption, and were therefore in bliss.' It may be imagined with what emotion these questions were put by those mothers who had been in the habit of destroying their children! Often such individuals would say, they feared there was no hope of mercy for them; that they had repeatedly committed the premeditated murder of the innocent; they would perhaps repeat the scripture declaration, that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him, and ask, 'Ought I to go to Jesus Christ for pardon? were any murderers of their own children ever forgiven?' Some one would say, that the images of the babes, whom, according to the accursed custom of their country, she had destroyed, were ever present to her thoughts, and, as it were, constantly haunting her path, so that she was afraid even to retire to the secret places of the bushes for private prayer, lest their ghosts should arise before her. At a school examination, when a little boy had received a prize, (perhaps a copy of one of the gospels,) and was walking back to his seat with it, 'I have seen,' says Mr. Ellis, 'the mother's eye follow the child with all a parent's fond emotion beaming in it, while the tear of pleasure has sparkled

sparkled there ; and, in striking contrast with this, the childless mother might be seen weeping at the recollection of the dear babes, which, under the influence of idolatry, she had destroyed, and which, but for her own murderous hands, might have mingled in the throng she then beheld before her.' Such mothers often affected the missionaries by the contrast which they drew between their own childless and desolate condition, with that of those happy parents, who, under the reign of Messiah, were surrounded by their offspring. At a meeting in Raiatea, where the children were examined, a venerable old man rose—

' and addressed the assembly, with impressive action, and strongly excited feeling. Comparing the past with the present state of the people, he said, " I was a mighty chief; the spot on which we are now assembled was by me made sacred for myself and family; large was my family, but I alone remain; all have died in the service of Satan—they knew not this good word which I am spared to see; my heart is longing for them, and often says within me, Oh! that they had not died so soon: great are my crimes; I am the father of nineteen children; *all of them I have murdered*—now my heart longs for them.—Had they been spared, they would have been men and women—learning and knowing the word of the true God. But while I was thus destroying them, no one, not even my own cousin, (pointing to Tamatoa the king, who presided at the meeting,) stayed my hand, or said, Spare them. No one said, The good word, the true word is coming, spare your children; and now my heart is repenting—is weeping for them!" '—vol. i. p. 502.

The missionaries who have been longest in these islands say, they have never met with one woman who, if she were a mother under the former system, had not committed infanticide. The very circumstance of their destroying instead of nursing their children rendered births more numerous; and it is certain, that not less than two-thirds of the infants who were born into the world were immediately murdered by their parents: so powerful for evil is custom, and so dreadful are the consequences of these infernal idolatries! For there was no want of natural affection in the parents—in this respect, nature is every where the same—every where beneficent and wise. ' There were times,' says Mr. Ellis, ' when a mother's love, a mother's feelings overcame the iron force of pagan custom, and all her endeavours were used to save her child: he had heard most affecting instances of such struggles between the mother to preserve and the father and relations to destroy it; and always if the infant was allowed to live ten minutes or half an hour, it was safe; instead of a murderer's grasp it received a mother's caresses, and was afterwards treated with the greatest tenderness.

The new religion has now a sure and powerful support in maternal



total affection. The change which has taken place is also more likely to be permanent, because it has not been marked by any sudden conversions, nor by those paroxysms which the missionaries seem to have expected. On the part of Pomare and the other chiefs, it has been the deliberate rejection of an abominable system of delusion, the immediate effects of which there, were indeed what angels announced at the nativity—peace and goodwill. The missionaries have not thrown down one set of idols to instal another in their stead; they have practised no frauds; they have taught in its purity a pure faith. The Romanist who, with a sincere mind, should venture to compare their statements with the History of his own St. Francis Xavier, the Annual Relations, the Annual Epistles, and the Edifying Letters of the Jesuits, might, from that comparison, form a true judgment of the actual and practical difference between the Romish and the Reformed religion. Another point of profitable comparison would be, between the language which these Protestant missionaries have held concerning the state of infants dying unbaptized, and that doctrine of the Romish Church, which has produced volumes *de Embryologia sacrá*, and led to practices as pitiable for their absurdity as, on other accounts, they are revolting and unutterable.

Differing in these respects from the Romish religioners of every description, they differ also from the American quakers, who, in the attempts which they have made for improving some of the native tribes, have proceeded upon the opinion, that civilization should precede conversion. The present volumes have convinced us, (formerly we thought otherwise,) that the missionaries judged rightly in taking an opposite course, and regarding our faith as a tree, which brings forth fruits of civilization as well as of good works; agreeing herein with Bishop Sprat, who says, ‘it is the peculiar glory of true Christianity, that it does not only save but civilize its real professors.’ They acted, however, upon no predetermined system, but adapted their conduct to circumstances, as they gradually became acquainted with the character of the people, and the difficulties of their enterprise. In the case of Pomare, his earnest desire of improving himself and his people led to his conversion, and on that the success of the mission turned; the introduction of more civilized arts and customs followed as a consequence. The most important of these was in their habitations: these were either mere temporary huts, or huge buildings, which, for the numbers that they contained, might be called human hives, if order, and propriety, and cleanliness had not been wholly wanting in their economy. In the largest of these, there were forty, fifty, or sixty sleeping places, or berths, ranged in parallel lines from one end of the house to the other,



other, and without any division or skreen between them ; indeed, there were no partitions in the largest dwellings, though some of them were two hundred feet long, and hundreds sometimes lay down promiscuously to sleep there. In the poorer cabins, parents, children, dogs, and frequently pigs and fowls, passed the night. One of their reasons for crowding thus together was, their constant apprehension of evil spirits, which were supposed to wander about at night, and strangle those to whom they bore an ill will, if they were found alone ; but if they slept in large parties, they thought themselves secure against this danger. In these dwellings, there was as little comfort as decency, and as little cleanliness as comfort. The earthen floor was usually covered with grass, which, when it was dry, soon became trodden to dust, and swarmed with vermin ; on another part, where they took their meals, sitting in circles on the ground, the fresh water was often spilt in which they washed their hands. The cocoa-nut juice (to the use of which the missionaries, for want of any better cause, impute the prevalence of dropsies), and the sea-water, in which they dipt their food, were spilt there also, and the fresh grass was often spread over this wet litter, till the place resembled a stable or stable-yard. In the poorer huts, also, the thatch often let in the rain.

The missionaries lost no time in urging, that every family should erect a distinct dwelling for itself ; that the chiefs should partition bed-rooms in their present dwellings, while they were building others ; that they should reduce the number of their inmates, and erect distinct sleeping-rooms for those whom they retained. They found as much docility as they could have desired. The coral reefs supply inexhaustible materials for lime ; with this a mortar was made, which sufficed for forming clean and durable floors, and for plastering boarded or wicker walls. Navenavehia, an inferior chief in Huahine, and Tamatoa, king of Raiatea, were the first persons who built themselves houses—the first of the kind ever erected for their own abode by any of the natives of the South Sea Islands. The example was rapidly followed. Indeed, ‘ the erection of a house upon the improved plan, regulating its size by the rank or means of the family for whom it was designed, became a kind of test of the sincerity with which they desired and received instruction.’ Buildings were now to be seen rising every where, ‘ from the snug little cottage, with a single door and window in front, to the large two-storied dwelling of the king or chief ;’ and axes, planes, chisels, gimlets, and saws, were, next to their books, the articles in most demand. And though the missionaries could but poorly teach an art, in which they had themselves almost every thing to learn, and many materials were wanting,

waiting, insomuch that it was necessary to use pegs for nails, and pieces of leather or skin for hinges, the natives thought their time and their labour (which was very great) well employed; they had habitations now, into which they could admit free air at pleasure, and which were wind and weather tight, when they needed protection from cold or rain. They are so sensible of the comfort which they have thus gained, as to say, they could almost doubt whether they are the same people, who had been contented to inhabit the same dwelling with their pigs and dogs, where they were overrun with vermin, and the wind blew and the rain beat on them.

The missionaries repeatedly advised them to build in straight lines, and leave equal distances between the roads and the houses, and between the respective dwellings. But regularity of this kind, if it be not in a style and upon a scale of magnificence, produces always an effect of meanness; and the inhabitants perceiving nothing that was either attractive or useful in this sort of uniformity, followed their own inclinations, whereby, as is fairly admitted, the picturesque character of the scenery, instead of being injured, was heightened. The size of the building was regulated by the owner's rank or means, and the shape by his fancy,—oblong or square, with high gable or circular ends, covered with thatch. 'The chiefs vied with each other in the size, elevation, or convenience of their houses: some built upon a pier in the sea;' some threw out verandas, others erected covered balconies, 'in which they might enjoy a more extended prospect, be shaded from the sun, and breathe a purer air.' The perishable nature of these structures must have given the missionaries, when in a melancholy mood, some feelings which we should be as unwilling as themselves to think ominous. 'If the frame was well put together, and the timber secured, a plastered cottage would probably last—ten or fifteen years! Many, however, from the rude and hurried manner in which they were built, became dilapidated in a much shorter time.' The consolatory consideration is, that the former habitations were as much more perishable as they were less comfortable and decent; and that if civilization continue to advance, stone houses will be erected, or the art of brick-making introduced;—meantime the method of building in *pisé* (as it is inconveniently called) might with great and evident advantage be used.

The transition state of costume was sufficiently ludicrous:—a man might be seen without waistcoat, without shirt, and below—in what in Scotland is called *the dress*, *ut lucus a non lucendo*; with the broad native girdle round his waist, and 'a fashionably made black coat' (probably in the last fashion of Monmouth-street,

street, or Moorfields) on his back. In the next stage, when propriety was somewhat more understood, a man was sometimes seen 'with a hat and shoes, without stockings, a long surtout black cloth coat, reaching to his ankles, with the collar turned up and buttoned close to his chin; and over his black coat a white frilled shirt, the collar unbuttoned, and the bosom thrown open; the sleeves drawn up towards the elbows;' worn thus for this assigned reason, that the shirt would not have been seen if it had been under the coat. Every article of European dress is now worn in its proper place; and there are few, we are told, who do not, by preparing arrow root, feeding pigs, making cocoa-nut oil, or by some other labours, purchase, when ships arrive, a suit of foreign clothing. One pleasing and hopeful circumstance is noticed by Mr. Ellis, that their first endeavour is generally to purchase, and learn to make up, light clothing for their children; and that there are few parents on the islands who would think of purchasing a garment for themselves while their little ones were without one. 'In many instances,' he adds, 'I have seen a garment for the mother next selected; and then the father, with the remainder of their produce, has purchased some article for himself.'

Cottons and woollens are the articles of British manufacture which are most in request, and of these the consumption among the islands of the Pacific is said to be already considerable. So far as the new costumes may be more favourable to decency and comfort than the old, the change is for the better, however much may be lost in picturesque appearance. So far, also, as new wants are incentives to useful industry, good has been done by introducing them. The missionaries have tried to raise wheat there without success,—and they long for bread as the Israelites did for the flesh-pots. The potatoe also degenerates; but this may probably be because the sort that will answer there has not been hit upon. English pigs have succeeded better; the native breed were perfectly clean in their habits, but our pigs have introduced the march of intellect among them, and made them as filthy and swinish as themselves,—a fact worthy of notice in the history of civilization.

We must pass over some well-meant attempts for introducing the culture and manufacture of cotton, and for opening a direct trade with Port Jackson in a missionary ship. The political experiments upon which the missionaries have ventured, the dangers which may yet await the new religion, and the condition in which the islanders must ere long find themselves, if those dangers should happily be averted or overcome, are topics which must occupy what further space remains to us. Little expecting,  
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at the commencement of their career, that they should ever be involved in such secular concerns, and little desirous that any such honours should be forced upon them, the course of things has led them to become the legislators of these islands, and practically to acknowledge, what perhaps they would not be willing in theory to admit, the importance and necessity of a connection between the government and the religion of a country. They found them closely united,—

‘The government, in all its multiplied ramifications, was closely interwoven with their false system of religion, in its abstract theory and in its practical details. The god and the king were supposed to share the authority over mankind between them. The office of high-priest was frequently sustained by the king, who thus united in his person the highest civil and sacerdotal stations in the land. The genealogy of the reigning family was usually traced back to the first ages of their traditionary history; and the kings in some of the islands were supposed to have descended from the gods. This was the case in Tahiti, where Oro, the national god, was said to be the king father; and where language as preposterous and profane as that of the oriental courts was used toward the royal personage and every thing appertaining to him.’

His houses were called *aorai*, the clouds of heaven; *anuanua*, the rainbow, was the name of his canoe; his voice was called thunder; instead of saying the torches were burning in his dwelling, the people would say that the lightning was flashing in the clouds of heaven; and when he was travelling pick-a-back, the phrase was that he was flying from one place to another. When he appeared abroad, all persons uncovered the breast and shoulders, as they did when passing a temple or an altar; he who neglected or hesitated to perform these marks of reverence, was in danger of being killed on the spot, or marked for a sacrifice. His own lands were accounted sacred, and his own houses were the only habitations at which he might alight, and take refreshment, or repose. It must be needless to add, that his authority, though resisted not unfrequently in rebellion, was at other times supreme.

Now, when Pomare became the first convert, and brought about a religious revolution, which extended through all these islands, it was not more required by good policy than it would have been consistent with the spirit and letter of the New Testament, that the missionaries should have brought the sanction of the new religion to support his authority, and have enforced, as among the first and most momentous of civil obligations, the religious duty of obedience to the sovereign. This they must have neglected to do; otherwise we should not be told, that since the people are free from the restraints which idolatry imposed, many  
of



of them refuse almost all lawful obedience, and evince a disinclination to render the king the supplies which are due to him by old established custom, and which are necessary for his support. The crown lands are not sufficient to maintain his establishment, and the deficiency was made up by requisitions from the people,—the kings being, like those in Hesiod's days, *donivorous*; but they gave away also as fast as they received, and were far from being profusely supplied. Mrs. Company herself has not had nicer questions to deal with than have been brought before the directors of the London Missionary Society for consideration; but, both Mrs. Company and the Blackfriars' directors might have taken useful lessons from old experience. The former might have questioned, from the example of that Alboquerque who first established an European dominion in the East, whether, instead of endangering her government by prohibiting the sacrifice of widows on the husband's funeral pile, that very prohibition would not have rendered the British government more popular than anything which it has ever yet done for the people of India. The latter might take useful lessons from the history of Japan.

No material interference with the direct affairs of government took place till 'the mission and the nation experienced the heaviest bereavement that had occurred since the introduction of Christianity.' This was Pomare's death at the close of 1821. He had long been afflicted with elephantiasis, a disorder very prevalent there; but dropsy was the immediate cause of his dissolution. This remarkable man was exceedingly jealous of any interference with his prerogatives and interests: 'he was, also,' says Mr. Ellis, 'as might have been expected, from the circumstance of his having been the high-priest of the nation under the system of false religion, and having been identified with all the religious observances of the people, too fond of regulating matters purely connected with Christianity.' But there are many matters relating to religion which are intimately and necessarily connected with civil government, and which Pomaré was the proper person to regulate. The book before us observes, that in many respects the institutions of these islanders 'indicate great attention to the principles of government, an acquaintance with the means of controlling the conduct of man, and an advancement in the organization of their civil polity,' altogether remarkable under their circumstances. The people themselves said, that 'had their chiefs been idolaters, or wicked rulers, it would have been improper for them to have interfered in any matters connected with Christianity; but that now they were truly pious, it accorded with their ideas of propriety, that in the Christian church they should, as Christian chiefs, be pre-eminent.' The missionaries replied to these sensible representations,

presentations, in a manner more consistent with their sectarian principles than with sound policy. But with such a preparation in the habits and disposition of the people, and with a prince so sedulous, so able, and so well disposed as Pomare, a Bishop Heber would have established a national church upon a foundation that no storms could shake.

This poor prince had been indefatigable in his endeavours both to improve himself and his people ; he kept a regular journal ; ‘ he maintained an extensive correspondence ;’ he wrote in a book every text of scripture that he heard ; he rendered very important assistance in translating the scriptures, and copied out many portions before they were printed ; he prepared the first code of laws for his little kingdom, copied them out fairly with his own hand, and promulgated them with his own lips. These laws, with some slight modifications, were adopted in Huahine and Sir Charles Sanders’ Island, and printed with this title, ‘ A Code of Laws for Huahine, caused to grow in the government, or reign, of Teriitaria, Hautia, and Mahine, subordinate rulers.’ There being no Tahitian word for ‘ laws,’ the Hebrew one has been introduced as best according with the genius and idiom of the language. Of this very curious publication, a literal translation is given, thus introduced in the name of the queen and the two principal chiefs. ‘ From the favour of God we have our government. Peace to you and Huahine !’ It begins with penal enactments ; the punishment for infanticide, procuring abortion, and murder, is transportation for life to an uninhabited island ; for theft, a fourfold mulct, in equal parts, to the aggrieved person and to the king ; if the thief had no property, he was to be set to work on the lands of the person whom he had robbed ; if he refused to do this, his own land escheated to the king, and he was to wander on the road (the phrase for banishment) an unlimited time. The judge might not demand the mulct from his relatives. Then come laws relating to pigs, (who are the great trespassers, and used to be kept in pits, like the bears in the Zoological Garden,) receivers of stolen goods, lost property, buying and selling. The seventh relates to sabbath breaking. It says,—

‘ For a man to work on the sabbath is a great crime before God. Work that cannot be deferred, such as dressing food when a sick person desires warm or fresh food, this it is right to do ; but not such work as erecting houses, building canoes, cultivating land, catching fish, and every other employment that can be deferred. Let none travel about to a long distance on the sabbath. For those who desire to hear a preacher on the day of food (the preceding day) it is proper to travel. If inconvenient to journey on the preceding day, it is proper to travel on the sabbath (to attend public worship) ; but not

to wander about to a great distance (to different villages) on the sabbath. The individual who shall persist in following those prohibited occupations, shall be warned by the magistrates not to do so; but if he will not regard, he shall be set to work, such as making a piece of road fifty fathoms long and two fathoms wide. If, after this, he work again on the sabbath, let it be one furlong.'—vol. ii. p. 450.

For sedition, treason, or rebellion, the punishment of the first offence is simply relegation to the offender's own district or island; making a furlong of road, if he then continues the offence; and for the third time, banishment to a desert island during the king's pleasure. Respecting marriage, the law most properly leaves those as they were, who, when the change of religion took place, had more wives than one; here the missionaries have followed the wise example of the Moravians, and avoided the difficulties as well as the injustice of the opposite course, which the Jesuits pursued: but if a man, having one wife, took another, he was to be separated from her, and both punished,—the bigamist by making a piece of road, forty fathoms long and two broad,—the woman by making mats, half for the king, half for the governor of the district. The law concerning adultery is not translated: it requires pecuniary (?) compensation for the offended party, and prohibits the offender from marrying during the life of the injured individual. If a husband forsakes his wife, the punishment is labour till he returns to her; and if the wife be the offending party, her punishment is the same. If they agree to separate, and continue in that mind after admonishment, they are not to marry others, and are adjudged to labour till they consent to live together again. The man's work is on the road or the plantation,—the woman's, mat-making or beating cloth; in either case, one part for the king, the other for the local governor. By the same process a husband is compelled to provide food for his wife. The false accuser is to suffer the punishment which he would have brought upon the innocent person. Perpetual banishment, or incessant hard labour for seven long years, is the punishment for unnatural crimes; hard labour during a specified time (which the translator has *not* specified) for seduction, rape, and fornication. A drunkard, when troublesome or mischievous, is to be put in durance till he is sober, and then admonished; for a second offence he is set to road-making;—Mac Adam would find himself a minister of justice in these islands. Women, in the like case, are, as in other cases, to work at matting or cloth-making. We have a game law, then, which begins by declaring that there are no pigs without owners. 'The wild pigs in the woods or ravines belong to the people of the valley.' 'The man who is obstinate in hunting pigs on the mountains or in the valleys, on the pretext that



that they are without owners, is the same as a thief, and as is the thief's, such also is his punishment.'

Misprision of any conspiracy, whether to murder the king or commit a theft, is subject to the same punishment as the act of conspiracy.

• **CONCERNING REVENUE FOR THE KING AND GOVERNORS.**

'Every land that has received the word of God, and those that have not, whose institutions are good, agree that it is right to furnish property for their own king, who holds the government, and for the governors of the districts. It is also a thing frequently exhibited in the word of God, and taught by Jesus, our Lord, when he said, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's?" Therefore it is right that we do the same. Let every individual contribute towards the revenue of the king. The man of great property must furnish more than the man of less property. Such as governors of districts, shall give two hogs yearly. If not hogs, arrow-root ten measures: if not this, cocoa-nut oil ten bamboos full; they must be good-sized bamboos.

'The *raatiras*, farmers, or small landed-proprietors, shall each give one hog annually. If not a hog, arrow-root five measures; if not this, oil five bamboos. Those, also, who do not possess land, but belong to this country—or belonging to another land, but residing here—this shall be their contribution, one pig for one year (smaller than that furnished by the farmers); if not a pig, arrow-root three measures, or oil three bamboos.

'This is another property that the farmers shall prepare for the king that holds the government: Each district shall prepare every year two mats, ten fathoms long, and two fathoms wide; if not large mats, fine hibiscus mats, one from each (family); if not this, three fathoms of native cloth, each.'—vol. ii. pp. 434, 435.

The revenue appointed for the governor is half of that for the king; but the district supplies him with the same quantity of matting or cloth. Tattooing is prohibited, as 'belonging to ancient evil customs;' the marks are to be blackened over, and the offenders, if they persist in renewing them, punished by road, mat, or cloth making.

Concerning voyaging in large companies, 'When a member of the reigning family, or other person of rank, shall project a voyage to another land,—such as from Raiatea or Tahiti to Huahine,—it is right that he select steady men, such as are of the church, or have been baptized, not immoral and mischievous men, that cease not from crime. But if these voyagers continue to bring troublesome persons, the magistrates shall admonish them when they land not to disturb the peace nor wander about at night. If they do not regard this notice, such disturbers shall be bound with ropes till their masters depart.'

• A magistrate



A magistrate or judge accepting a bribe is to be displaced and rendered for ever ineligible to his office again. The laws are annually to be revised, and then, if need be, amended, 'that the usages in this land may be straight.' The judges and magistrates are to be nominated and paid by the king or the supreme governor. The judge has no discretionary power; and is to write in a book the names, crimes, and sentences of the accused, for the inspection of the king and the people. Great crimes are to be tried by a jury of six persons, whose verdict must be unanimous. 'If it be one of the king's family that is tried, then the jury shall be members of the reigning family, or individuals of equal rank; if a landed proprietor or farmer be tried, of landed proprietors or farmers only shall the jury be composed.' In cases of theft or adultery, the injured party must lodge a complaint; but concerning offences which affect the whole island, such as murders, rebellion, conspiracy, and working on the sabbath, it is competent for any person to give information. The magistrates may not bring to trial on vague reports. There is to be no durance for petty offences; 'but for murder, theft, rebellion, &c. and all great crimes, it is proper to secure the offender. Let not the confinement be long before the person is brought to trial,—one, two, or three days will be sufficient.' Let it not be longer.' Appeals are allowed from a district magistrate to the chief judge. All maltreatment of a convict is forbidden, and the king may mitigate a sentence, but not increase it.

This, though the first printed code in these islands, was not the first promulgated. Pomare's, in Tahiti, was the first, and that had been followed by one in Raiatea. In the two elder codes, murder, rebellion, and treason, were punishable by death; the substitution, in the laws of Huahine, of banishment for life to an uninhabited island, was made at the particular recommendation of the missionaries, who being convinced, they say, that 'if, under any circumstances, man is justified in the infliction of death, it is for murder alone,' could not, upon examining the scriptures, satisfy themselves 'that the Almighty had delegated to man the right of deliberately destroying a human being, even for this crime.' It must have been by a strangely eccentric course of reasoning that they came to this conclusion; no person, we believe, would ever have questioned the justice, the lawfulness, the propriety, the necessity of punishing certain great offences by death, if that punishment had not been inflicted in so many lighter cases where it shocks the moral sense. Four executions for conspiracy and treason took place in Tahiti, within two years after the promulgation of Pomare's code; 'the effect,' Mr. Ellis says, 'appeared by no means salutary;' and after Pomare's death, they commuted the punishment

punishment for exposure upon a desert island.' But if ever an enterprising conspirator is disposed of in that way, he will appear upon the stage again. Buonaparte's case is sufficiently similar to prove the insecurity of any such misplaced or mistaken mercy.

No oath is administered on any occasion,—false evidence being punished just as a false accusation would have been. Mr. Ellis admits, that the law which prohibits labour on the Sabbath-day, is, 'perhaps, enforced by a penalty disproportioned to the offence.' He excuses it by representing that the quantity of compulsory labour is not great; that, 'as a nation, they were accustomed to pay the strictest regard to this day, from religious considerations, before the legal enactment was made;' and that 'it was principally designed to prevent annoyance to those who were desirous to devote the day to religious services.'

The code contains a law against climbing another man's tree for fruit, without his permission. Formerly, when the islands were well peopled, every bread-fruit and cocoa-tree is said to have had its respective owner, and a single tree sometimes belonged to two proprietors; afterwards, large clusters of trees, or whole groves, had no other owner than the chief of the district, and any one might gather the fruit, unless the lord of the manor (for so he may be called) prohibited the trees to his own use by affixing such marks to them as denoted that they were *rahueia*, or, as we should say, *preserved*. The practice being disused, because it was connected with certain idolatrous ceremonies, that gave a religious sanction to the prohibition, the law became necessary. The regulation which fixed the revenue of the king and the chiefs, was made by the missionaries' advice, and they had some difficulty in introducing it. 'To the chiefs it appeared, in some degree, depriving them of their power, and rendering them dependent on the donations of the people;' for the government having been hitherto arbitrary, they had been accustomed not only to a regular supply of all the articles which the island produced, but to send their servants and take as much more as they pleased. 'There were others who, connecting the prosperity of the people with the continuance of the monarchical government, were not free from apprehension lest the restraint imposed on the chiefs should diminish their influence in the nation, and destroy the authority of the sovereign.' In Huahine, however, the rulers readily assented to this plan, heartily recommended it, and found it much more productive than the former system. To the people, who could never before look upon the produce of their labour as inviolably their own, the advantage is very great. Some of the other islands (not all, it appears) have adopted it, and it may be regarded as the basis on which the rights and security of private property are established.

The

The former codes left both the kind of punishment, and the degree, to the judge's discretion: this 'opened a door for the abuse of power,' and was often very unsatisfactory to the people in general. By the Huahine code, therefore, no discretionary power is given, and 'this plan has appeared in general to give satisfaction, though it is often attended with practical difficulties, which,' Mr. Ellis says, 'the increasing experience of the people will, probably, enable them to remove.' Subsequent laws have been enacted to extend the benefit of trial by jury, by providing, that peasants and mechanics, as well as *raatiras* and chiefs, should be tried by their peers; to forbid persons from harbouring children, who, being impatient of restraint, run away from their parents; to prohibit the revival of 'those amusements and dances which were immoral in their tendency;' and to fix the proportion of fish which should be given to the king and governors. By another and most important law, it was ordered, that all disputes about landmarks should be referred to the judges, or settled by a jury; and that the boundaries of all the land, fields, &c. throughout the island should be carefully ascertained, and, with the dimensions, description of the land, and names the owners, should be entered in a book, called the *Book of the Boundaries of Lands*. These lands were made the freehold property of their possessors, and a copy of the boundaries of each estate, signed by the principal judge, and sealed with the king's seal, was to be prepared, as a legal title to the possession of such estate in perpetuity.

It does not appear whether any other island than Huahine has its *Domesday Book* as yet. Mr. Ellis's most interesting volumes have no other fault than the want of arrangement, and that they have in an extraordinary degree, the unities of time and place being as little regarded in them as in a Spanish play. Huahine seems to have been the island in which the missionaries exercised most influence, till after Pomare's death. 'When the infant, Pomare III., was recognized by the nation as his successor in the government of Tahiti and Moorea, the Tahitian code was revised and enlarged; and a law was then introduced by their means, which, beyond all doubt, would not have been enacted, probably not even proposed, or hinted at, if the father had been living.' Well may they call it a most important law, for 'it gave to the nation, for the first time, what might be termed a representative government, and rendered the Tahitian a limited, instead of an absolute monarchy.' Two representatives from every district were to meet annually, enact new laws, and revise and amend the existing ones. No regulation was to be regarded as a law, without the king's sanction. The parliament was to be triennial, and might, if it seemed good, increase the number of deputies from each district, to



to three or four. This is proceeding with a quick step in the march of intellect !

Whether the missionaries would have done wisely at any time in introducing so great a change into the government of these islands, we very much doubt;—that they have not done well in effecting it while the king was an infant, we are certain. The Jesuits did nothing so imprudent as this in Japan, nothing so rash, nothing so dangerous. We give them full credit for the best intentions ; but those intentions might have been forwarded in the same direction by less exceptionable means. A council of elders would have been a better guard against the abuse of sovereign power ; the old Cortes, in which the initiative rests with the government, and the representatives have the power of rejecting what they disapprove, would have been a safer form to follow than that of the British Parliament. For it has been seen that the religious revolution had loosened the habit of obedience, and had also weakened the government by depriving it of that sanction which the old idolatry gave it. One of the wisest men that ever clothed his thoughts in verse has said,

— ‘ let not weak powers lay new foundation,  
Who cannot judge how time works on the old ;  
But keep the ancient forms in reputation  
To which man’s freedom is already sold ;  
Since Order over-worn is yet a frame  
Wherein Confusion rarely weaves her name.’

A further and less pardonable fault they have committed in exposing to public humiliation (or at least in not protecting from it) persons of rank which, as far as possible, they ought to have saved from censure. The widow of Pomare, visiting Huahine a few months after her husband’s death, and happening to want a piece of timber, ordered her attendant to cut down a bread-fruit tree which grew in a poor man’s garden. The owner lodged a complaint against the queen herself, she was summoned before a magistrate, and the resident missionary was to witness the proceeding. When the queen was asked if she did not know they had laws, she said Yes, but she was not aware that they applied to her. Being then asked, if in those laws, a copy of which was shown her, there were any exceptions in favour of chiefs, or kings, or queens ?—she answered, No ; and then sent one of her attendants for a bag of dollars, which she threw down before the poor man, as a recompense for his loss. ‘ Stop,’ said the magistrate ; ‘ we have not done yet !’ The queen began to weep. ‘ Do you think it right,’ he continued, ‘ that you should have cut down the tree without asking the man’s permission ?’ ‘ It was not right,’ said the Queen. The plaintiff was then asked



asked what remuneration he required; he replied, 'If the queen is convinced that it was not right to take a little man's tree without his permission, I am sure she will not do so again. I am satisfied. I require no other recompense.' This disinterestedness was applauded, the assembly dispersed, and Mr. Ellis thinks the queen sent him privately a present equal to the value of his trees.

Now, in this case, the law might have been enforced with equal effect, the purposes of justice answered quite as well, and those of sound policy much better, if the queen's attendant had been cited instead of the queen herself. Bishop Heber would not have acted thus in the spirit of John Knox.—But there is a more tragic story to be related. Taaroarii has been mentioned as one of the first persons who suffered their names to be enrolled in the missionaries' list; he was heir to Huahine and Sir C. Sanders' island; he was the only son of his father, King Mahine, and great hopes had been entertained from the attachment which he had shown towards the new religion, and from his general course of conduct. But there were many young men who, under the old system, would have been just at this time taking their full swing of licentiousness in every way, and who hated the new religion because of the restraints which it imposed; some of these got about the young prince, who was then in his nineteenth year, flattered and corrupted him. In the hope of withdrawing him from their influence, his father arranged a marriage for him with the daughter of one, who, next to himself, was the chief person in the island; though rather inferior in rank, she was, in every other respect, a suitable partner, and proved an affectionate wife. But he kept to his former associates, and treated her with cruelty. Emboldened by his countenance, the young profligates ventured upon a public testimony of their attachment to the old customs by tattooing themselves, and they induced him to do the same; thinking that the magistrates would not bring him to public trial, and, if he was exempted, they should escape. The magistrates went to the good old king, Mahine, and asked whether his son should be brought to justice. Mr. Ellis tells us 'the struggle was severe, but, under the influence of a patriotism worthy of his station, he said, he wished the law to be regarded, rather than those feelings which would lead him to spare his son the disgrace to which he had subjected himself.' To trial, therefore, he was brought;—and, in that same spirit which exposed Pomare's widow to public humiliation, was condemned to road-making,—that useful, when well applied, punishment, which serves in those islands in place of the treading mill. He received the sentence with indifference; but more than once threatened to murder his father,

father, for submitting him to it: or to cause his death. His companions would have performed his task for him at once; he would not allow this, being determined to identify himself with them, and after some months, broke a blood-vessel with over exertion (it is supposed) at the work. A rapid consumption ensued, and all remedial means were vain. The father frequently visited him, and his wife was his constant attendant. 'We often saw him,' says Mr. Ellis. 'He was generally communicative, and sometimes cheerful, except when the topic of religion was introduced, and then an evident change of feeling took place. He would attend to our observations, but seldom utter a syllable in reply, and seemed unwilling to have the subject brought under consideration. This was the most distressing circumstance attending his illness; and to none more painfully affecting than to his aged father.' The poor young man was fond of Mr. Ellis's children, and shook hands with them very affectionately, when they said farewell to him on the day of his death. Mr. Ellis passed some time with him the same day, and says, it was the most affecting interview he ever had with a dying fellow-creature. His countenance, which had greatly altered since the yesterday, was that of a dying man; and he lay with his restless head on the lap of his wife, who was weeping over him; all hope of his recovery being past, and all who were about him being in tears. .

'Our solicitude,' says Mr. Ellis, 'was especially directed to his preparation for that state on which he was so soon to enter: this indeed had been our principal aim in all our intercourse with him. On this occasion, he made no reply, (indeed, I suppose, he was unable, had he been disposed;) but he raised his head after he had done speaking, and gazed stedfastly upon me, with an expression of anguish which I never shall forget, and which is altogether indescribable. Whether it arose from bodily or mental agony, I am not able to say; but I never beheld so affecting a spectacle. Before I left him, I attempted to divert his mind to the compassionate Redeemer, and, I think, engaged in prayer with him. His eye, rolling its keen, fitful glance on every object, but resting on none, spoke a state of feeling very remote, indeed, from tranquillity. I presume not to say, that in his last hours, in those emotions of the soul, which Nature was too much exhausted to allow him to declare, and which were known only to God and to himself, he was not cheered by the consolations of the Gospel—I would try to hope it was so: for indications of such feelings, his dear sorrowing and surviving friends anxiously waited. . . . We had been intimate with him ever since our arrival in the islands, had received many tokens of kindness from him, and had watched his progress with no ordinary interest. We hoped we had been faithful to him; but at times such as this, when one and another was removed from the people amongst whom we laboured, we were led to ponder on the state into which

which they had entered ; and when their prospects had been dark, and their character doubtful, we could not but fear that we, perhaps, had not manifested all the solicitude we ought to have done, nor used means available for the purpose of leading them to Him, who alone could deliver from the fear of death and all the consequences of conscious guilt. Reflections of this kind were now solemn, intense, and, I trust, profitable.'

Too many parallels to this tragic story may be found in the history of religious revolutions ! The missionaries should have remembered, in this case, that Roman virtue is not Christian virtue. Their influence with the good old king should have been used in aid, not of rigorous justice but of natural affection ; and they should have represented, that to bring his son to public punishment was far more likely to exasperate him against the new religion than to reclaim him. By favour of the chiefs, it is that Christianity has been established in these islands : by offending them its extirpation may be brought about. If Taaroarii had lived, he would, probably, have become a bitter enemy to the religion which had made him, not a martyr, indeed, to the old customs, but a confessor : but, as a martyr, he will now be looked upon by the heathen party. Happily, no ill effect has been produced upon those who were most nearly connected with him. The old king, when the last advices were received, was still living, 'a nursing father to the infant churches established in his country, and the greatest blessing to the people whom he governs. His daughter-in-law, in some degree, supplies to him the place of his departed son, and is, indeed, the comfort and solace of his declining years. Her behaviour to him and his family has been uniformly affectionate and respectful—the whole of her public and domestic conduct such as to deserve the imitation of her own sex. It will gratify all good readers to see in what a strain of feeling she writes to Mr. Ellis ; the extract is given as a literal translation from her letter.

'Peace to you from the true God, from Jehovah, and from Jesus Christ. My word to you is, that my affection for you and your children is unabated. Through the goodness of God, your breath has been lengthened out. We did not know whether you were living or not ; and behold your little presents arrived, and we knew that you were still living. On account of the goodness of God our breath is lengthened, and our dwelling prolonged in this land ; but we know not that we shall see each other's faces again. You know that frail and feeble is the body of man. Tamarii (her infant daughter) is learning the word of God. Come back to Huahine ! Peace be to you all, from Jesus Christ !'

It cannot be doubted that many of these converts, like this young widow and the good old king, to whom her dutiful cares are devoted, have received the gospel in sincerity, that it is bringing forth



forth in them the fruits of good living, and that they feel in themselves, as its blessed consequence, that peace which passeth all understanding. Certain, also, it is, that with Christianity the missionaries have laboured to introduce the human means of civilization, with great wisdom, great perseverance, and far greater success than could have been expected. But looking to the general state of things, now that the honey-moon of the conversion is over, it appears that when the difficulties which might almost have been deemed insuperable, have been overcome, others are likely to arise which it will require great prudence to meet and to contend with. That the ardour of these converts should have abated has not surprised us: this, indeed, was to be looked for in the natural course of things. Nor is it to be wondered at that there should be a heathen party, which from time to time engages in attempts to restore the old abominations. A conspiracy to murder Pomare was formed a few months before his death; the two leaders were executed for it, and more would have suffered the same fate, if the missionaries had not interceded and obtained a mitigation of their punishment. Since his death 'rumours of war have been heard,—very powerful interests,—and, perhaps, some latent feelings of ancient rivalry, have been brought into collision; and the conduct of some in the highest authority has not been at all times the most honourable or conciliatory.' This is in Tahiti. 'In the Leeward islands, also, reports of war and warlike preparation have appeared.' The chieftain of Tahan is spoken of as bold and warlike; and we are told of restless spirits among the inhabitants of Borabora, formerly celebrated for their valour, and masters of most of the Leeward group. Now, as the missionaries have practically as well as in principle admitted the lawfulness of war when it becomes necessary, they should beware (even were there no such rumours to admonish them) how they unfit their converts for it; and this they are in some danger of doing, as well as of giving them a distaste for the system under which they are living. 'To throw the spear, and to aim at a mark with the sling used to be among the sports of these islanders; the adults do not appear to have thought of following these or any other games since Christianity has been introduced among them. . . . With the exception of one or two, they have all been discontinued, especially among the adults, and the number of those followed by the children is greatly diminished. This,' says Mr. Ellis, 'is, on no account, matter of regret. When we consider the debasing tendency of many, and the inutility of others, we shall rather rejoice that much of the time of the adults is passed in more rational and beneficial pursuits. Few, if any of these, are so sedentary in their habits as to need these amusements as a means of exercise; and they are



are not accustomed to apply so closely to any of their avocations as to require them merely for relaxation.'

We have here no room for showing that this opinion of the missionaries, as far as influences general manners, must be prejudicial any where, and especially so among a people so circumstanced as these recent converts. Can it be doubted that to the great mass of mankind all such adjuncts of religion as are harmless must be healthful? 'It seems,' says Michaelis, 'to have been one of the great objects of the Mosaic polity, that every individual, without exception, should occasionally taste the pleasures of life.' The religious festivals of the Jews, therefore, were festivals in the true sense of the word,—insomuch as to have given occasion to Plutarch's preposterous notion, that their religion was but another form of the worship of Bacchus! There is as little reason that Christianity should wear the sour and sullen aspect of puritanism, as that it should be corrupted by the mummeries and license of popery. A whole people can never be made so wholly intellectual as not to need innocent amusements, which are as wholesome for the mind as fresh air and exercise for the body. More than this; the disuse of martial sports in these islands brings with it a serious danger, not only from the pagan party, which, for one generation at least, ought to be regarded,—but from other islanders, and even from freebooters, as well as from European and American vessels, some of which are likely enough to act as freebooters, when tempting opportunity invites them. The more industrious, the more prosperous they become, the more will they be exposed to these dangers, if they become an unwarlike,—that is to say,—a defenceless people. They will be to the cannibal nations of Polynesia what the milder West Indians were to those Caribs or Canibas, from whom the word cannibal is derived.

As the missionaries desire that the great good which they have done should be rendered permanent, it behoves them to provide that the whole population of these islands be trained for defensive war;—to give religion a cheerful and attractive aspect, by uniting joyous ceremonies with Christian observances;—to strengthen the government instead of weakening it; and to procure for their church the best human security that can be obtained, by connecting it with the state.

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ART. II.—*A Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada, from the MSS. of Fray Antonio Agapida.* By Washington Irving. London. 2 vols. post 8vo. 1829.

**T**HERE are a few places scattered about this 'working-day world' which seem to be elevated above its dull prosaic level, and to be clothed with the magic lights and tints of poetry. They possess a charmed name, the very mention of which, as if by fairy power, conjures up splendid scenes and pageants of the past; summons from 'death's dateless night' the shadows of the great and good, the brave and beautiful, and fills the mind with visions of departed glory. Such is pre-eminently the case with Granada, one of the most classical names in the history of latter ages. The very nature of the country and the climate contributes to bewitch the fancy. The Moors, we are told, while in possession of the land, had wrought it up to a wonderful degree of prosperity. The hills were clothed with orchards and vineyards, the valleys embroidered with gardens, and the plains covered with waving grain. Here were seen in profusion the orange, the citron, the fig, the pomegranate, and the silk-producing mulberry. The vine clambered from tree to tree, the grapes hung in rich clusters about the peasant's cottage, and the groves were rejoiced by the perpetual song of the nightingale. In a word, so beautiful was the earth, so pure the air, and so serene the sky of this delicious region, that the Moors imagined the paradise of their prophet to be situate in that part of the heaven which overhung their kingdom of Granada.

But what has most contributed to impart to Granada a great and permanent interest, is the ten years' war of which it was the scene, and which closed the splendid drama of Moslem domination in Spain. For nearly eight centuries had the Spaniards been recovering, piece by piece, and by dint of the sword, that territory which had been wrested from them by their Arab invaders in little more than as many months. The kingdom of Granada was the last strong hold of Moorish power, and the favourite abode of Moorish luxury. The final struggle for it was maintained with desperate valour; and the compact nature of the country, hemmed in by the ocean and by lofty mountains, and the continual recurrence of the names of the same monarchs and commanders throughout the war, give to it a peculiar distinctness, and an almost epic unity.

But though this memorable war had often been made the subject of romantic fiction, and though the very name possessed a spell upon the imagination, yet it had never been fully and distinctly

tinctly treated. The world at large had been content to receive a strangely perverted idea of it, through Florian's romance of 'Gonsalvo of Cordova;' or through the legend, equally fabulous, entitled 'The Civil Wars of Granada,' by Ginez Perez de la Hita, the pretended work of an Arabian contemporary, but in reality a Spanish fabrication.\* It had been woven over with love tales and scenes of sentimental gallantry, totally opposite to its real character; for it was, in truth, one of the sternest of those iron contests which have been sanctified by the title of 'holy wars.' In fact, the genuine nature of the war placed it far above the need of any amatory embellishments. It possessed sufficient interest in the striking contrast presented by the combatants, of Oriental and European creeds, costumes, and manners; and in the hardy and hair-brained enterprises, the romantic adventures, the picturesque forages through mountain regions, the daring assaults and surprisals of cliff-built castles and cragged fortresses, which succeeded each other with a variety and brilliancy beyond the scope of mere invention.

The time of the contest also contributed to heighten the interest. It was not long after the invention of gunpowder, when fire-arms and artillery mingled the flash, smoke, and thunder of modern warfare with the steely splendour of ancient chivalry, and gave an awful magnificence and terrible sublimity to battle; and when the old Moorish towers and castles, that for ages had frowned defiance to the battering-rams and catapults of classic tactics, were toppled down by the lombards of the Spanish engineers. It was one of those cases in which history rises superior to fiction. The author seems to have been satisfied of this fact, by the manner in which he has constructed the present work. The idea of it, we are told, was suggested to him, while in Spain, occupied upon his History of the Life and Voyages of Columbus. The application of the great navigator to the Spanish sovereigns, for patronage to his project of discovery, was made during their crusade against the Moors of Granada, and continued throughout the residue of that war. Columbus followed the court in several of its campaigns, mingled occasionally in the contest, and was actually present at the grand catastrophe of the enterprise, the surrender of the metropolis. The researches of Mr. Irving, in tracing the movements of his hero,

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\* The following censure on the work of La Hita is passed by old Padre Echevarría, in his '*Paseos por Granada*,' or '*Walks through Granada*.' '*Esta es una historia toda fabulosa, cuyo autor se ignora, por mas que corra con el nombre de alguno, lleva de cuentos y quimeras, en la que apenas si hallarán seis verdades, y estas desfiguradas.*' Such is the true character of a work which has hitherto served as a fountain of historic fact concerning the conquest of Granada.



led him to the various chronicles of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. He became deeply interested in the details of the war, and was induced, while collecting materials for the biography he had in hand, to make preparation also for the present history. He subsequently made a tour in Andalusia, visited the ruins of the Moorish towns, fortresses, and castles, and the wild mountain passes and defiles which had been the scenes of the most remarkable events of the war; and passed some time in the ancient palace of the Alhambra, the once favourite abode of the Moorish monarchs in Granada. It was then, while his mind was still excited by the romantic scenery around him, and by the chivalrous and poetical associations which throw a moral interest over every feature of Spanish landscape, that he completed these volumes.

His great object appears to have been, to produce a complete and authentic body of facts relative to the war in question, but arranged in such a manner as to be attractive to the reader for mere amusement. He has, therefore, diligently sought for his materials among the ancient chronicles, both printed and in manuscript, which were written at the time by eye-witnesses, and, in some instances, by persons who had actually mingled in the scenes recorded. These chronicles were often diffuse and tedious, and occasionally discoloured by the bigotry, superstition, and fierce intolerance of the age; but their pages were illumined, at times, with scenes of high emprise, of romantic generosity, and heroic valour, which flashed upon the reader with additional splendour, from the surrounding darkness. It has been the study of the author, to bring forth these scenes in their strongest light; to arrange them in clear and lucid order; to give them somewhat of a graphic effect, by connecting them with the manners and customs of the age in which they occurred, and with the splendid scenery amidst which they took place; and thus, while he preserved the truth and chronological order of events, to impart a more impressive and entertaining character to his narrative, than regular histories are accustomed to possess. By these means his chronicle, at times, wears almost the air of romance; yet the story is authenticated by frequent reference to existing documents, proving that he has substantial foundation for his most extraordinary incidents.

There is, however, another circumstance, by which Mr. Irving has more seriously impaired the *ex-facie* credibility of his narrative. He has professed to derive his materials from the manuscripts of an ancient Spanish monk, Fray Antonio Agapida, whose historical productions are represented as existing in disjointed fragments, in the archives of the Escorial and other conventual libraries.

libraries. He often quotes the very words of the venerable friar ; particularly when he bursts forth in exaggerated praises of the selfish policy or bigot zeal of Ferdinand ; or chaunts, ‘ with pious exultation, the united triumphs of the cross and the sword.’ This friar is manifestly a mere fiction—a stalking-horse, from behind which the author launches his satire at the intolerance of that persecuting age, and at the errors, the inconsistencies, and the self-delusions of the singular medley of warriors, saints, politicians, and adventurers engaged in that holy war. Fray Antonio, however, may be considered as an incarnation of the blind bigotry and zealot extravagance of the ‘ good old orthodox Spanish chroniclers ;’ and, in fact, his exaggerated sallies of loyalty and religion are taken, almost word for word, from the works of some one or other of the monkish historians. Still, though this fictitious personage has enabled the author to indulge his satirical vein at once more freely and more modestly, and has diffused over his page something of the quaintness of the cloister, and the tint of the country and the period, the use of such machinery has thrown a doubt upon the absolute verity of his history ; and it will take some time, before the general mass of readers become convinced that the pretended manuscript of Fray Antonio Agapida is, in truth, a faithful digest of actual documents.

The chronicle opens with the arrival of a Spanish cavalier at Granada, with a demand of arrears of tribute, on the part of Ferdinand and Isabella, from Muley Aben Hassan, the Moorish king. This measure is well understood to have been a crafty device of Ferdinand. The tribute had become obsolete, and he knew it would be indignantly refused ; but he had set his heart on driving the Moors out of their last Spanish dominions, and he now sought a cause of quarrel.

‘ Muley Aben Hassan received the cavalier in state, seated on a magnificent divan, and surrounded by the officers of his court, in the hall of ambassadors, one of the most sumptuous apartments of the Alhambra. When De Vera had delivered his message, a haughty and bitter smile curled the lip of the fierce monarch. “ Tell your sovereigns,” said he, “ that the kings of Granada who used to pay tribute in money to the Castilian crown, are dead. Our mint at present coins nothing but blades of scimitars and heads of lances.” ’—vol. i. p. 10.

The fiery old Moslem had here given a very tolerable pretext for immediate war ; yet King Ferdinand forbore to strike the blow. He was just then engaged in a contest with Portugal, the cause of which Mr. Irving leaves unnoticed, as irrelevant to his subject. It is, however, a curious morsel of history, involving the singular  
and

and romantic fortunes of the Fair Juana of Castile, by many considered the rightful heir to the crown. It is illustrative, also, of the manners of the age of which this chronicle peculiarly treats, and of the character and policy of the Spanish sovereign who figures throughout its pages; a brief notice of it, therefore, may not be unacceptable.

Henry IV. of Castile, one of the most imbecile of kings and credulous of husbands, had lived for five years in sterile wedlock with his queen, a gay and buxom princess of Portugal, when, at length, she rejoiced him by the birth of the Infanta Juana. The horn of the king was, of course, exalted on this happy occasion, but the whisper was diligently circulated about the court, that he was indebted for the tardy honours of paternity to the good offices of Don Beltran de Cuevas, Count of Ledesma, a youthful and gallant cavalier, who had enjoyed the peculiar favour and intimacy of the queen. The story soon took wind, and became a theme of popular clamour. Henry, however, with the good easy faith, or passive acquiescence of an imbecile mind, continued to love and honour his queen, and to lavish favours on her paramour, whom he advanced in rank, making him his prime minister, and giving him the title of Duke of Albuquerque. Such blind credulity is not permitted, in this troublesome world, to kings more than to common men. The public were furious; civil commotions took place; Henry was transiently deposed, and was only reinstated in his royal dignity, on signing a treaty, by which he divorced his wife, disowned her child, and promised to send them both to Portugal. His connubial faith ultimately revived, in defiance of every trial, and on his death-bed he recognized the Infanta Juana as his daughter and legitimate successor. The public, however, who will not allow even kings to be infallible judges in cases of the kind, persisted in asserting the illegitimacy of the Infanta; and gave her the name of *La Beltranaja*, in allusion to her supposed father, Don Beltran.\* No judicial investigation took place, but the question was decided as a point of faith, or a notorious fact; and the youthful princess, though of great beauty and merit, was set aside, and the crown adjudged to her father's sister, the renowned Isabella.

It should be observed, however, that the charge of illegitimacy is maintained principally by Spanish writers; the Portuguese historians reject it as a calumny. Even the classic Mariana expresses an idea that it might have been an invention or exaggeration, founded on the weakness of Henry IV. and the amorous

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\* Pulgar, Chron. de los Reyes Catolicos, c. 1., note A.



temperament of his queen,\* and artfully devised to favour the views of the crafty Ferdinand, who laid claim to the crown as the rightful inheritance of his spouse, Isabella.

Young, beautiful, and unfortunate, the discarded princess was not long in want of a champion in that heroic age. Her mother's brother, the brave Alonzo V. of Portugal, surnamed *el Lidiador*, or the Combatant, from his exploits against the Moors of Africa, stepped forward as her vindicator, and marched into Spain at the head of a gallant army, to place her on the throne. He asked her hand in marriage, and it was yielded. The espousals were publicly solemnised at Placentia, but were not consummated, the consanguinity of the parties obliging them to wait for a dispensation from the Pope.

All the southern provinces of Castile, with a part of Galicia, declared in favour of Juana, and town after town yielded to the arms or the persuasion of Alonzo, as he advanced. The majority of the kingdom, however, rallied round the standard of Ferdinand and Isabella. The latter assembled their warrior nobles at Valladolid, and amidst the chivalrous throng that appeared glittering in arms, was Don Beltran, Duke of Albuquerque, the surmised father of Juana. His predicament was singular and delicate. If, in truth, the father of Juana, natural affection called upon him to support her interests: if she were not his child, then she had an unquestionable right to the crown, and it was his duty, as a true cavalier, to support her claim. It is even said that he had pledged himself to Alonzo, to stand forth in loyal adherence to the virgin queen; but when he saw the array of mailed warriors and powerful nobles that thronged round Ferdinand and Isabella, he trembled for his great estates, and tacitly mingled with the crowd†. The gallant inroad of Alonzo into Spain was attended with many vicissitudes; he could not maintain his footing against the superior force of Ferdinand, and being defeated in a decisive battle, between Zamora and Toro, was obliged to retire from Castile. He conducted his beautiful and yet virgin bride into Portugal, where she was received as queen with great acclamations. There leaving her in security, he repaired to France, to seek assistance from Louis XI. During this absence, Pope Sixtus IV. granted the dispensation for his marriage. It was cautiously worded, and secretly given, that it might escape the knowledge of Ferdinand, until carried into effect. It authorized the king of Portugal to marry any relative not allied to him in the first degree of consanguinity, but avoided naming the bride.‡

\* Mariana, lib. xxii., c. 20.

† Pulgar, part ii., cap. xxii.

‡ Zurita, Annales.

The negociation of Alonzo at the court of France was protracted during many weary months, and was finally defeated by the superior address of Ferdinand. He returned to Portugal, to forget his vexations in the arms of his blooming bride; but even here he was again disappointed by the crafty intrigues of his rival. The pliant pontiff had been prevailed upon to issue a patent bull, overruling his previous dispensation, as having been obtained without naming both of the persons to be united in marriage, and as having proved the cause of wars and bloodshed.\* The royal pair were thus obliged to meet in the relations of uncle and niece, instead of husband and wife.† Peace was finally negociated by the intervention of friends, on the condition that Donna Juana should either take the veil and become a nun, or should be wedded to Don Juan, the infant son and heir of Ferdinand and Isabella, as soon as he should arrive at a marriageable age. This singular condition, which would place her on the throne from which she had been excluded, has been adduced as a proof of her legitimate right.

Alonzo V. was furious, and rejected the treaty; but Donna Juana shrunk from being any longer the cause of war and bloodshed, and determined to devote herself to celibacy and religion. All the entreaties of the king were of no avail: she took the irrevocable vows, and, exchanging her royal robes for the humble habit of a Franciscan nun, entered the convent of Santa Clara, with all the customary solemnities; not having yet completed her nineteenth year, and having been four years a virgin wife. All authors concur in giving her a most amiable and exemplary character; and Garibay says ‘she was named, for her virtues, *La Excellenta*, and left a noble example to the world. Her retirement,’ he adds, ‘occasioned great affliction to King Alonzo,’ and grief to many others, who beheld so exquisite a lady reduced to such great humility.†

The king, in a transport of tender melancholy, took a sudden resolution, characteristic of that age, when love and chivalry and religion were strangely intermingled. Leaving his capital on a feigned pretence, he repaired to a distant city, and there, laying aside his royal state, set forth on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, attended merely by a chaplain and two grooms. He had determined to renounce the pomp, and glories, and vanities of the world; and, after humbling himself at the holy sepulchre, to devote himself to a religious life. He sent back one of his attendants with letters, in which he took a tender leave of Donna Juana, and directed his son to assume the crown. His letters threw the court into great affliction; his son was placed on the throne, but several of

\* Zurita. *M*

† Garibay, *Compend. Hist.*, lib. xxxv., cap. 19.

the ancient courtiers set out in pursuit of the pilgrim king. They overtook him far on his journey, and prevailed on him to return and resume his sceptre, which was dutifully resigned to him by his son. Still restless and melancholy, Alonzo afterwards undertook a crusade for the recovery of the holy sepulchre, and proceeded to Italy with a fleet and army; but was discouraged from the enterprise by the coldness of Pope Pius II. He then returned to Portugal; and his love melancholy reviving in the vicinity of Donna Juana, he determined, out of a kind of romantic sympathy, to imitate her example, and to take the habit of St. Francis. His sadness and depression, however, increased to such a degree as to overwhelm his forces, and he died, in 1481, at Cintra, in the chamber in which he was born.\*

We cannot close the brief record of this romantic story without noticing the subsequent fortunes of Donna Juana. She resided in the monastery of Santa Anna, with the seclusion of a nun, but the state of a princess. The fame of her beauty and her worth drew suitors to the cloisters; and her hand was solicited by the youthful king of Navarre, Don Francisco Phebus, surnamed the Handsome. His courtship, however, was cut short by his sudden death, in 1483, which was surmised to have been caused by poison.† For six-and-twenty years did the royal nun continue shut up in holy seclusion from the world. The desire of youth and the pride of beauty had long passed away, when suddenly, in 1505, Ferdinand himself, her ancient enemy, the cause of all her sorrows and disappointments, appeared as a suitor for her hand. His own illustrious queen, the renowned Isabella, was dead, and had bequeathed her hereditary crown of Castile to their daughter, for whose husband, Philip I., he had a jealous aversion. It was supposed that the crafty and ambitious monarch intended, after marrying Juana, to revive her claim to that throne, from which his own hostility had excluded her. His conduct in this instance is another circumstance strongly in favour of the lawful right of Juana to the crown of Castile. The vanity of the world, however, was dead in the tranquil bosom of the princess, and the grandeur of a throne had no longer attraction in her eyes. She rejected the suit of the most politic and perfidious of monarchs; and, continuing faithful to her vows, passed the remainder of her days in the convent of Santa Anna, where she died in all the odour of holiness, and of immaculate and thrice-proved virginity, which had passed unscorched even through the fiery ordeal of matrimony.

To return to Mr. Irving's narrative.—Ferdinand having suc-

\* Faria y Sousa, *Hist. Portugal.*, p. iii. cap. xiii.

† Abarcha, *Reyes de Aragon*, Rey 80, cap. 2.



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 cessfully terminated the war with Portugal, and seated himself and Isabella firmly on the throne of Castile, turned his attention to his contemplated project—the conquest of Granada. His plan of operations was characteristic of his cautious and crafty nature. He determined to proceed step by step, taking town after town, and fortress after fortress, before he attempted the Moorish capital. ‘I will pick out the seeds of this pomegranate one by one,’ said the wary monarch, in allusion to Granada,—the Spanish name both for the kingdom and the fruit. The intention of the Catholic sovereign did not escape the eagle eye of old Muley Aben Hassan. Being, however, possessed of great treasures, and having placed his territories in a warlike posture, and drawn auxiliary troops from his allies, the princes of Barbary, he felt confident in his means of resistance. His subjects were fierce of spirit, and stout of heart—inured to the exercises of war, and patient of fatigue, hunger, thirst, and nakedness. Above all, they were dexterous horsemen, whether heavily armed and fully appointed, or lightly mounted, *a la geneta*, with merely lance and target. Adroit in all kinds of stratagems, impetuous in attack, quick to disperse, prompt to rally and to return like a whirlwind to the charge, they were considered the best of troops for daring inroads, sudden scourings, and all kinds of partisan warfare. In fact, they have bequeathed their wild and predatory spirit to Spain; and her bandaleros, her contrabandistas, and her guerrillas, her marauders of the mountain, and scamperers of the plain, may all be traced back to the belligerent era of the Moors.

The truce which had existed between the Catholic sovereign and the king of Granada contained a singular clause, characteristic of the wary and dangerous situation of the two neighbouring nations, with respect to each other. It permitted either party to make sudden inroads and assaults upon towns and fortresses, provided they were done furtively and by stratagem, without display of banner or sound of trumpet, or regular encampment, and that they did not last above three days. This gave rise to frequent enterprises of a hardy and adventurous character, in which castles and strong-holds were taken by surprise, and carried sword in hand. Monuments of these border scourings, and the jealous watchfulness awakened by them, may still be seen by the traveller in every part of Spain, but particularly in Andalusia. The mountains which formed the barriers of the Christian and Moslem territories are still crested with ruined watch towers, where the helmed and turbaned sentinels kept a look-out on the Vega of Granada, or the plains of the Guadalquivir. Every rugged pass has its dismantled fortress, and every town and village,

village, and even hamlet, of mountain or valley, its strong tower of defence. Even on the beautiful little stream of the Guadaya, which now winds peacefully among flowery banks and groves of myrtles and oranges, to throw itself into the Guadalquivir, the Moorish mills, which have studded its borders for centuries, have each its battlemented tower, where the miller and his family could take refuge until the foray which swept the plains, and made hasty sack and plunder in its career, had passed away. Such was the situation of Moor and Spaniard in those days, when the sword and spear hung ready on the wall of every cottage, and the humblest toils of husbandry were performed with the weapon close at hand.

The outbreking of the war of Granada is in keeping with this picture. The fierce old king, Muley Aben Hassan, had determined to anticipate his adversary, and strike the first blow. The fortress of Zahara was the object of his attack; and the description of it may serve for that of many of those old warrior towns which remain from the time of the Moors, built, like eagle nests, among the wild mountains of Andalusia.

'This important post was on the frontier, between Ronda and Medina Sidonia, and was built on the crest of a rocky mountain, with a strong castle perched above it, upon a cliff so high that it was said to be above the flight of birds or drift of clouds. The streets, and many of the houses, were mere excavations, wrought out of the living rock. The town had but one gate, opening to the west, and defended by towers and bulwarks. The only ascent to this cragged fortress was by roads cut in the rock, and so ragged as in many places to resemble broken stairs. Such was the situation of the mountain fortress of Zahara, which seemed to set all attack at defiance, inasmuch that it had become so proverbial throughout Spain, that a woman of forbidding and inaccessible virtue was called a Zahareña. But the strongest fortress and sternest virtue have their weak points, and require unremitting vigilance to guard them: let warrior and dame take warning from the fate of Zahara.'

Muley Aben Hassan made a midnight attack upon this fortress during a howling wintry storm, which had driven the very sentinels from their posts. He scaled the walls, and gained possession of both town and castle before the garrison were roused to arms. Such of the inhabitants as made resistance were cut down, the rest were taken prisoners, and driven, men, women, and children, like a herd of cattle to Granada.

The capture of Zahara was as an electric shock to the chivalry of Spain. Among those roused to action was Don Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, Marquis of Cadiz, who is worthy of particular notice as being the real hero of the war. Florian has assigned this honour, in his historical romance, to Gonsalvo of Cordova, surnamed

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surnamed the Great Captain, who, in fact, performed but an inferior part in these campaigns. It was in the subsequent war of Italy that he acquired his high renown. Rodrigo Ponce de Leon is a complete exemplification of the Spanish cavalier of the olden time. Temperate, chaste, vigilant, and valorous; kind to his vassals; frank toward his equals, faithful and loving to his friends, terrible yet magnanimous to his enemies; contemporary historians extol him as the mirror of chivalry, and compare him to the immortal Cid. His ample possessions extended over the most fertile parts of Andalusia, including many towns and fortresses. A host of retainers, ready to follow him to danger or to death, fed in his castle hall, which waved with banners taken from the Moors. His armouries glittered with helms and cuirasses, and weapons of all kinds, ready burnished for use, and his stables were filled with hardy steeds, trained to a mountain scamper. This ready preparation arose not merely from his residence on the Moorish border: he had a formidable foe near at hand, in Juan de Guzman, Duke of Medina Sidonia, one of the most wealthy of Spanish nobles. We shall notice one or two particulars of his earlier life, which our author has omitted, as not within the scope of his chronicle, but which would have given additional interest to some of its scenes. An hereditary feud subsisted between these two noblemen; and as Ferdinand and Isabella had not yet succeeded in their plan of reducing the independent and dangerous power of the nobles of Spain, the whole province of Andalusia was convulsed by their strife. They waged war against each other like sovereign princes, regarding neither the authority of the crown nor the welfare of the country. Every fortress and castle became a strong hold of their partisans, and a kind of club law prevailed over the land, like the *rust recht* once exercised by the robber counts of Germany. The sufferings of the province awakened the solicitude of Isabella, and brought her to Seville, where, seated on a throne in a grand hall of the Alcazar or Moorish palace, she held an open audience to receive petitions and complaints. The nobles of the province hastened to do her homage. The Marquis of Cadiz alone did not appear. The Duke of Medina Sidonia accused him of having been treasonably in the interest of Portugal, in the late war of the succession; of exercising tyrannical sway over certain royal domains; of harassing the subjects of the crown with his predatory bands, and keeping himself aloof in warlike defiance, in his fortified city of Xeres. The continued absence of the marquis countenanced these charges, and they were reiterated by the relations and dependents of the duke, who thronged and controlled the ancient city of Seville. The indignation of the queen was roused, and she determined to reduce the



the supposed rebel by force of arms. Tidings of these events were conveyed to Ponce de Leon, and roused him to vindicate his honour with frankness and decision. He instantly set off from Xeres, attended by a single servant. Spurring across the country, and traversing the hostile city, he entered the palace by a private portal, and penetrating to the apartment of the queen, presented himself suddenly before her.

‘Behold me here, most potent sovereign!’ exclaimed he, ‘to answer any charge in person. I come not to accuse others, but to vindicate myself; not to deal in words, but in deeds. It is said that I hold Xeres and Alcala fortified and garrisoned, in defiance of your authority: send and take possession of them, for they are yours. Do you require my patrimonial hereditaments? From this chamber I will direct their surrender; and here I deliver up my very person into your power. As to the other charges, let investigation be made; and if I stand not clear and loyal, impose on me whatever pain or penalty you may think proper to inflict.’\*

Isabella saw in the intrepid frankness of the Marquis strong proof of innocence, and declared, that had she thought him guilty, his gallant confidence would have insured her clemency. She took possession of the fortresses surrendered, but caused the Duke to give up equally his military posts, and to free Seville from these distracting contests, ordered either chief to dwell on his estate. Such was the feud betwixt these rival nobles at the time when the old Moorish king captured and sacked Zahara.

The news of this event stirred up the warrior spirit of Ponce de Leon to retaliation. He sent out his scouts, and soon learnt that the town of Alhama was assailable. ‘This was a large, wealthy, and populous place, which, from its strong position on a rocky height, within a few leagues of the Moorish capital, had acquired the appellation of the “Key of Granada.”’ The marquis held conference with the most important commanders of Andalusia, excepting the Duke of Medina Sidonia, his deadly foe, and concerted a secret march through the mountain passes to Alhama, which he surprised and carried. We forbear to follow the author in his detail of this wild and perilous enterprise, the success of which struck deep consternation in the Moors of Granada. The exclamation of ‘Ay de mi, Alhama!—Wo is me, Alhama!’ was in every mouth. It has become the burthen of a mournful Spanish ballad, supposed of Moorish origin, which has been translated by Lord Byron.

The Marquis of Cadiz and his gallant companions, now in possession of Alhama, were but a handful of men, in the heart

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\* Pulgar, c. lxx., &c.

of an enemy's country, and were surrounded by a powerful army, led by the fierce King of Granada. They despatched messengers to Seville and Cordova, describing their perilous situation, and imploring aid. Nothing could equal the anguish of the Marchioness of Cadiz on hearing of the danger of her lord. She looked round in her deep distress for some powerful noble, competent to raise the force requisite for his deliverance. No one was so competent as the Duke of Medina Sidonia. To many, however, he would have seemed the last person to whom to apply; but she judged of him by her own high and generous mind, and did not hesitate. The event showed how well noble spirits understand each other.

‘He immediately despatched a courteous letter to the marchioness, assuring her, that, in consideration of the request of so honourable and estimable a lady, and to rescue from peril so valiant a cavalier as her husband, whose loss would be great, not only to Spain, but to all Christendom, he would forego the recollection of all past grievances, and hasten to his relief. The duke wrote at the same time to the alcaides of his towns and fortresses, ordering them to join him forthwith at Seville, with all the force they could spare from their garrisons. He called on all the chivalry of Andalusia to make a common cause in the rescue of those Christian cavaliers; and he offered large pay to all volunteers who would resort to him with horses, armour, and provisions. Thus all who could be incited by honour, religion, patriotism, or thirst of gain, were induced to hasten to his standard; and he took the field with an army of five thousand horse and fifty thousand foot.’

Ferdinand was in church at Medina del Campo when he heard of the achievement and the peril of his gallant cavaliers, and set out instantly to aid in person in their rescue. He wrote to the Duke of Medina Sidonia to pause for him on the frontier; but it was a case of life and death: the duke left a message to that effect for his sovereign, and pressed on his unceasing march. He arrived just in time, when the garrison, reduced to extremity by incessant skirmishes and assaults, and the want of water, and resembling skeletons rather than living men, were on the point of falling into the hands of the enemy. Muley Aben Hassan, who commanded the siege in person, tore his beard when his scouts brought him word of their arrival.

‘They had seen from the heights the long columns and flaunting banners of the Christian army approaching through the mountains. To linger would be to place himself between two bodies of the enemy. Breaking up his camp, therefore, in all haste, he gave up the siege of Alhama, and hastened back to Granada; and the last clash of his cymbals scarce died upon the ear from the distant hills, before the standard of the Duke of Medina Sidonia was seen emerging in another

ther direction from the defiles of the mountains. . . . It was a noble and gracious sight to behold the meeting of those two ancient foes, the Duke of Medina Sidonia and the Marquis of Cadiz. When the marquis beheld his magnanimous deliverer approaching, he melted into tears: all past animosities only gave the greater poignancy to present feelings of gratitude and admiration; they clasped each other in their arms; and, from that time forward, were true and cordial friends.'

Having duly illustrated these instances of chivalrous hardihood and noble magnanimity, the author shifts his scene from the Christian camp to the Moslem hall, and gives us a peep into the interior of the Alhambra, and the domestic policy of the Moorish monarchs. The old King of Granada was perplexed, not merely with foreign wars, but with family feuds, and seems to have evinced a kind of tiger character in both. He had several wives, two of whom were considered as sultanas, or queens. One, named Ayxa, was of Moorish origin, and surnamed *La Horra*, or *The Chaste*, from the purity of her manners. Fatima, the other, had been originally a Christian captive, and was called, from her beauty, *Zoroya*, or *The Light of Dawn*. The former had given birth to his eldest son, Abdalla, or Boabdil, commonly called *El Chico*, or *the Younger*; and the latter had brought him two sons. Zoroya abused the influence that her youth and beauty gave her over the hoary monarch, inducing him to repudiate the virtuous Ayxa, and exciting his suspicions against Boabdil to such a degree, that he determined upon his death. It was the object of Zoroya, by these flagitious means, to secure the succession for one of her own children.

'The sultana Ayxa was secretly apprized of the cruel design of the old monarch. She was a woman of talents and courage, and, by means of her female attendants, concerted a plan for the escape of her son. A faithful servant was instructed to wait below the Alhambra, in the dead of the night, on the banks of the river Darro, with a fleet Arabian courser. The sultana, when the castle was in a state of deep repose, tied together the shawls and scarfs of herself and her female attendants, and lowered the youthful prince from the tower of Comares. He made his way in safety down the steep rocky hill to the banks of the Darro, and, throwing himself on the Arabian courser, was thus spirited off to the city of Guadix. Here he lay for some time concealed, until, gaining adherents, he fortified himself in the place, and set his tyrant father at defiance. Such was the commencement of those internal feuds which hastened the downfall of Granada. The Moors became separated into two hostile factions, headed by the father and the son, and several bloody encounters took place between them; yet they never failed to act with all their separate force against the Christians, as a common enemy.'

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It is proper, in this place, to remark, that the present chronicle gives an entirely different character to Boabdil from that by which he is usually described. It says nothing of his alleged massacre of the Abencerrages, nor of the romantic story of his jealous persecution and condemnation of his queen, and her vindication in combat by Christian knights. The massacre, in fact, if it really did take place, was the deed of his tiger-hearted father; the story of the queen is not to be found in any contemporary chronicle, either Spanish or Arabian, and is considered by Mr. Irving as a mere fabrication. Boabdil appears to have been sometimes rash, at other times irresolute, but never cruel.

As a specimen of the predatory war that prevailed about the borders, we would fain make some extracts from a foray of the old Moorish king into the lands of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who had foiled him before Alhama; but this our limits forbid. It ends triumphantly for Muley Hassen; and Boabdil el Chico, in consequence, found it requisite for his popularity to strike some signal blow that might eclipse the brilliant exploits of the rival king, his father. He was in the flower of his age, and renowned at joust and tourney, but as yet unproved in the field of battle. He was encouraged to make a daring inroad into the Christian territories by the father of his favourite sultana, Ali Atar, alcayde of Loxa, a veteran warrior, ninety years of age, whose name was the terror of the borders.

‘Boabdil assembled a brilliant army of nine thousand foot and seven hundred horse, comprising the most illustrious and valiant of the Moorish chivalry. His mother, the Sultana Ayxa La Horra, armed him for the field, and gave him her benediction as she girded his cimetar to his side. His favourite wife, Morayma, wept, as she thought of the evils that might befall him. “Why dost thou weep, daughter of Ali Atar?” said the high-minded Ayxa; “these tears become not the daughter of a warrior, nor the wife of a king. Believe me, there lurks more danger for a monarch within the strong walls of a palace, than within the frail curtains of a tent. It is by perils in the field, that thy husband must purchase security on his throne.” But Morayma still hung upon his neck, with tears and sad forebodings; and when he departed from the Alhambra, she betook herself to her mirador, which looks out over the vega, whence she watched the army as it passed in shining order along the road that leads to Loxa; and every burst of warlike melody that came swelling on the breeze was answered by a gush of sorrow. . . .

‘At Loxa, the royal army was reinforced by old Ali Atar, with the chosen horsemen of his garrison, and many of the bravest warriors of the border towns. The people of Loxa shouted with exultation, when they beheld Ali Atar armed at all points, and once more mounted on his

his Barbary steed, which had often borne him over the borders. The veteran warrior, with nearly a century of years upon his head, had all the fire and animation of a youth at the prospect of a foray, and careered from rank to rank with the velocity of an Arab of the desert. The populace watched the army as it paraded over the bridge, and wound into the passes of the mountains; and still their eyes were fixed upon the pennon of Ali Atar, as if it bore with it an assurance of victory.

The enemy has scarcely had a day's ravage in the Christian land, when the alarm-fires give notice that the Moor is over the border. Our limits do not permit us to give this picture of the sudden rising of a frontier in those times of Moorish inroad. We pass on to the scene of action, when the hardy Count de Cabra came up with the foe, having pressed fearlessly forward at the head of a handful of household troops and retainers.

The Moorish king descried the Spanish forces at a distance, although a slight fog prevented his seeing them distinctly, and ascertaining their numbers. His old father-in-law, Ali Atar, was by his side, who, being a veteran marauder, was well acquainted with all the tandard and armorial bearings of the frontiers. When the king beheld the ancient and long-disused banner of Cabra emerging from the mist, he turned to Ali Atar, and demanded whose ensign it was. The old borderer was for once at a loss, for the banner had not been displayed in battle in his time. "Sire," replied he, after a pause, "I have been considering that standard, but do not know it. It appears to be a dog, which is a device borne by the towns of Baeza and Ubeda. If it be so, all Andalusia is in movement against you; for it is not probable that any single commander or community would venture to attack you. I would advise you, therefore, to retire."

The Count of Cabra, in winding down the hill towards the Moors, found himself on a much lower station than the enemy. He therefore ordered, in all haste, that his standard should be taken back, so as to gain the vantage ground. The Moors, mistaking this for a retreat, rushed impetuously towards the Christians. The latter, having gained the height proposed, charged down upon them at the same moment, with the battle cry of "Santiago!" and, dealing the first blows, laid many of the Moorish cavaliers in the dust.

The Moors, thus checked in their tumultuous assault, were thrown into confusion, and began to give way,—the Christians following hard upon them. Boabdil el Chico endeavoured to rally them. "Hold! hold! for shame!" cried he: "let us not fly, at least until we know our enemy!" The Moorish chivalry were stung by this reproof, and turned to make front, with the valour of men who feel that they are fighting under their monarch's eye. At this moment, Lorenzo de Porres, alcayde of Luque, arrived with fifty horse and one hundred foot, sounding an Italian trumpet from among a copse of oak-trees, which concealed

concealed his force. The quick ear of old Ali Atar caught the note. "That is an Italian trumpet," said he to the king: "the whole world seems in arms against your majesty!" The trumpet of Lorenzo de Porres was answered by that of the Count de Cabra in another direction; and it seemed to the Moors as if they were between two armies. Don Lorenzo, sallying from among the oaks, now charged upon the enemy. The latter did not wait to ascertain the force of this new foe. The confusion, the variety of alarms, the attacks from opposite quarters, the obscurity of the fog, all conspired to deceive them as to the number of their adversaries. Broken and dismayed, they retreated fighting; and nothing but the presence and remonstrances of the king prevented their retreat from becoming a headlong flight.

The skirmishing retreat lasted for about three leagues; but on the banks of the Mingonzalez the route became complete. The result is related by a fugitive from the field.

'The sentinels looked out from the watch-towers of Loxa, along the valley of the Xenil, which passes through the mountains. They looked, to behold the king returning in triumph, at the head of his shining host, laden with the spoil of the unbeliever. They looked, to behold the standard of their warlike idol, the fierce Ali Atar, borne by the chivalry of Loxa, ever foremost in the wars of the border.

'In the evening of the 21st of April, they descried a single horseman, urging his faltering steed along the banks of the river. As he drew near, they perceived, by the flash of arms, that he was a warrior; and, on nearer approach, by the richness of his armour, and the caparison of his steed, they knew him to be a warrior of rank.

'He reached Loxa faint and aghast; his Arabian courser covered with foam, and dust, and blood, panting and staggering with fatigue, and gashed with wounds. Having brought his master in safety, he sank down and died, before the gate of the city. The soldiers at the gate gathered round the cavalier, as he stood, mute and melancholy, by his expiring steed. They knew him to be the gallant Cidi Caleb, nephew of the chief alfaqui of the albaycen of Granada. When the people of Loxa beheld this noble cavalier thus alone, haggard and dejected, their hearts were filled with fearful forebodings.

' "Cavalier," said they, "how fares it with the king and army?" He cast his hand mournfully towards the land of the Christians. "There they lie!" exclaimed he: "the heavens have fallen upon them! all are lost—all dead!"

'Upon this, there was a great cry of consternation among the people, and loud wailings of women; for the flower of the youth of Loxa were with the army. An old Moorish soldier, scarred in many a border battle, stood leaning on his lance by the gateway. "Where is Ali Atar?" demanded he eagerly. "If he still live, the army cannot be lost."

' "I saw his turban cleft by the Christian sword," replied Cidi Caleb. "His body is floating in the Xenil."

'When



‘When the soldier heard these words, he smote his breast, and threw dust upon his head; for he was an old follower of Ali Atar.’

The unfortunate Boabdil was conducted a captive to Vaena, a frontier town among the mountains; and the ruined towers of the old time-worn castle are still pointed out to the traveller in which he was held in honourable durance by the hardy Count de Cabra. Ferdinand at length liberated him, on stipulation of an ample tribute, and vassalage, with military service, to the Castilian crown. It was his policy to divide the Moors, by fomenting a civil war between the two rival kings; and his foresight was justified by the result. The factions of the father and the son broke forth again with redoubled fury, and Moor was armed against Moor, instead of uniting against the common foe.

Muley Aben Hassan became infirm through vexation as well as age, and blindness was added to his other calamities. He had, however, a brother, named Abdalla, but generally called El Zagal, or the Valiant, younger, of course, than himself, yet well stricken in years, who was alike distinguished for cool judgment and fiery courage, and for most of the other qualities which form an able general. This chief, whose martial deeds run through the present history, became the ruler of his brother's realm, and was soon after raised by acclamation to the throne, even before the ancient king's decease, which shortly followed, and not without suspicion of foul play. The civil war, which had commenced between father and son, was kept up between uncle and nephew. The latter, though vacillating and irresolute, was capable of being suddenly aroused to prompt and vigorous measures. The voice of the multitude, changeful as the wind, fluctuated between El Chico and El Zagal, according as either was successful; and, in depicting the frequent, and almost ludicrous, vicissitudes of their power and popularity, the author has indulged a quiet vein of satire, on the capricious mutability of public favour.

The varied and striking scenes of daring foray and mountain maraud, of military pomp and courtly magnificence, which occur throughout the work, make selection difficult. The following extract shows the splendour of a Spanish camp, and the varied chivalry assembled from different Christian powers.

‘Great and glorious was the style with which the catholic sovereigns opened another year's campaign of this eventful war. It was like commencing another act of a stately and heroic drama, where the curtain rises to the inspiring sound of martial melody, and the whole stage glitters with the array of warriors and the pomp of arms. The ancient city of Cordova was the place appointed by the sovereigns for the assemblage of the troops; and, early in the spring of 1486, the fair valley of the Guadalquivir resounded with the shrill blast of trumpet,

pet, and the impatient neighing of the war horse. In this splendid era of Spanish chivalry, there was a rivalry among the nobles, who most should distinguish himself by the splendour of his appearance, and the number and equipments of his feudal followers. . . . Sometimes they passed through the streets of Cordova at night, in cavalcade, with great numbers of lighted torches, the rays of which, falling upon polished armour, and nodding plumes, and silken scarfs, and trappings of golden embroidery, filled all beholders with admiration. But it was not the chivalry of Spain alone, which thronged the streets of Cordova. The fame of this war had spread throughout Christendom: it was considered a kind of crusade; and catholic knights from all parts hastened to signalize themselves in so holy a cause. There were several valiant chevaliers from France, among whom the most distinguished was Gaston du Léon, seneschal of Toulouse. With him came a gallant train, well armed and mounted and decorated with rich surcoats and penaches of feathers. These cavaliers, it is said, eclipsed all others in the light festivities of the court. They were devoted to the fair; but not after the solemn and passionate manner of the Spanish lovers: they were gay, gallant, and joyous in their amours, and captivated by the vivacity of their attacks. They were at first held in light estimation by the grave and stately Spanish knights, until they made themselves to be respected by their wonderful prowess in the field.

‘The most conspicuous of the volunteers, however, who appeared in Cordova on this occasion, was an English knight, of royal connexion. This was the Lord Scales, Earl of Rivers, related to the Queen of England, wife of Henry VII. He had distinguished himself, in the preceding year, at the battle of Bosworth Field, where Henry Tudor, then Earl of Richmond, overcame Richard III. That decisive battle having left the country at peace, the Earl of Rivers, retaining a passion for warlike scenes, repaired to the Castilian court, to keep his arms in exercise in a campaign against the Moors. He brought with him a hundred archers, all dexterous with the long bow and the cloth-yard arrow; also two hundred yeomen, armed cap-à-piè, who fought with pike and battleaxe—men robust of frame, and of prodigious strength. The worthy Padre Fray Antonio Agapida describes this stranger knight and his followers with his accustomed accuracy and minuteness. “This cavalier,” he observes, “was from the island of England, and brought with him a train of his vassals; men who had been hardened in certain civil wars which had raged in their country. They were a comely race of men, but too fair and fresh for warriors; not having the sunburnt, martial hue of our old Castilian soldiery. They were huge feeders, also, and deep carousers; and could not accommodate themselves to the sober diet of our troops, but must fain eat and drink after the manner of their own country. They were often noisy and unruly, also, in their wassail; and their quarter of the camp was prone to be a scene of loud revel and sudden brawl. They were withal of great pride; yet it was not like our in-  
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flammable Spanish pride: they stood not much upon the *pundonor* and high punctilio, and rarely drew the stiletto in their disputes; but their pride was silent and contumelious. Though from a remote and somewhat barbarous island, they yet believed themselves the most perfect men upon earth; and magnified their chieftain, the Lord Scales, beyond the greatest of our grandees. With all this, it must be said of them that they were marvellous good men in the field, dexterous archers, and powerful with the battleaxe. In their great pride and self-will, they always sought to press in the advance, and take the post of danger, trying to outvie our Spanish chivalry. They did not rush forward fiercely, or make a brilliant onset, like the Moorish and Spanish troops, but they went into the fight deliberately, and persisted obstinately, and were slow to find out when they were beaten. Withal, they were much esteemed, yet little liked, by our soldiery, who considered them stanch companions in the field, yet coveted but little fellowship with them in the camp. Their commander, the Lord Scales, was an accomplished cavalier, of gracious and noble presence, and fair speech. It was a marvel to see so much courtesy in a knight brought up so far from our Castilian court. He was much honoured by the king and queen, and found great favour with the fair dames about the court; who, indeed, are rather prone to be pleased with foreign cavaliers. He went always in costly state, attended by pages and esquires, and accompanied by noble young cavaliers of his country, who had enrolled themselves under his banner, to learn the gentle exercise of arms. In all pageants and festivals, the eyes of the populace were attracted by the singular bearing and rich array of the English earl and his train, who prided themselves in always appearing in the garb and manner of their country; and were, indeed, something very magnificent, delectable, and strange to behold."

Ferdinand led this gallant army to besiege Loxa, a powerful city on the Moorish frontier, before which he had formerly been foiled. The assault was made in open day, by a detachment which had been thrown in the advance, and which was bravely and fiercely met and repelled by the Moors.

'At this critical juncture, King Ferdinand emerged from the mountains with the main body of the army, and advanced to an eminence commanding a full view of the field of action. By his side was the noble English cavalier, the Earl of Rivers. This was the first time he had witnessed a scene of Moorish warfare. He looked with eager interest at the chance-medley fight before him—the wild career of cavalry, the irregular and tumultuous rush of infantry, and Christian helm and Moorish turban intermingling in deadly struggle. His high blood mounted at the sight; and his very soul was stirred within him, by the confused war-cries, the clangour of drums and trumpets, and the reports of arquebuses, that came echoing up the mountains. Seeing the king was sending a reinforcement to the field, he entreated permission to mingle in the affray, and fight according to the fashion of his country. His request being granted, he alighted from his steed.

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He was merely armed *en blanco*; that is to say, with morion, back-piece, and breastplate; his sword was girded by his side, and in his hand he wielded a powerful battleaxe. He was followed by a body of his yeomen, armed in like manner, and by a band of archers, with bows made of the tough English yew-tree. The earl turned to his troops, and addressed them briefly and bluntly, according to the manner of his country. "Remember, my merry men all," said he, "the eyes of strangers are upon you; you are in a foreign land, fighting for the glory of God and the honour of merry old England!" A loud shout was the reply. The earl waved his battleaxe over his head. "St George for England!" cried he; and, to the inspiring sound of this old English war-cry, he and his followers rushed down to the battle, with manly and courageous hearts.

'The Moors were confounded by the fury of these assaults, and gradually fell back upon the bridge: the Christians followed up their advantage, and drove them over it tumultuously. The Moors retreated into the suburb, and Lord Rivers and his troops entered with them pell-mell, fighting in the streets and in the houses. King Ferdinand came up to the scene of action with his royal guard, and the infidels were all driven within the city walls. Thus were the suburbs gained by the hardihood of the English lord, without such an event having been premeditated.'

Various striking events marked the progress of the war—ingenious and desperate manœuvres on the part of El Zagal, and persevering success in the well-judged policy of Ferdinand. A spell of ill fortune seemed to surround the old Moorish king ever since the suspicious death of his brother and predecessor, Muley Aben Hassan, which was surmised to have been effected through his connivance; and his popularity sunk with his versatile subjects. The Spaniards at length laid siege to the powerful city of Baza, the key to all the remaining possessions of El Zagal. The peril of the Moorish kingdom of Granada resounded now throughout the east. The Grand Turk, Bajazet II., and his deadly foe the Grand Soldan of Egypt, or of Babylon, as he is termed by the old chroniclers, suspended their bloody feuds to check this ruinous war. A singular embassy from the latter of these potentates now entered the Spanish camp.

'While the holy Christian army was beleaguering the infidel city of Baza, there rode into the camp, one day, two reverend friars of the order of Saint Francis. One was of portly person, and authoritative air. He bestrode a goodly steed, well conditioned, and well caparisoned; while his companion rode behind him upon a humble hack, poorly accoutred, and, as he rode, he scarcely raised his eyes from the ground, but maintained a meek and lowly air. The arrival of two friars in the camp was not a matter of much note; for, in these holy wars, the church militant continually mingled in the affray, and helmet and cowl were always seen together; but it was soon discovered

covered that these worthy saints errant were from a far country, and on a mission of great import. They were, in truth, just arrived from the Holy Land, being two of the saintly men who kept vigil over the sepulchre of our blessed Lord at Jerusalem. He, of the tall and portly form, and commanding presence, was Fray Antonio Millan, prior of the Franciscan convent in the Holy City. He had a full and florid countenance, a sonorous voice, and was round, and swelling, and copious, in his periods, like one accustomed to harangue, and to be listened to with deference. His companion was small and spare in form, pale of visage, and soft, and silken, and almost whispering, in speech. "He had a humble and lowly way," says Agapida; "evermore bowing the head, as became one of his calling. Yet he was one of the most active, zealous, and effective brothers of the convent; and, when he raised his small black eye from the earth, there was a keen glance out of the corner, which showed that, though harmless as a dove, he was, nevertheless, as wise as a serpent." These holy men had come, on a momentous embassy, from the Grand Soldan of Egypt, who, as head of the whole Moslem sect, considered himself bound to preserve the kingdom of Granada from the grasp of unbelievers. He despatched, therefore, these two holy friars, with letters to the Castilian sovereigns, insisting that they should desist from this war, and reinstate the Moors of Granada in the territory of which they had been dispossessed: otherwise, he threatened to put to death all the Christians beneath his sway, to demolish their convents and temples, and to destroy the holy sepulchre.

It may not be uninteresting to remark, that Christopher Columbus, in the course of his tedious solicitation to the Spanish court, was present at this siege; and it is surmised that, in conversations with these diplomatic monks, he was first inspired with that zeal for the recovery of the holy sepulchre which, throughout the remainder of his life, continued to animate his fervent and enthusiastic spirit, and beguile him into magnificent schemes and speculations. The ambassadors of the Soldan, meantime, could produce no change in the resolution of Ferdinand. Baza yielded after more than six months' arduous siege, and was followed by the surrender of most of the fortresses of the Alpuxarra mountains; and, at length, the fiery El Zagal, tamed by misfortunes, and abandoned by his subjects, surrendered his crown to the Christian sovereigns, for a stipulated revenue or productive domain.

Boabdil el Chico remained the sole and unrivalled sovereign of Granada, the vassal of the Christian sovereigns, whose assistance had supported him in his wars against his uncle. But he was now to prove the hollow-hearted friendship of the politic Ferdinand. Pretences were easily found where a quarrel was already predetermined, and he was presently required to surrender the city and crown

crown of Granada. A ravage of the Vega enforced the demand, and the Spanish armies laid siege to the metropolis. Ferdinand had fulfilled his menace;—he had picked out the seeds of the pomegranate. Every town and fortress had successively fallen into his hand, and the city of Granada stood alone. He led his desolating armies over this paradise of a country, and left scarcely a living animal or a green blade on the face of the land,—and Granada, the queen of gardens, remained a desert. The history closes with the last scene of this eventful contest—the surrender of the Moorish capital.

‘Having surrendered the last symbol of power, the unfortunate Boabdil continued on towards the Alpuxarras, that he might not behold the entrance of the Christians into his capital. His devoted band of cavaliers followed him in gloomy silence; but heavy sighs burst from their bosoms, as shouts of joy and strains of triumphant music were borne on the breeze from the victorious army. Having rejoined his family, Boabdil set forward with a heavy heart for his allotted residence, in the valley of Porchena. At two leagues distance, the cavalcade, winding into the skirts of the Alpuxarras, ascended an eminence commanding the last view of Granada. As they arrived at this spot, the Moors paused involuntarily to take a farewell gaze at their beloved city, which a few steps more would shut from their sight for ever. Never had it appeared so lovely in their eyes. The sunshine, so bright in that transparent climate, lighted up each tower and minaret, and rested gloriously upon the crowning battlements of the Alhambra; while the vega spread its enamelled bosom of verdure below, glistening with the silver windings of the Xenil. The Moorish cavaliers gazed with a silent agony of tenderness and grief upon that delicious abode, the scene of their loves and pleasures. While they yet looked, a light cloud of smoke burst forth from the citadel; and, presently, a peal of artillery, faintly heard, told that the city was taken possession of, and the throne of the Moslem kings was lost for ever. The heart of Boabdil, softened by misfortunes and overcharged with grief, could no longer contain itself. “Allah achbar!—God is great!” said he; but the words of resignation died upon his lips, and he burst into a flood of tears. His mother, the intrepid sultana Ayxa la Horra, was indignant at his weakness. “You do well,” said she, “to weep like a woman for what you failed to defend like a man!” The vizier, Aben Comixa, endeavoured to console his royal master. “Consider, sire,” said he, “that the most signal misfortunes often render men as renowned as the most prosperous achievements, provided they sustain them with magnanimity.” The unhappy monarch, however, was not to be consoled. His tears continued to flow. “Allah achbar!” exclaimed he, “when did misfortunes ever equal mine!” From this circumstance, the hill, which is not far from Padul, took the name of Feg Allah Achbar; but the point of view commanding the last prospect of Granada is known among



among Spaniards by the name of *el ultimo suspiro del Moro*, or "the last sigh of the Moor."

Here ends the Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada, for here the author lets fall the curtain. We shall, however, extend our view a little further. The rejoicings of the Spanish sovereigns were echoed at Rome, and throughout Christendom. The venerable chronicler, Pedro Abarca, assures us that King Henry VII. of England celebrated the conquest by a grand procession to St. Paul's, where the Chancellor pronounced an eloquent eulogy on King Ferdinand, declaring him not only a glorious captain and conqueror, but also entitled to a seat among the Apostles.\*

The pious and politic monarch governed his new kingdom with more righteousness than mercy. The Moors were at first a little restive under the yoke; there were several tumults in the city; and a quantity of arms were discovered in a secret cave. Many of the offenders were tried, condemned, and put to death, some being quartered, others cut in pieces; and the whole mass of infidel inhabitants was well sifted, and purged of upwards of forty thousand delinquents. This system of wholesome purgation was zealously continued by Fray Francisco (afterwards Cardinal) Ximenes, who, seconded by Fernando de Talavera, Archbishop of Granada, and clothed in the terrific power of the Inquisition, undertook the conversion of the Moors. We forbear to detail the various modes,—sometimes by blandishment, sometimes by rigour, sometimes exhorting, sometimes entreating, sometimes hanging, sometimes burning,—by which the hard hearts of the infidels were subdued, and above fifty thousand coaxed, teased, and terrified into baptism.

One act of Ximenes has been the subject of particular regret. The Moors had cultivated the sciences while they lay buried in Europe, and were renowned for the value of their literature. Ximenes, in his bigoted zeal to destroy the Koran, extended his devastation to the indiscriminate destruction of their works, and burnt five thousand manuscripts on various subjects, some of them very splendid copies, and others of great intrinsic worth, sparing a very few, which treated chiefly of medicine. Here we shall pause, and not pursue the subject to the further oppression and persecution, and final expulsion, of these unhappy people; the latter of which events is one of the most impolitic and atrocious recorded in the pages of history.

Centuries have elapsed since the time of this chivalrous and romantic struggle, yet the monuments of it still remain, and the principal facts still linger in the popular traditions and legendary ballads with which the country abounds. The likenesses of Fer-

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\* Abarca, *Anales de Aragon*, p. 30.

dinand and Isabella are multiplied, in every mode, by painting and sculpture, in the churches, and convents, and palaces of Granada. Their ashes rest in sepulchral magnificence in the royal chapel of the cathedral, where their effigies in alabaster lie side by side before a splendid altar, decorated in relief with the story of their triumph. The anniversary of the surrender of the capital is still kept up by fêtes, and ceremonies, and public rejoicings. The standard of Ferdinand and Isabella is again unfurled and waved to the sound of trumpets. The populace are admitted to rove all day about the halls and courts of the Alhambra, and to dance on its terraces; the ancient alarm-bell resounds at morn, at noon, and at nightfall; great emulation prevails among the damsels to ring a peal,—it is a sign they will be married in the course of the opening year. But this commemoration is not confined to Granada alone. Every town and village of the mountains on the Vega has the anniversary of its deliverance from Moorish thraldom; when ancient armour, and Spanish and Moorish dresses, and unwieldy arquebuses, from the time of the conquest, are brought forth from their repositories—grotesque processions are made—and sham battles, celebrated by peasants, arrayed as Christians and Moors, in which the latter are sure to be signally defeated, and sometimes, in the ardour and illusion of the moment, soundly rib-roasted.

In traversing the mountains and vallies of the ancient kingdom, the traveller may trace with wonderful distinctness the scenes of the principal events of the war. The muleteer, as he lolls on his pack-saddle, smoking his cigar or chaunting his popular romance, pauses to point out some wild, rocky pass, famous for the bloody strife of infidel and Christian, or some Moorish fortress butting above the road, or some solitary watch-tower on the heights, connected with the old story of the conquest. Gibralfaro, the warlike hold of Hamet el Zegri, formidable even in its ruins, still frowns down from its rocky height upon the streets of Malaga. Loxa, Alhama, Zahara, Bonda, Guadix, Baza, have all their Moorish ruins,—rendered classic by song and story. The ‘*Last sigh of the Moor*’ still lingers about the height of Padul: the traveller pauses on the arid and thirsty summit of the hill, commanding a view over the varied bosom of the Vega, to the distant towers of Granada. A humble cabin is erected by the way side, where he may obtain water to slake his thirst, and the very rock is pointed out from whence the unfortunate Boabdil took his last look, and breathed the last farewell, to his beloved Alhambra.

Every part of Granada itself retains some memorial of the taste  
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and elegance, the valour and voluptuousness of the Moors, or some memento of the strife that sealed their downfall. The fountains which gush on every side are fed by the aqueducts once formed by Moslem hands; the Vega is still embroidered by the gardens they planted, where the remains of their ingenious irrigation spread the verdure and freshness of a northern climate, under the cloudless azure of a southern sky. But the pavilions that adorned these gardens; and where, if romances speak true, the Moslem heroes solaced themselves with the loves of their Zaras, their Zaidas, and their Zeliundas, have long since disappeared. The orange, the citron, the fig, the vine, the pomegranate, the aloe, and the myrtle, shroud and overwhelm with oriental vegetation the crumbling ruins of towers and battlements. The Vivar-rambla, once the scene of chivalric pomp and splendid tourney, is degraded to a market-place; the Gate of Elvira, from whence so many a shining array of warriors passed forth to forage the land of the Christians, still exists, but neglected and dismantled, and tottering to its fall. The Alhambra rises from amidst its groves, the tomb of its former glory. The fountains still play in its marble halls, and the nightingale sings among the roses of its gardens; but the halls are waste and solitary; the owl hoots from its battlements, the hawk builds in its warrior towers, and bats flit about its royal chambers. Still the fountain is pointed out where the gallant Abencerrages were put to death; the Mirador, where Morayma sat, and wept the departure of Boabdil, and watched for his return; and the broken gateway, from whence the unfortunate monarch issued forth to surrender his fortress and his kingdom; and which, at his request, was closed up, never to be entered by mortal footstep. At the time when the French abandoned this fortress, after its temporary occupation a few years since, the tower of the gateway was blown up; the walls were rent and shattered by the explosion, and the folding doors hurled into the garden of the convent of Los Martiros. The portal, however, was closed up with stones, by persons who were ignorant of the tradition connected with it, and thus the last request of poor Boabdil continued unwittingly to be performed. In fact, the story of the gateway, though recorded in ancient chronicle, has faded from general recollection, and is only known to two or three ancient inhabitants of the Alhambra, who inherit it with other local traditions from their ancestors.

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ART. III.—*The Life of Major-General Sir Thomas Munro, Bart., K.C.B., late Governor of Madras; with Extracts from his Correspondence and Private Papers.* By the Rev. G. R. Gleig, M.A. London, 1830. 2 vols. 8vo.

**WE** hear every day in Europe of men rising by merit to high distinction, in those separate professions to which their education has been expressly directed, but not often of that union of the most varied talents and qualifications to which the peculiar exigences of India have repeatedly afforded exercise. It was in reference to the distinguished subject of these memoirs, that Mr. Canning observed in Parliament—‘The population which he subjugated by arms, he managed with such address, equity, and wisdom, that he established an empire over their hearts and feelings.’ The copious and highly interesting contents of Mr. Gleig’s work supply us with the grounds of this splendid testimony: they may almost be considered as warranting the seeming *hyperbole* of the same eloquent eulogist, ‘that Europe never produced a more accomplished statesman, nor India, so fertile in heroes, a more skilful soldier.’

The former and latter portions of these volumes possess, in our estimation, not an unequal, but a different species of interest. The earlier part of Sir Thomas’s career embraces a period of Indian history which has been so frequently repeated, and so thoroughly discussed, that little remains at this day to be added; but his private correspondence about that time will be read with pleasure and instruction, as exhibiting the union of high moral worth with intellectual gifts of no ordinary stamp. In proportion as the progress of time and events brings him more prominently forward in the field of Indian transactions, and gives him a more direct share in them, the personal interest becomes mixed up with, until it almost merges in, the political; for the letters and papers here given to the world abound with the opinions of this high authority on every matter of importance relating to our Eastern empire. It will be impossible, within the limits of an article, to take notice of a large proportion of these subjects; but they stand recorded for the instruction of all who choose to benefit by them, and possess, at a time when the East India Company attracts an unusual share of the public attention, more general interest than publications on similar topics have commonly excited.

Sir Thomas Munro was born at Glasgow in 1761. His boyhood seems to have been less distinguished by any remarkable progress in learning, than by that ascendancy of character among his companions which so frequently characterizes early and enterprising genius. He was their prime favourite and leader in all

schemes of amusement or hazard ; and a vigorous constitution of body fitted him well for those athletic and healthy sports in which he appears to have delighted and excelled—particularly swimming, for which he retained a great partiality in after life. At the age of thirteen, he was entered at Glasgow college, where he made rapid progress in the usual studies of the place, except, probably, *metaphysics*, of which, as forced on the attention of the very young mind after the Scotch fashion,—now, we hope, on the decline—he long afterwards thus expresses his opinion :

‘ The cold, lifeless reasoning which is prematurely forced upon an unfortunate student at a college, is as different from the vigorous conception which is caught from mingling with general society, as an animated body from its shadow. It is distressing that we should persevere in the absurd practice of stifling the young ideas of boys of fourteen and fifteen with logic. A few pages of history give more insight into the human mind, and in a more agreeable manner, than all the metaphysical volumes that ever were published. The men who have made the greatest figure in public life, and have been most celebrated for their knowledge of mankind, probably never consulted any of these sages from Aristotle downwards.’—vol. i. p. 170.

• He was now a devourer of books ; and at sixteen, being justly told that no English translation can convey an adequate notion of ‘ Don Quixote,’ he made himself a sufficient master of Spanish to relish his favourite romance in the original,—a trait of zeal and enthusiasm which ought to have been more valuable in the eyes of his parents than a whole hamper of prize books.

When it became time to fix on a profession for life, a short experiment was made by him in the mercantile line, contrary to his own inclinations, and in compliance with the wishes of his father, who was member of a firm that carried on dealings with some of the North American states. The act of confiscation, passed by Congress in 1776, became the ruin of this house ; and the father was reduced to a state of distress, which, in after life, it remained the generous care of his sons, more particularly of the subject of these memoirs, to alleviate. The next step was to rate young Munro as a midshipman on board the Company’s ship Walpole ; but this was, soon after, fortunately commuted for a Madras cadetship, and in the year 1779 he proceeded to the scene of his future useful and distinguished life.\* Hyder Ally, the most formidable single enemy that ever threatened the Company’s pos-

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\* Contrary to what Mr. Gleig insinuates, Munro was most kindly received by some of his countrymen at Madras, to whom he carried letters of introduction from his native place. We have happened to see letters, dated forty years after, in which he acknowledged, with the utmost warmth of gratitude, solid services rendered to him at this critical period by persons who are virtually sneered at by our biographer as having put off the young aspirant with smooth words and a dinner.

sessions, then hung over the Carnatic; and Munro, after passing six months at the presidency, most part of them, we believe, under the hospitable roof of David Haliburton, the Persian interpreter, was attached, in 1780, as ensign to the sixteenth Madras native infantry, under the immediate orders of the commander-in-chief. The unfortunate defeat of Colonel Baillie's detachment, on its march to join the main army, is thus related in a letter of Sir Thomas to his father.

'The general, having intelligence that Hyder intended marching two hours after sunset, and that Baillie would advance about the same hour, ordered the tents to be struck, and to be sent along with the baggage into Conjeveram Pagoda. Next morning, he went to meet the detachment. He had arrived at the side of a lake, where he was making a road for the guns, when a sepoy, all covered with wounds, brought advice of its defeat. Baillie had marched at twelve o'clock at night: three hours after, his advanced guard was attacked by the enemy's European infantry, who were placed in a grove upon the side of the road; and, at the same time, the horse rushed on to the charge. He repulsed them in every attack; and they had already begun to despair of success, when three of his tumbrils blowing up, in the midst of the confusion produced by the accident, his ammunition being expended, they made another furious charge, broke his ranks, and cut them in pieces; nor did they cease, after the few who still survived had thrown down their arms. Colonel Fletcher, holding up his handkerchief on the point of his sword, as a signal for quarter, was wounded in the arm; and, wrapping the handkerchief round it, he received a cut across the belly,—his bowels dropped out, and he fell dead from his horse. The slaughter continued till M. Lally rode up to Hyder, and told him that it was not the custom of Europeans to cut their enemies to pieces after they had surrendered themselves, and that such inhumanity would be highly resented by the Frenchmen under his command. Upon this, the Mysorean ordered his soldiers to cease. Two hundred and fifty Europeans, and a thousand sepoy, were all that remained: the rest, to the amount of two thousand, fell on the field of battle. Hyder paid dear for his victory: many of his best officers, and seven thousand of his bravest troops, were slain.'—  
p. 23.

In a subsequent letter of great length, he gives a lucid and spirited account of the war in the Carnatic, after the arrival of Sir Eyre Coote from Bengal had infused new energy into the government, hitherto distracted by dissensions among its members, at a time when the common danger rendered unanimity most needful. In the midst of these stirring scenes, Ensign Munro kept up his correspondence with every member of that home for which he seems always to have retained an undiminished affection and remembrance, unimpaired by time and distance, those most powerful solvents of such early ties. Of the military operations which



took place from 1782 until the signing of the definitive treaty with Tippoo in 1784, no detail is afforded in the correspondence edited by Mr. Gleig; but according to an epitome of his own services, drawn up by Sir Thomas, at a later period of life, it appears that he was present when the army, on its march to Vellore, was cannonaded by Hyder Ally, in 1782; shared in the assault on the French lines at Cuddalore in 1783; and subsequently remained cantoned till after the close of the war with a division of the army near Madras. He was promoted to a lieutenancy in 1786; and in the period of peace, which closed for a while the field of active exertion, he, in compliance with the advice of his intelligent friend Mr. Haliburton, turned his attention to the study of Oriental literature. Of this, at the same time that he cultivated, on account of their indispensable utility, the languages in which it is contained, he seems to have had but a poor opinion. In their poetry, he complains of the too frequent repetition of ‘roses and nightingales,’ and the ‘sun and moon,’ and calls their version of the history of Joseph and the frail Egyptian dame, ‘a patience-proving story.’

‘The Leili and Mujnoon of Nizami is, if possible, still more extravagant, absurd, and insipid than this. When Mujnoon hears that Leili is to be given in marriage to another, he flies to the wilderness, and tells his griefs to the beasts of the forest—by which they are so affected, that they acknowledge him for their chief, and follow him wherever he goes. Col. Dow, who from his translation appears to have been but a poor Persian scholar, affects to be a great admirer of these eloquent writers. “Abul-Fazel, secretary to the Emperor Ackbar, is,” he says, “sometimes too flowery; but at other times he comes down in a flood of eloquence on his astonished readers, like the Ganges when it overflows its banks.” I cannot say that, in perusing this author, I did not feel the astonishment which the colonel describes; but it was owing to the immoderate length of his periods, that came down upon me in such floods of paltry nonsense, as can be imagined only by those who have read the Ladies’ Magazine. The Persian writers have always been fond of long, pompous periods; and Abul-Fazel, who seems to have thought that the essence of all good writing consisted in this, has been so eminently successful, that his nominatives and verbs are often posted at the distance of three pages from each other; and the space between is occupied with parenthesis within parenthesis, where the sense (if any) lies concealed behind such a number of intrenchments, that the Council of Trent would be more puzzled to discover it, than they were to settle the meaning of grace.’ —pp. 60, 61.

Their histories he censures as dull and heavy chronicles, ‘containing but two descriptions of men—the good and the bad; the former, without exception, as strong as elephants, as brave as Alexander,

Alexander, and as wise as Solomon ; the latter, oppressing their subjects, despising men of letters—and gone to hell.’ He seems to have preferred their tales to everything else, and gives a curious translation of what is evidently the story of Shylock, discovered by him in a Persian MS. This translation is to be found, as coming from Ensign Munro, in the notes at the end of the *Merchant of Venice*, in Malone’s edition of Shakspeare.

The distress to which their family were reduced, by the misfortunes of their father, led Munro and his brother, Alexander, to co-operate in the remittance of a regular annual supply of funds, which were saved by them from their several incomes; and the unusually late period of life to which the former remained single, enabled him to continue, on a liberal scale, these generous and filial aids. The first contributions were announced in a beautiful letter to his mother, of which the following is an extract:—

‘ Though my situation is not such as I might have expected, had Sir Eyre Coote lived, yet I still look forward with hope, and do not despair of seeing it bettered. The only cause I have for repining is, my inability to assist my father as I wish, and the hearing that your spirits are so much affected by the loss of his fortune. Yet I cannot but think that you have many reasons for rejoicing. None of your children have been taken from you ; and though they cannot put you in a state of affluence, they can place you beyond the reach of want. The time will come, I hope, when they will be able to do more, and to make the latter days of your life as happy as the first. When I compare your situation with that of most mothers whom I remember, I think that you have as little reason for grieving as any of them. Many that are rich are unhappy in their families. The loss of fortune is but a partial evil ; you are in no danger of experiencing the much heavier one—of having unthankful children. The friends that deserted you with your fortune were unworthy of your society ; those that deserved your friendship have not forsaken you.’

In 1788, Lieut. Munro was appointed assistant in the Intelligential department, under Capt. Read, with the force destined to take possession of Guntoor. He condemns the conduct of the Company in this transaction, inasmuch as they ought to have paid the Nizam what they owed him, before they recovered the territory which he had seized as security ; whereas, they deferred the payment until recovery had been actually made. The following extract, from a letter to his sister, contains a humorous account of the hardships and privations which he encountered during the early part of his career, in the country which he was destined one day to govern. It inculcates a powerful lesson against despondency.

‘ I was three years in India before I was master of any other pillow than a book or a cartridge-pouch ; my bed was a piece of canvas, stretched

stretched on four cross sticks, whose only ornament was the great-coat that I brought from England, which, by a lucky invention, I turned into a blanket in the cold weather, by thrusting my legs into the sleeves, and drawing the skirts over my head. In this situation I lay, like Falstaff in the basket, hilt to point; and very comfortable I assure you, all but my feet, for the tailor, not having foreseen the various uses to which this piece of dress might be applied, had cut the cloth so short, that I never could, with all my ingenuity, bring both ends under cover; whatever I gained by drawing up my legs, I lost by exposing my neck; and I generally chose rather to cool my heels than my head. This bed served me till Alexander went last to Bengal, when he gave me a camp couch. On this great occasion, I bought a pillow, and a carpet to lay under me, but the unfortunate curtains were condemned to make pillow-cases and towels; and now, for the first time in India, I laid my head on a pillow. But this was too much good fortune to bear with moderation; I began to grow proud, and resolved to live in great style: for this purpose, I bought two table-spoons and two tea-spoons, and another chair,—for I had but one before—a table, and two table-cloths. But my prosperity was of short duration, for in less than three months I lost three of my spoons, and one of my chairs was broken by one of John Napier's companions. 'This great blow reduced me to my original obscurity, from which all my attempts to emerge have hitherto proved in vain.'—pp. 73, 74.

The south of India again became, about the year 1790, the theatre of military excitement. When Tippoo found that his name was omitted in the list of the Company's friends, contained in their defensive treaty with the Nizam, his fears were excited, and he began to arm. In a series of long letters to his father, which, written as they were, *currente calamo*, amidst the hurry of a camp, contain as elegant and masterly narrations as were ever prepared for the public eye, Lieut. Munro justly describes Tippoo as incomparably the most powerful and dangerous enemy of the English at that time, and condemns as preposterous the notion, then prevalent, of attempting to preserve a balance between powers so unequal as Mysore and its neighbours.

'But everything now is done by moderation and conciliation; at this rate, we shall be all Quakers in twenty years more. I am still of the old doctrine, that the best method of making all princes keep the peace, not excepting even Tippoo, is to make it dangerous for them to disturb your quiet.'—p. 131.

'*Delenda est Carthago*' is the burthen of all his arguments on this head; and the justness of his views was subsequently proved, by the decisive line of policy adopted by Lord Wellesley.

After the conclusion of the definitive treaty had restored the several divisions of the army to their respective presidencies, an important crisis took place in Munro's career, and one which  
may



may be considered as having led to all his subsequent fame and high fortune. The district of Baramahl, ceded to the English by the late treaty, was to be settled,—that is to say, the Company's revenue and police systems were to be introduced among a people quite new to our sway. This delicate and important task required higher qualifications than were *then* common among the civil servants in India—we say *then*, because the case has since become altered. Lord Cornwallis, in his selection, very wisely adopted the principle of *detur digniori*, and searched for the requisite knowledge and talent wherever they were to be found. Capt. Read was, accordingly, nominated to the chief management, while Lieut. Munro and two other military gentlemen were appointed as his assistants. The jealousy excited by this measure, the first of its kind, among the civil servants, was great; but the effect proved most beneficial, in demonstrating to those gentlemen that they must not expect to enjoy the benefits of office, without encountering its labours; or hope to fill situations, for which they had neglected duly to qualify themselves. Mr. Elphinstone, the late admirable governor of Bombay, invariably looked to the army whenever competent persons were not to be found in the other service; nor can it be properly objected, that such a practice is calculated to impair the discipline and efficiency of the military force, for it is notorious, that never did the native troops behave with greater steadiness and gallantry, than when commanded only by a captain and subaltern. We of course allude to their chivalrous, and next to incredible, exploit, under Captain Staunton.

Munro entered upon the duties of his new office in April, 1792, and continued to discharge them up to the spring of 1799. His biographer observes, that

‘perhaps there was no period of his public life on which he ever looked back with greater satisfaction. It is true that his duties were neither few nor unimportant. Besides the care of attending to the revenue accounts, and of keeping up a constant official correspondence with the Board, Mr. Munro was under the necessity of travelling continually from one part of his district to another, for the purpose of ascertaining, from personal observation, the condition of the people, and the capabilities and produce of the soil. Yet the climate appears to have been favourable, the face of the country was agreeable, and the means of intercourse with European society, if not ample, were at least not absolutely wanting.’—p. 144.

The way in which this able and indefatigable man acquired that intimate knowledge of the natives which formed his distinguishing merit, is sufficiently apparent from his own papers and correspondence. With an imperturbable temper, and a mind of peculiar

peculiar benevolence, which at a later period of service received a signal mark of acknowledgment from his own subordinates in office, and which gained for him, from the natives under his authority, the title of *their father*, he carried his inquiries into the minutest details of the husbandry and domestic habits of the cultivators, and invited their unrestrained communications, as he travelled from village to village with his tent, settling the rent of the inhabitants. In a letter he says—

‘ At this moment, while I am writing, there are a dozen of people talking around me : it is now twelve o’clock, and they have been coming and going in parties ever since seven in the morning, when I began this letter. They have frequently interrupted me for an hour at a time. One man has a long story of a debt of thirty years’ standing, contracted by his father ; another tells me that his brother made away with his property, when he was absent during the war ; and a third tells me that he cannot afford to pay his usual rent, because his wife is dead, who used to do more work than his best bullock. I am obliged to listen to all these relations ; and as every man has a knack at description, like Sancho, I think myself fortunate when I get through any of them in half an hour. It is in vain that I sometimes recommend to them to begin at the end of the story. They persist in their own way of making me full master of all the particulars ; and I must, after making my objections and hearing their replies, dictate answers in the same copious style to them all.’—p. 172.

The familiar and good-humoured style of his intercourse with the people is shown in another entertaining passage.

‘ The farmers of this country are, I believe, the most talkative race on the face of the earth. A party of them met me this evening, with a complaint against some unknown conjurer, who had set fire to their village twice in the course of the year. I told them I had a great antipathy to all conjurers, and would give them satisfaction on their producing him. They said they had concerted a plan for discovering him, but that it could not be executed without my assistance. I was to take my station at a little distance from the village, with a spying-glass in my hand : all the inhabitants were to pass in review before me, when I could not fail, by means of the virtue of the glass, to discover the felon who had done so much mischief. I answered that it was an excellent thought, but the trial must be deferred till I should get a new glass, as my old one was broken ; and as we should then certainly catch the conjurer, I asked what punishment it would be proper to inflict upon him. They said, no other than drawing two of his teeth, with which he would lose all his magic power. I replied, that this could not be done till he was taken ; but that, in the meantime, there was another remedy, equally simple, at hand, to defend themselves from him in future. Any person who had a suspicion of his having evil designs upon himself, had only to get two of his own teeth drawn, which would secure both himself and his property against all

all the art of the enemy. I said I had some years ago parted with two of my own teeth; and offered, if they would accompany me back, to get them all made magic-proof at the same cheap rate. They asked leave to go home and consult about my proposal, and promised to give me their answer in the morning; but I suspect that I shall hear no more of the matter.'—pp. 178, 179.

That peculiar vein of cheerful pleasantry, which seems sometimes to have accompanied him even into the discussion of business, is most frequently displayed in his domestic correspondence, wherein he details the daily habits of his life for the amusement of friends at home. After mentioning that he had, on a late occasion, been deterred from taking his favourite exercise of swimming, from the fear of alligators in the river, he adds—

‘I have not taken the trouble to ascertain whether my conduct, on this occasion, was the result of self-love, or of that wisdom which Dr. Zimmerman—one of the most absurd coxcombs I ever met with—says is produced by seclusion from the world. If solitude is the mother of wisdom, it is to be hoped that, in a few years more, I shall be as wise as Solomon or Robinson Crusoe. There is another thing in favour of this idea,—the simplicity of my fare, which, according to some philosophers, is a great friend to genius and digestion. I do not know if the case is altered by this diet being the effect of necessity, and not of choice. When my cook brings me a sheep, it is generally so lean that it is no easy matter to cut it. Fowls are still worse, unless fed with particular care—a science for which I have no turn; and as to river fish, very few of them are eatable. If the fish and fowl were both boiled, it would puzzle any naturalist to tell the one from the other, merely by the taste. Some sects of philosophers recommend nuts and apples, and other sorts of fruit; but nothing is to be found, either in the woods or gardens here, except a few limes, and a coarse kind of plantain, which is never eaten without the help of cookery. I have dined to-day on porridge, made of half-ground flour instead of oatmeal; and I shall most likely dine to-morrow on plantain fritters. Some other philosophers think that gentle exercise, as a branch of temperance, has also a share in illuminating the understanding. I am very fond of riding in an evening shower after a hot day, but I do not rest much upon this: my great dependence, for the expansion of my genius, is upon the porridge.’—p. 177.

We own we are fond of laughing philosophers, and by no means worshippers of solemn wisdom: we even think that perpetual gravity is most often an accompaniment to dulness—in fact its assumed cloak, and that wit and pleasantry are, with rare exceptions, found in combination with gifts of the highest description. It is exceedingly interesting to trace the gradual influence of years and experience on the views and opinions of such a man as this concerning the business of the world; the easy, unstudied humour of his language sets off, to our fancy, the solid sense of his



his reflections ; and we make no apology for the length of the following extract from a letter to his sister, dated in 1793.

‘ Were it possible that I could, by any supernatural means, be informed that I should never be independent in my fortune, it would not, I believe, sit very heavy on my mind ; for I have considered very seriously the consequences likely to follow my acquiring what is called a moderate fortune, and I have doubted if I should be more happy with it than I am without it.

‘ After spending a great part of my life in India, I should not easily reconcile myself to sitting down quietly in a corner with people among whom, as I should begin my acquaintance so late, I should perhaps always remain a stranger. Should the want of society tempt me to fall in love, and get a wife, such a change would, I fear, add little to my happiness. Would it not be a very comfortable matter, about the end of the century, to read in the Glasgow Courier—“ Yesterday was married Lieutenant Munro, the eldest subaltern in the East India Company’s service, to Miss ———, one of the eldest maiden ladies of this place. The ceremony was performed by the Rev. Mr. ———, in the Ramshorn, and immediately after the happy couple,” &c. I have no relish, I suspect, for what is called domestic felicity. I could not endure to go about gossiping, and paying formal visits with my wife, and then coming home and consulting about a change in our furniture, or physicking some of the squalling children that Providence might bless us with. You will say—“ You will be a more respectable character at home, settled with your family, than wandering about India like a vagabond.” But I cannot perceive that the one situation is more creditable than the other. Men, in general, go home, and stay in this country, for the same reason—to please themselves—not to raise their own or the national character ; and the greater part of them go to their graves without having done either much good or much harm in this world. “ Why should I be eager to scrape together a little money, to go and linger through twenty or thirty dull years, in a family way, among my relations and neighbours ? In a place like Glasgow, I should be tired in all companies with disputes about the petty politics of the town, of which I know nothing ; and anecdotes of families, in whose concerns I am no way interested. Among the merchants, I should be entertained with debates on sugar and tobacco, except when some one touched upon cotton, which would give me an opportunity of opening my mouth, and letting the company know that I had been in India, and seen one species growing on bushes, and another on trees taller than any that adorn the Green. After thus expending all my knowledge, I should not again venture to interrupt the conversation. Should I, after being tired of preserving silence among these gentlemen, saunter towards the College, for the purpose of having some discourse on general topics of literary taste, of which men in all professions may talk, and, in some measure, judge—here I should encounter the prejudices and dissensions of small societies.”—pp. 149, 150.

The following advice, addressed to his brother, James, who had recently arrived in India as a military surgeon, will be perused with graver interest.

‘ Though I am, in many respects, a greater boy than you—yet, as I have had the start of you in this country, I will venture to give you some hints. Do not wonder at any thing you see ; or if you do, keep it to yourself. Do not pester people with questions about me, for men in general are as much disgusted with hearing a person talk of his relations as of himself. My father says you are diffident. I rejoice to hear it ; for it is a fault more easily corrected than forwardness. You have no reason to be alarmed at what is called launching out into the world. A little experience will convince you, that it is composed neither of wiser nor of better people than you have seen in small circles. Play your own character without affectation, and be assured that it will soon procure you friends.’—p. 139.

In 1796, Lieut. Munro was promoted to a captaincy. About two years afterwards, the hostile designs of Tippoo led to those energetic measures on the part of the Governor-General, which ended in the capture of Seringapatam. On the reduction of that place, Captain Munro was nominated joint secretary, with his friend, the present distinguished governor of Bombay, to the commission appointed to arrange the partition treaty. A long letter to his father contains minute details, interesting even at this day, relative to the fall of the tyrant of Mysore, whose infatuation, towards the latter part of his career, afforded fair grounds of suspicion that he was mad.

‘ Cruelty and deceit were the two great engines of his policy ; not that kind of deceit which attempts to overreach by cunning, but downright lying. He, perhaps, never made a promise, nor entered into an engagement, without considering, in the same instant, how it was to be broken. The cruel punishments which he frequently inflicted, on the most groundless suspicions, put a stop to all private correspondence in his dominions ; his nearest relations, even, did not venture to write to each other, but sent verbal messages respecting their health or affairs. He had murdered all his English prisoners not restored at the end of the last war ; and it would have been death for any man to be known as one who could speak or read English. Intercepted correspondence gave him no insight as to our intended movements ;—we found most of the intercepted letters of the late and former war lying unopened, so that we might have saved ourselves the trouble of using a cipher.’

The same letter concludes with a reprobation of the policy which threw away our hard-earned prize, by setting up a rajah of Mysore in the person of a child dragged forth from oblivion, whose family had no sort of claim upon us, and who has since made us the base return of proving a more unfeeling tyrant to his subjects

subjects than even Tippoo ever was. This has been best proved by the wasted state of the country, compared with our own flourishing provinces. It has even been doubted whether he is a descendant of the old Mysore dynasty, since Purneah himself, in open durbar, and while the British resident was present, applied the term 'spurious offspring' to the rajah. Sir Thomas Munro, at a much later period of life, observed of the whole subsidiary system, that

'It has a natural tendency to render the government of every country in which it exists, weak and oppressive; to extinguish all honourable spirit among the higher classes of society, and to degrade and impoverish the whole people. The usual remedy of a bad government in India is, a quiet revolution in the palace, or a violent one by rebellion, or foreign conquest; but the presence of a British force cuts off every chance of remedy, by supporting the prince on the throne against every foreign and domestic enemy. It renders him indolent, by teaching him to trust to strangers for his security; and cruel and avaricious, by showing him that he has nothing to fear from the hatred of his subjects.'—p. 463.

At a time when the complete settlement of the Baramahl, and a thorough knowledge of, and familiarity with, its inhabitants, had attached Captain Munro to the country, the principal charge of which was now likely to devolve on himself by the approaching resignation of Colonel Read, his superior ability pointed him out to the government as the most fit person to undertake the arduous task of reducing to order the new province of Canara, on the western coast of the peninsula, assigned by the late treaty to the Company. It was not to be wondered at, if his private feelings disinclined him to undertake such a task, rendered peculiarly unwelcome by the sacrifice of all those associations which had been contracted during a period of seven years, and which were now to be exchanged for a state of solitary and laborious exile, in a distracted country and an unfavourable climate. His sense of public duty, however, dictated the acceptance of the arduous charge; and the exertion and ability which he displayed therein contributed another important step towards his future elevation. In a letter, he says, contrasting his present fatigues with the comparative ease of his late situation,—

'What a vain, unprofitable life I lead! Had I remained in the Baramahl, I should have found leisure for many other pursuits, as well as revenue: but here all is new; it is like labouring for ever at the rudiments of a strange language. Whenever I have leisure to think at all, I wish myself anywhere else but here. I doubt much, even if I had the means of returning to Europe, whether I could settle there after so long a residence in India; but, at any rate, I am convinced that lingering out the dregs of life there can never compensate the



the consuming the best of my days in solitude, on the Malabar coast. I admire your recommending me to change my situation frequently, and take care of my health. I change my situation every week—but the sun follows me; and no constitution can for a length of years resist his attacks in a tent.’—p. 242.

A very important fruit of his labours at this time was the report on the ancient and present state of the revenue of the province, transmitted by him to the Madras government. Through what toils he effected this, and under what unfavourable circumstances, may be learned from the following extract.

‘To draw together the materials, I was obliged to go through more labour among sunnuds (*grants*) and accounts, than I ever underwent in my life before, and it is not probable that I shall ever again have leisure to go so much into any other matters connected with revenue. I got together every thing in the course of my circuit, and meant to have devoted a month, after coming down the Ghauts, to arranging and writing; but, hearing of the affair of Jumelabad, I saw there would be no leisure or days of quiet for such an occupation; and I therefore hurried through as well as I could, by starts, when I could get clear of mobs of rayets, from Soondah, plundered by Dhondagee, and from Canara, robbed, and their families frequently murdered, by the banditti in the southern districts.’—p. 248.

The Dhondagee, *alias* Dhoondée, here mentioned, was a notorious disturber of the public peace, who had escaped from bondage by a mistake on the capture of Seringapatam, and, putting himself at the head of a band of desperate men, chiefly refugees of Tippoo’s broken army, aimed at nothing less than the establishment of a new dynasty in the South. The pursuit and destruction of this formidable aspirant may perhaps be considered as the first important exploit in the unexampled series of services which are destined to carry down to future ages the name of the Duke of Wellington. It is no small honour to the memory of Sir Thomas Munro, that he was at this early period the friend and correspondent of the great captain; and the number of letters addressed to him by Colonel Wellesley, detailing the operations carried on against the rebel Dhoondée, constitute a feature of cardinal interest among the contents of these volumes. We think no apology is needed for the citation at length of the last letter of the series.

‘Camp at Yepulpurry, Sept. 11, 1800.

‘MY DEAR MUNRO,—I have the pleasure to inform you that I gained a complete victory yesterday, in an action with Dhoondée’s army, in which he was killed. His body was recognised, and was brought into camp on a gun attached to the 19th Dragoons. After I had crossed the Malpoorba, it appeared to me very clear, that if I pressed

pressed upon *the king of the two worlds*, with my whole force on the northern side of the Dooab, his majesty would either cross the Toombuddra with the aid of the Patan chiefs, and would then enter Mysore, or he would return into Savanore, and play the devil with my peaceable communications. I therefore determined, at all events, to prevent his majesty from putting those designs in execution, and I marched with my army to Kanagerry. I sent Stevenson towards Deodroog, and along the Kistna, to prevent him from sending his guns and baggage to his ally, the rajah of Solapour; and I pushed forward the whole of the Mahratta and Mogul cavalry in one body, between Stevenson's corps and mine. I marched from Kanagerry on the 8th, left my infantry at Rowly, and proceeded on with the cavalry only, and I arrived here on the 9th—the infantry at Shinnoor, about fifteen miles in my rear. The king of the world broke up on the 9th from Malgerry, about twenty-five miles on this side of Kachoor, and proceeded towards the Kistna; but he saw Colonel Stevenson's camp, returned immediately, and encamped on that evening about nine miles from hence, between this place and Bunnoo. I had early intelligence of his situation, but the night was so bad, and my horses so much fatigued, that I could not move. After a most anxious night, I marched in the morning, and met the king of the world with his army, about five thousand horse, at a village called Conagull, about six miles from hence. He had not known of my being so near him in the night; had thought that I was at Shinnoor, and was marching to the westward, with an intention of passing between the Mahratta and Mogul cavalry and me. He drew up, however, in a very strong position, as soon as he perceived me, and the victorious army stood for some time with apparent firmness. I charged them with the 19th and 25th Dragoons, and the 1st and 2nd regiments of cavalry, and drove them before me till they dispersed, and were scattered over the face of the country. I then returned, and attacked the royal camp, and got possession of elephants, camels, baggage, &c., which were still upon the ground. The Mogul and Mahratta cavalry came up about eleven o'clock, and they have been employed ever since in the pursuit and destruction of the scattered fragments of the victorious army. Thus has ended this warfare; and I shall commence my march in a day or two towards my own country. An honest killedar of Shinnoor had written to the king of the world, by a regular tappal, established for the purpose of giving him intelligence, that I was to be at Rowly on the 8th, and at Shinnoor on the 9th. His majesty was misled by this information, and was nearer me than he expected. The honest killedar did all he could to detain me at Shinnoor, but I was not to be prevailed upon to stop; and even went so far as to threaten to hang a great man sent to show me the road, who manifested an inclination to show me a good road to a different place. My own and the Mahratta cavalry afterwards prevented any communication between his majesty and the killedar. The binjarrie (*arrangement for supplies*) must be filled, notwithstanding the conclusion

clusion of the war, as I imagine that I shall have to carry on one in Malabar.\*—Believe me yours most sincerely,

‘ARTHUR WELLESLEY.’

How little did the writer of this letter then think, that he should, just fifteen years afterwards, mete out very much the same measure to another ‘king of the world,’ in application to whom the title was, or at least had been, scarcely ironical!

At the end of about fourteen months, Major Munro had the satisfaction to find his district reduced to tranquillity, the revenues collected without difficulty, and the condition of the cultivators improving. Though the highest ability and exertion had produced this state of things, it was a much easier task to maintain and preserve it; and as his repugnance to the country still remained unaltered, he now thought himself at liberty to apply for a change of situation. The treaty with the Nizam, already mentioned, had transferred to the British government, in lieu of a monthly subsidy from that prince, a portion of territory which has, on that account, borne the name of the Ceded Districts. The constant state of warfare, in which this country had been always engaged, produced its usual effect on the character of the population; and the zemindars and others, entrusted with the collection of the revenue, had each of them become the leader of a little army, occupied in destructive feuds with the contiguous villages; while troops of plundering banditti roamed the country at large, in defiance of a weak and ill-organised government. Here was nothing very inviting to induce a preference in selection; but Major Munro, whether moved or not by the ambition of overcoming such difficulties, applied to be entrusted with the charge and settlement of the Ceded Districts. The value of his services in Canara was so justly appreciated, that the request was not granted without hesitation; but the importance and delicacy of the trust which he was now willing to assume, and which required talents of a kindred order, and no lower degree, at length determined the government. Lord Clive, in an official note, desired Major Munro might be told, that his wish of detaining him on the Malabar coast ‘had arisen from his opinion and experience of his superior management, but that his own arguments had shown that his labours in the new provinces would be more advantageous.’ The province, however, which he resigned, was not given in charge to a single hand. ‘As if aware,’ says his biographer, ‘that another Munro was not to be looked for, government divided Canara into two collectorates,—appointing to one of them Mr. Alexander Read, of whom mention has already

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\* And yet it has been pretended that perfect tranquillity reigned in Malabar at this period.—See Mr. Rickards.



been made, and giving up the other to the guidance of Mr. Ravenshaw.'

During the first four years of the seven which he spent in the management of the Ceded Districts, Major Munro lived in a tent, moving from place to place till he had repeatedly traversed the whole of the country. Notwithstanding its troubled state, he performed all his journies unattended by a guard; and in reply to the surprise expressed by a correspondent on the subject, observed, that he considered it much safer to be without one.

'I traversed Canara in every direction, unaccompanied by a single sepoy or military peon, at a time when it was in a much more distracted state than the Ceded Districts have ever been, without meeting, or even apprehending, any insult. I do the same here. The natives of India, not excepting the poligars, have in general a good deal of reverence for public authority. They suppose that collectors act only by orders from a superior power; and that, as they are not actuated by private motives, they ought not to become the objects of resentment. I therefore consider the subordinate collectors and myself as being perfectly safe without guards; and that, by being without them, we get much sooner acquainted with the people.'—p. 327.

We here see the importance of preserving, among the natives, their hereditary respect for legitimate authority. In 1807, when he retired from the appointment, he had raised the annual receipts of government from twelve to eighteen lacs of pagodas, and rendered at the same time the most inestimable services to the inhabitants themselves of the Ceded Districts.

The rupture with Scindiah and the rajah of Berar called out the two armies headed respectively by Lord Lake and General Wellesley, with the latter of whom Major Munro communicated privately and officially during the whole campaign. We could extract more of interest from this correspondence than our limits will allow, for the letters are valuable, both as military and historical documents. In one, which is much too long to be quoted here, General Wellesley describes the famous battle of Assye, in a clear, lively, and natural detail, which will, no doubt, form an integral part of our Indian story in all time coming.

The unfortunate orders of government relative to the military dress of the native soldiers, which led to the mutiny at Vellore in 1806, are the subject of severe animadversion in Colonel Munro's private letters. He might justly have included in his censure a very imprudent letter of instructions from the governor for the time being to a Doctor Kerr, on the subject of his mission, to report upon the state of religion and morality throughout the Madras territory; instructions which the worthy doctor gave effect to with much more zeal than judgment. The easy handle,  
which

which the prohibition of the marks of caste afforded to those interested in misleading the ignorant, might have been foreseen. The sepoys were attached to our service, both from long habit and from interest, and nothing but an idle attack upon their prejudices could have shaken their fidelity.

‘Peter the Great (says Munro) found the Russian beard a tough job. Beards and whiskers are not now such weighty matters in Europe as formerly; but even now, an order to shave the heads of all the troops in Britain, leaving them only a lock on the crown like Hindoos, or to make all the Presbyterian soldiers wear the image of the pope or St. Anthony, instead of a cockade, would, I suspect occasion some expressions, if not acts of disloyalty. . . . As to the hair upon the upper lip, its form is so much like that which sometimes appears upon the upper lip of our own dragoons and grenadiers, that none but the critical eye of a shaver could distinguish the difference. Had the grand projected shaving-match terminated without accident, it might have amused the spectators like a pantomime upon a large stage; but when it is considered how many brave men lost their lives by it, one cannot help feeling for the national character.’—p. 367.

From whatever cause it may arise, whether from our insular situation or otherwise, there is certainly a portion of the British community whose microscopic range of vision does not appear to extend beyond the limited horizon of their own daily experience, and who would, with unwitting simplicity, transfer the notions imbibed by them in the routine of their own country or parish, to our Indian dominions, which have so lately been acquired by the sword, and which must, for some time at least, be held with considerable caution and address. Hence the indignation of such worthy persons, when they hear that a judge at Bombay (Lord Ellenborough’s wild elephant)\* has been prevented from extending the jurisdiction of his court over the natives in the interior; and hence the assenting credulity which is so often yielded to the schemes of quack legislators, who, with no better experience than may have been derived from a short residence in, or a scampering journey through, the country, would people India with English farmers, and govern it with old English laws. Of even the local regulations, with all their necessary modification, Sir Thomas Munro remarked,

‘The fault of our judicial code is, that there is a great deal too much of it for a first essay. Our own laws expanded gradually, during several centuries, along with the increasing knowledge and civilization of the people, so that they were always fitted in some measure to their faculties. But here, without any preparation, we throw them down in the lump, among a parcel of ignorant rayets and equally ignorant pundits. . . . It would have been better to have curtailed nine-tenths of the regulations, to have confined appeals within narrower limits, and to have made the zillah-judges absolute.’—p. 372.

About the year 1805, the subject of Mr. Gleig's memoirs began, after an absence of more than a quarter of a century, to think of revisiting his family and country—a resolution which was strengthened by the discovery that his sight was failing him. He says, 'I endeavour to believe that this is entirely owing to my having lived so many years in tents under a burning sun. The sun has probably not shone in vain; but I suspect that time has also had a share in whitening my hair and dimming my sight. His hand appears now before my eyes only thin and shadowy, like that of one of Ossian's ghosts, but it will grow thick and dark in a few years, and I must therefore return to my native land, and see my friends before it is too late.'

His final intention of quitting India was announced by a letter, dated August, 1807; and in the following October he embarked for England. But in the midst of all the hope and excitement that such a change might, in ordinary cases, be expected to produce, Colonel Munro's usual penetration and self-knowledge augured very truly of the result of his visit home. His active and powerful mind, ever used to exertion, was not likely to subside with satisfaction into the quietude of private life; and, almost at the moment of departure, he wrote, that he should 'be obliged to return to India for employment.'

With all due praise to Mr. Gleig for the zeal and judgment with which he has brought together the valuable papers here laid before the public, we must say that we cannot, in some instances, compliment him on the felicity of his illustration. He observes of Sir Thomas, (p. 376,) that he was 'in more than one instance the author of arrangements in which he never appeared, *exactly* as the *scene-shifter* in a theatre, though himself unseen, is the real cause of the transmutations which the sword of *harlequin* seems to produce!' Our biographer could scarcely have gone lower for a comparison than the scene-shifter—unless, indeed, he had selected the candle-snuffer.

Colonel Munro, after an absence of eight-and-twenty years, landed at Deal, in April, 1808. The mixture of feelings with which such a sensitive and reflecting mind revisited home, may be imagined. His mother was just dead, his father on the last verge of existence, and most of his youthful friends or acquaintance either deceased, or so changed as to be scarcely recognizable. Some mingled enjoyment, however, still remained to him, in rambling among the scenes of his boyhood, and renewing his intimacy with the features of inanimate nature, whose duration bears such disproportion to that of the fleeting beings who survey them. He thus writes, from Glasgow, of that city, and the beautiful scenery of the Kelvin in its immediate neighbourhood.

'I never was so impatient under deafness as at present; when I meet every moment, in my native city, old acquaintances, asking  
fifty.



fifty questions, which they are obliged to repeat four or five times before they can make me comprehend them. Some of them stare at me, and think, no doubt, that I am come home because I am deranged. I am so entirely incapable of taking any part in conversation, that I have no pleasure in company, and go into it merely to save appearances. A solitary walk is almost the only thing in which I have any enjoyment. I have been twice at Northside; and though it rained without ceasing on both days, it did not prevent me from rambling up and down the river from Claysloup to the Aqueduct-bridge. I stood above an hour at Jackson's dam, looking at the water rushing over, while the rain and withered leaves were descending thick about me, and while I recalled the days that are past. The wind whistling through the trees, and the water tumbling over the dam, had still the same sound as before; but the darkness of the day, and the little smart box perched upon the opposite bank, destroyed much of the illusion, and made me feel that former times were gone. I don't know how it is, but when I look back to early years I always associate sunshine with them; when I think of Northwoodside, I always think of a fine day, with the sunbeams streaming down upon Kelvin and its woody banks. I do not enter completely into early scenes of life in gloomy drizzling weather.'—p. 378.

But his was not a mind to remain long satisfied without exertion. He repaired to London, where the approaching discussions relative to the Company's charter were well calculated to interest and employ him; and the moment was near at hand when the accumulated fruits of such rare experience, judgment, and industry as his, were destined to produce a deep impression upon parliament. We take occasion to notice here the effrontery with which certain luckless visionaries have put forth their assertion, 'that Colonel Munro's opinions respecting the demand for our manufactures in India have been refuted by experience.' He repeatedly declared,\* 'that it was entirely a question of price; and that, whenever we could undersell the Hindoos in any article which they required, it would find its way into the interior *in spite of all regulations to prevent it.*' Now it is notorious that the reduction in the manufacturing price of all cotton goods† since the above was spoken, has been far beyond the powers of any human foresight.

\* See Minutes of Evidence before Parliament, 1813.

† BRITISH CALICOES, &c.

		Prices in October 1813,	and in October 1828.
6-4th	Cambrics, per piece of 12 yards,	20s.	8s. 6d.
	Ditto . . . . . ditto . .	27s.	11s. 9d.
	Ditto . . . . . ditto . .	32s.	14s.
	Ditto . . . . . ditto . .	39s.	16s. 6d.
9-8th	Shirting . . . . . per yard,	1s. 2½d.	6d.
	Ditto . . . . . ditto . .	1s. 11d.	10d.
	Ditto . . . . . ditto . .	2s.	1s.
	Ditto . . . . . ditto . .	2s. 4d.	1s. 2d.

See Parliamentary Papers—1829.

They have certainly been imported into India in ruinous profusion; and the conduct of the natives who have purchased them has *confirmed*, and not *refuted*, the opinion of Colonel Munro. This cheap importation has ruined the native weavers—which, of course, cannot be a matter of any concern to *us*, their benevolent rulers—but let our own manufacturers bear witness to the prosperity which it has produced at home: those manufacturers, who have kept their machinery at work only because it could not, like an ordinary labourer, be got rid of at once—the services of which were not engaged as required, or paid for as performed, but *all in advance*, and the stoppage of whose activity was the signal of bankruptcy. Both the spoken and written opinions of Colonel Munro at that period (1812-13) are, with such particular modifications as the lapse of seventeen years must necessarily occasion, deserving of the deepest attention at this moment; and we will extract from his Memoranda\* a passage, which most singularly illustrates and confirms the argument in an article of our Number for January last, whereby it was shown that any increased consumption of our manufactures in *India*, our own conquered territory, is a most absurd ground on which to build anticipations of their augmented use in *China*, where we are confined to a single port by the most independent, illiberal, and jealous government in the world—Japan alone excepted. Colonel Munro says,

‘It is our political power, acquired by the Company’s arms, which has made the trade to India what it is: without that power, it would have been kept within narrow bounds by the *jealousy* and *exaction* of the *native princes*, and by some, such as Tippoo, would have been prevented altogether.’

We must confess that we are pleased to find ourselves in such company. Whenever it shall be deemed just, or wise (or possible), to make ourselves masters of China, we may talk of introducing our manufactures there as they have been introduced in India; but until we are prepared to follow the advice of those liberal and enlightened persons who have already proposed carrying *free-trade* at the point of the bayonet, let us not hear India and China talked of in the same breath.

Colonel Munro contemplated with no great apprehension the Utopian scheme of colonizing India with Europeans, simply from the impossibility of colonization extending itself beyond very confined limits. Putting climate out of the question, he knew that they could not, by law, become proprietors of the land; and the frugality of the natives, joined to the cheapness of labour, (two or at most three-pence per day) would effectually

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\* Appendix, p. 254.

prevent their becoming cultivators of it. 'But supposing even an extreme case,' continues he, 'that all the Europeans who could find employment in trade should settle there, and abandon for ever their native country, and that their number should in time amount to fifty thousand, yet even this number, unlikely as it is ever to be seen, would, if left to itself, be lost among a native population of forty millions.' The English settlers would either dwindle into a race little better than the mixed caste descended from the Portuguese; or they would, preserving their own caste unimpaired, exercise a most pestilent ascendancy over the natives. It is undeniable, that the natives at present look up with great submission to Europeans, and this it is that furnishes one powerful argument against Indian colonization.

The minute inquiry, instituted by the legislature in 1813, into Indian affairs, and that very able and valuable work, the Fifth Report, gave occasion to serious doubts in England as to the operation of what has been technically styled 'the judicial system.' It was resolved, by those who had the direction and control of the Company's affairs in England, to send out an express commission, for the purpose of removing or mitigating its defects; and Colonel Munro's rare qualifications pointed him out as the fit person to conduct it. He accordingly re-embarked for India in 1814; having, shortly before, in oblivion of his early diatribes against matrimony, been united to the lady whose society formed the ornament and delight of his after life. The new commission was doomed to contend, at Madras, against the combined array of interest and prejudice; for those who did not happen to be enamoured of the old system, through the influence of time and usage, could plainly perceive, in the proposed modifications, a tendency to abolish many lucrative appointments. Every kind of obstacle was, therefore, presented to the progress of the commission, and every contrivance for gaining time adopted by the many who were hostile to plans which they regarded as dangerous innovations. Colonel Munro thus writes to Mr. Cumming, of the Board of Control:—

'It cannot be expected that men who have been accustomed to regard the system of 1793 as perfect, will easily give it up as altogether inadequate; or that even those who have lost their reverence for that system will favour a new one which must, in its course, do away a great proportion of the courts and appointments connected with them. We might as well expect to find military men applauding a system for reducing the army. I am not, therefore, at all discouraged by the number of opinions against the system, because every person in the judicial line must be against it, either from interest or prejudice.'

By dint, however, of firmness and perseverance, the commissioners



tioners succeeded in passing the regulations which defined the powers of the collector as magistrate, and of the zillah-judge as criminal-judge; together with those general arrangements by which the natives ceased to be entirely excluded from all share in the administration of justice. But while the commission was yet unexpired, the inroads of the Pindarries, and the confederacy formed among those native powers who encouraged and protected them, drew attention from civil details, and opened a road to military distinction, of which Colonel Munro nobly availed himself, in spite of formidable obstacles arising principally from the jealous and unfriendly feelings of the Madras government towards him. He at first undertook the office of commissioner for arranging the provinces ceded by the Peishwah to the Company, but with some reluctance, as this implied the exercise of civil duties at a time when hostilities appeared likely to commence. But when the Mahratta war at once blazed out, with the attack upon Mr. Elphinstone, the resident at Poonah, a brigadier's commission was forwarded to him, in compliance with his own earnest wishes, by Lord Hastings. The whole force, however, at his disposal only amounted to five companies of infantry, with two field-pieces, at the time when the Peishwah issued orders for the reoccupation of the country which he had ceded by the treaty of Poonah. Instead of acting merely on the defensive, General Munro boldly determined, with his five companies of sepoys, to open the campaign in the enemy's country, and thus save the Company's territory from the evils of the contest. Having applied in vain for more troops to the Madras government, though seconded by Mr. Elphinstone and the commander-in-chief, and seeing that regular forces were not to be had, he turned to powerful account the extraordinary talent which he possessed of enlisting the goodwill and services of the natives on his side. By judicious proclamations, he forbade the inhabitants of the newly-ceded provinces to pay their accustomed dues to their old masters—an order which they felt quite inclined to obey; and by arming the people of the country, and enabling them to defend their fortified villages from depredation, he kept undiminished his own small force for offensive operations. Being soon afterwards joined by some inconsiderable reinforcements, he opened the campaign in real earnest, and successively reduced a number of the enemy's strongholds, which he garrisoned, in his progress, with native irregulars. After the fall of Balam, an important fortress, he was joined by Brigadier Pritzler, with the main body of the reserve. Seeing himself now at the head of a more respectable force, he proceeded upon operations of greater importance, and, marching northwards, invested Sholapoor. This place, notwithstanding

standing that it was covered by a field-force, including cavalry, of nearly ten thousand men, was soon reduced, and the Peishwah's troops utterly broken and dispersed. With the fall of Sholapoor, General Munro's brilliant campaign may be considered to have closed; and as we have already given Mr. Canning's splendid allusion to it, we cannot now pay a juster tribute to his merits than by quoting a private letter of Sir John Malcolm, from whom such testimony must be considered, on every account, as coming with double value.

‘I send you a copy of a public letter from *Tom Munro Sahib*, written for the information of Sir Thomas Hislop. If this letter makes the same impression upon you that it did upon me, we shall all recede as this extraordinary man comes forward. We use common vulgar means, and go on zealously, and actively, and courageously enough; but how different is his part in the drama! Insulated in an enemy's country, with no military means whatever, (five disposable companies of sepoys were nothing,) he forms the plan of subduing the country, expelling the army by which it is occupied, and collecting the revenues that are due to the enemy, through the means of the inhabitants themselves, aided and supported by a few irregular infantry, whom he invites from the neighbouring provinces for that purpose. His plan, which is at once simple and great, is successful in a degree that a mind like his could alone have anticipated. The country comes into his hands by the most legitimate of all modes—the zealous and spirited efforts of the natives to place themselves under his rule, and to enjoy the benefits of a government which, when administered by a man like him, is one of the best in the world. Munro, they say, has been aided in this great work by his local reputation—but *that* adds to his title to praise. His popularity, in the quarter where he is placed, is the result of long experience of his talents and virtues, and rests exactly upon that basis of which an able and good man may be proud.’—p. 503.

Peace being finally restored, the severe injury which his health had sustained from such extraordinary exertions determined the Brigadier on resigning all his commissions, civil as well as military; and in January, 1819, he re-embarked for England, with Mrs. Munro. There the fittest and most grateful rewards of forty years' unwearied exertion for the public good may be said to have awaited his landing. It was within a few weeks announced to him, that he had been selected to succeed the Hon. Hugh Elliot, as governor of Madras.\* The

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\* Mr. Gleig, should his work be reprinted, may as well give this in more detail. Another gentleman had been thought of by Lord Liverpool, and had, indeed, been mentioned to the East India Directors in a manner not to be mistaken; but the moment Mr. Campbell Marjoribanks, their chairman, introduced the name and qualifications of Munro to Mr. Canning, then president of the Board of Control, the appointment was certain. We have heard Mr. Canning's *ipsissima verba* were, ‘*Yes, if you have such a card as that, it must be played.*’

rank of major-general was then conferred upon him, and he was appointed a knight commander of the Bath. He had come home with the wish and expectation of passing the remaining years of his life in his native land; but an opportunity now offered of exercising his extraordinary talents on a scale which was calculated to give them the highest effect, and he did not decline it. The congratulations of all those whose praise is most valuable, attended him on the occasion; and the public tribute of Mr. Canning was given in words which we have a melancholy pleasure in quoting.

‘We bewilder ourselves, in this part of the world, (said that gifted man,) with opinions respecting the sources from which power is derived. Some suppose it to arise with the people themselves, while others entertain a different view: all, however, are agreed that it should be exercised *for* the people. If ever an appointment took place to which *this* might be ascribed as the distinguishing motive, it is *that* which we have now come together to celebrate; and I have no doubt that the meritorious officer who has been appointed to the government of Madras will, in the execution of his duty, ever keep in view those measures which will best conduce to the happiness of twelve millions of people.’

And yet he, whom Canning thus appreciated, is the man against whom the breath of calumny, foul as the sources from which it originates, has lately been directed—who has been accused of offering to *sell* his evidence to the Liverpool *free-traders* at the last renewal of the charter! We will not be so uncourteous as to doubt the liberality of the purchasers, had such an opportunity ever presented itself; but the charge against Sir Thomas Munro is one of which the whole course of his life is a continued refutation, and the authority of his detractors is of a description that could do no harm to excellence less indisputable than his. In December, 1819, scarcely six months after his arrival at home, he re-embarked, with Lady Munro, at Deal—their infant son being left behind in charge of his mother’s family. The appendix to the volumes of Mr. Gleig, which of course contains only a small selection of the public papers of the governor of Madras, bears witness to the wisdom and temper that guided his counsels, in a station to which merit alone had raised him from the humble rank of an unfriended cadet. His accustomed benevolence to the natives was displayed in the formation of institutions for their instruction, and in providing for the old age of such as had spent their lives in the public service. In regard to the absurd, but short-lived experiment of an Indian free press, his recorded opinion is too forcible and conclusive not to be given.

‘A free press, and the dominion of strangers, are things which are quite incompatible, and which cannot long exist together; for what  
is



is the first duty of a free press? It is to deliver the country from a foreign yoke, and to sacrifice, to this one great object, every measure and consideration. . . . If we, for the sole benefit of a few European editors of newspapers, permit a licentious press to undermine among the natives all respect for the European character and authority, we shall scatter the seeds of discontent among our native troops, and never be secure from insurrection. . . . We are trying an experiment never yet tried in the world; maintaining a foreign dominion by means of a native army, and teaching that army, through a free press, that they ought to expel us, and deliver their country. As far as Europeans only, whether in or out of the service, are concerned, the freedom or restriction of the press could do little good or harm, and would hardly deserve any serious attention. It is only as regards the natives, that the press can be viewed with apprehension; and it is only when it comes to agitate our native army, that its terrible effects will be felt.'—vol. ii., p. 27.

We would gladly add Sir Thomas's sentiments on the folly and danger of attempting to hasten the conversion of the natives, by the interference of government, but must proceed. The period of peace was improved by him to the preservation of internal tranquillity, and the increase of the revenues of the Madras presidency,—the latter of these two great objects being entirely dependent on the promotion of the former. The insurrections of petty chiefs, which had often been caused by the precipitancy and misconduct of our own civil and military officers, were prevented by forbidding the local authorities from proceeding to extremities against them, without an application to government; as well as by showing more confidence in them, and thereby rendering them more attached to us. The task of improving our resources, by far the more difficult of the two, was wisely begun by lowering the assessments on the cultivators, as this had generally been too high in respect to the condition of the people, and had consequently prevented that extension of cultivation which alone could effect a permanent increase of revenue.\* In conformity with one of his favourite maxims, that 'the superintending influence of a governor ought to be felt in every corner of his province,' Sir Thomas Munro, like Raffles, made frequent and toilsome journies into the remote districts. Like Raffles, too, he was ever open and accessible to the natives, towards whom the kind feelings of his early life never cooled, and concerning whom he writes to Lady Munro, in one of his inland tours, 'I like to recognise among them a

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\* His views on this subject are thus admirably summed up:—'I wish to see the usages of each country or province adopted as the basis of our revenue system; to protect landed property as we find it, whether in small portions or large masses; not to vex the people by regulations; neither to subdivide what is great, nor consolidate what is small; and to lower the assessment generally wherever it is too high;—to leave the rest to Providence and their industry.'—p. 68.

great number of my old acquaintances, who, I hope, are as glad to see me as I to see them.' Even when at Madras, he gave up several mornings in the week to their personal applications, by resorting constantly to the same walk, and entering freely into conversation with those who purposely threw themselves in his way. Such a multiplicity of duties, and such a conscientious discharge of them, of course demanded the most rigid division of time; and here we cannot do better than let his biographer speak.

'As the interval between sunrise and the ringing of the breakfast-bell was given up to receiving the personal applications of the natives, so was the period of breakfast itself, and about an hour, after its conclusion, devoted to a similar intercourse with Europeans. The table was always spread for thirty persons; and such as had business to transact, or personal applications to make to the governor, were expected to partake in the meal. By adhering to this arrangement, and steadily refusing to waste so much as a minute in useless chit-chat, Sir Thomas Munro was enabled to withdraw to his own room usually about half-past nine, where, till four o'clock, he remained employed in public business, and inaccessible, except under very peculiar circumstances, to all intruders. Four was his hour of dinner, except twice a month, when large parties were invited to the government-house, at eight o'clock; yet even these were not permitted to interfere, in any respect, with the earlier arrangements for the day. At half-past five, or six, according to the season of the year, he drove out, for a time, with Lady Munro; after which, he again withdrew to his own room, and applied to business. At eight, tea was served, when he joined his family: from the conclusion of this repast till he retired for the night, which occurred about ten or half-past ten, he remained among them.'—p. 71.

Among the letters, we find one to Sir John Malcolm, duly appreciating his masterly work on Central India. It is delightful to trace the mutual interchange of friendship, admiration, and esteem, which began with the earliest career of this 'par nobile fratrum,' continued through their very equal race, and never ended but with the death of one of them.

'I wonder how you have found time for such works. I think that all this must end in your writing a general history, and making all other histories unnecessary, by beginning, like the Persians, with Huzzut Adam, or at least with Mehta Noah. I have been much pleased with your first chapter: it contains a great mass of information; much of it is new; and though much of it, also, is what was known before, it is not the less interesting on that account, but rather the contrary, as it shows us how general and uniform many of the Indian institutions and customs were in provinces very remote from each other. If you persist in your plan of going home at present, and if ever you venture to India again, I hope you will come and relieve me; for I should be delighted to see this government in the hands of  
a man

a man who has had more practical experience in India than any European who ever visited it.'

A large portion of this second volume consists of correspondence and details respecting the Burmese war, with which Sir Thomas Munro's name is indeed nobly associated. At a time when his private wishes led him to look most earnestly towards home, and even to transmit his written application for a successor, the contest with the kingdom of Ava broke out; and it is well known that, when this was at its height, he made to the Court of Directors his public-spirited offer to remain in India until it should be concluded. This offer was, of course, promptly received, and thankfully acknowledged. The justness and sagacity of the views which, from the very first, he took regarding the prosecution of the war, could only be equalled by the extraordinary zeal and effect with which he contributed towards its successful termination, by the supply of troops from the Madras army—and this without increasing the military establishment of his presidency. The successful termination of the war\* won for the governor of Madras his just meed of approbation and thanks from the supreme government, and the Court of Directors, for the more than proportionate share that he had in bringing it about; while the additional rank of baronet, conferred in 1825, showed the sense which was entertained of his services by the ministry at home. It was the last great public benefit that he was destined to render to his country, and crowned a life which was long indeed, if measured by its usefulness—'quantum ad gloriam, longissimum ævum peregit.' The indisposition of Lady Munro, while the contest with Ava remained yet undecided, added to the severe and dangerous illness of a second son who was born to them at Madras, had rendered it necessary that Sir Thomas should be left alone in India until the time might arrive when he could join his family at home. With the good sense and good taste which were innate in him, he had always refrained from making a display of domestic fondness before strangers; but of the existence of such amiable qualities, his inimitably touching letters to Lady Munro bear abundant testimony. Shortly after her departure, he writes,

The cause which occasioned the desertion\* of this house gives every thing about it a melancholy appearance: I dislike to enter Kamen's† room. I never pass it without thinking of that sad night, when I saw him lying in Rosa's lap, with leeches on his head—the tears streaming down his face, crying with fear and pain,

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\* Our case,' (he remarks, at the very commencement of the contest,) 'is a clear one of self-defence and violated territory; and I have little doubt but that fortune will, on this occasion, take the right side.'

† This was his son Campbell's nursery name.



and his life uncertain. His image, in that situation, is always present to me whenever I think of this house. . . . . How delightful it was to see him walking, or running, or stopping to endeavour to explain something with his hands, to help his language! How easy, and artless, and beautiful, are all the motions of a child: every thing that he does is graceful! All his little ways are endearing, and they are the arms which nature has given him for his protection—because they make every body feel an attachment for him. . . . Your rooms look very desolate; they are empty all day, and in the evening have one solitary lamp. I now go along the passage without seeing a human being, and often think of him running out to pull my coat. I cannot tell you how much I long to see him playing again. . . . . I shall keep a letter from Tom to you, as it is on the same sheet with one from him to me, both in his own handwriting. He is the only one of the family whom I now see. I go into the room, where his picture is, every day for two minutes, on my way to the dining-room, or rather veranda. I think him more like Kamen than I used to do, and sometimes almost fancy that he looks happier since you went home. I am not sure, however, that there is any change. It is likely enough that even when you were here, he looked as well pleased as now, but that I did not observe it.'—p. 179-185.

These passages will remind every reader of Heber's pathetic verses :—

' If thou, my love, wert by my side,  
My babies on my knee,  
How gaily would my pinnacle glide  
O'er Gunga's mimic sea.' &c.

They were doomed never to meet again. On the very day, it would seem, that the news of the definitive treaty with Ava reached Madras, Sir Thomas despatched several copies of a letter to the directors, expressing his earnest wish to be relieved as soon as possible. Mr. Gleig is surprised at the length of time which intervened between the sending these despatches on the 28th May, 1826, (it is erroneously printed 1824,) and their consideration by the Court on the 6th of the following September; but the time appears to us very short, being barely more than three months. If any unnecessary delay, however, occurred in complying with the wishes of this truly good and faithful servant, it is certainly to be deeply regretted, since his death was the consequence of remaining another season at Madras. Pending the arrival of a successor, the governor determined on making a tour of inspection to the Ceded Districts. This was unfortunately undertaken at the commencement of the summer of 1827, at a time when that Indian pest, the cholera, was making its ravages in the country.

Too

Too regardless of himself to form a just calculation of the danger, Sir Thomas set out from Madras towards the end of May, attended by Dr. Fleming and a small escort; and enjoyed for a brief space 'the great pleasure of passing through countries enjoying profound peace, and full of industrious inhabitants, which he had formerly seen desolate and laid waste by a destructive enemy.\*' It was during the morning of the 6th July, while transacting business in the audience-tent, near Gooty, that he was attacked with what, at first, appeared a slight indisposition; but the progress of which, as the day advanced, too plainly bespoke the cholera.

'He spoke with perfect calmness and collectedness; assured his friends that he had frequently been as ill before; regretted the trouble he occasioned to those about him, and entreated them to quit the tent. "This is not fair," said he, "to keep you in an infected chamber;" and when told that no apprehensions were entertained, because there was no risk of infection, he repeated his usual obser-

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\* We are quoting from a letter of Munro's, not included in Mr. Gleig's book—and are tempted, as it was one of the last he ever wrote, to transcribe some more of it here. It is addressed to his old friend, Mr. Haliburton, and refers, *inter alia*, to an opinion expressed by that gentleman, himself a deeply learned orientalist, to the effect that too much importance is attached in this country to the acquisition of the *learned* languages of the east, such as Sanscrit and Arabic, by young persons educated for the Company's service. These are the 'Indian languages' alluded to in what follows. 'I agree with you entirely in thinking that a great deal too much importance is attached to a proficiency in the Indian languages, and I was, therefore, very glad to see the motion at the India House, for making all cadets pass an examination in them, rejected. An officer wants little more of the native languages than what is necessary to make his men understand him on all points of duty. Many of our best officers have merely this knowledge, and some of our best orientalists are mere linguists, and better calculated for domines than officers. We have too many restrictions, both civil and military. A young man's prospects should never be permanently destroyed for mischievous pranks or idleness at college or school; a lad who is idle at fifteen or sixteen, often becomes studious at twenty, and gives great application to the country languages after having been a year or two in India and found their utility. I am truly sorry to hear that James Anderson has had so serious an attack—a man such as he is ought never to be ill, and I trust that he has long since recovered. I am not at all surprised that you should still be fond of talking over the negotiation with Scindia, in 1782. It was an eventful period, and more critical and interesting than any that has occurred since; and I shall be very happy, when I can see you at Bushey, to talk over some of the scenes of those days. They have been brought fresh to my mind by my present journey, having been through the Carnatic, by Carangooly and Tondewanum, where Sir Eyre Coote's army was always followed and harrassed by Hyder; and by my halting lately at Chillumbrum, where we were repulsed, in 1781, a few days before the battle of Porto Novo. It seems strange to me that these things should have happened forty-five years ago, and that I should be still on the same spot, and that, on riding along the bank of the river, I could, in fancy, see before me Meir Saheb's cavalry scampering about and following us close on the opposite bank, as distinctly as if it had only been yesterday. I am, I believe, the only European now in India who was with the army on that retreat: I thought little of the heat then, but I now find it a serious matter to sit writing in a tent, with the thermometer at 98. Such heat is very oppressive, and, with the help of so many years in India, must soon wear me out.'

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vation—"That point has not been determined; you had better be on the safe side, and leave me."—It was now one o'clock in the day, and his pulse being full and good, sanguine hopes were encouraged that all might yet be well; but from that time he failed rapidly, and the fears of his friends and attendants became seriously excited. About three, however, he rallied, and feeling better, exclaimed, with a tone of peculiar sweetness, "that it was almost worth while to be ill, in order to be so kindly nursed." Between three and four no event of importance occurred, except that he repeatedly alluded to the trouble which he gave, and constantly urged the gentlemen around him to withdraw; but soon after four he himself remarked that his voice was getting weaker, and his sense of hearing more acute. These were the last articulate sounds which he uttered, for the disease increased rapidly upon him; and though faint hopes were more than once entertained, owing to the appearance of certain favourable symptoms, for the apprehensions that accompanied them there was too much ground. Sir Thomas Munro lingered till half-past nine in the evening, and then fell asleep.

The deceased was carried back to Gooty, where he was interred with every mark of respect. The acts and resolutions of the council of Madras, as well as the community at large, on the arrival of the sudden and sad intelligence, were the best proofs of the estimation in which the governor had been held. The former, after dwelling on the talents and virtues of their late illustrious colleague and chief, observed, 'that these qualities were admirably adapted to the duties which he had to perform, in organizing the resources, and establishing the tranquillity, of those provinces where his latest breath had been drawn, and where he had long been known by the appellation of *Father* of the people.' The most appropriate tribute to the memory of such a man, among the people who had given him such a title, was the allotment of a portion of land, for planting trees and sinking wells at the public expense, round the spot where he died. Besides erecting a substantial stone monument over the remains of the deceased, the government resolved that a choultry and tank should be built at Gooty, for the accommodation of travellers, to be called 'the Munro choultry and tank;' and that an establishment of servants should be publicly maintained, for the preservation of the same, and for providing travellers with water.\* At a general meeting of the inhabitants of Madras, a bronze equestrian statue was decreed, to be executed by Chantrey; while numerous private testimonials to the worth of the illustrious deceased were set

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\* This mode of perpetuating the memory of eminent men is the most congenial to the natives, as might be known by a history of the numerous endowments of the kind throughout India.



on foot among his personal friends. The portrait at the beginning of these memoirs, from a painting by the new president of the Royal Academy, is a strong and admirable likeness. Those who have read Mr. Gleig's book will easily believe this—' *bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter.*'

The influence of such good and great men does not die with them. Many a 'callow chief and embryo statesman' will fashion himself after the bright model of Sir Thomas Munro, to the benefit of our Indian empire, and the happiness of its peaceful natives; and the history of his statue and his tomb, and of 'the Munro choultry and tank,' will long serve to perpetuate the blessings which his life diffused. *His* was no greatness derived from favour or interest; he was the architect of his own fortunes from their very foundation; and the tale of his rise may tend to blunt the calumnies of those who still dare to deny to the administration of India that praise, which a fair review of it cannot fail to extort from every man of honesty and candour.

After *eight-and-forty years'* service (the last eight as an Indian governor, and a large portion of the former period in situations where he was the uncontrolled manager of provinces), Sir Thomas Munro died far from affluent. And yet this is the man whom malice has selected to accuse of negotiating with one of the out-ports for a *bribe*. Such ideas and imputations could never originate any where, except with persons who are themselves the proper subjects of them.

' Quid immerentes hospites vexas canis ?—  
Tu, cum timendâ voce complêsti nemus,  
Projectum odoraris cibum !'

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ART. IV.—1. *Lettres à M. le Duc de Blacas d'Aulps, relatives au Musée Royal Egyptien de Turin.* Par M. Champollion le Jeune. 1824—1826.

2. *Lectures on the Elements of Hieroglyphics and Egyptian Antiquities.* By the Marquis Spineto. London. 1829.

3. *Lettre à M. Charles Coquerel sur le Système Hiéroglyphique de M. Champollion.* Par A. L. C. Coquerel. Amsterdam. 1825.

4. *Essai sur le Système Hiéroglyphique de M. Champollion le Jeune, et sur les Avantages qu'il offre à la Critique Sacrée.* Par J. G. H. Greppo. Paris. 1829.

5. *Des Dynasties Egyptiennes.* Par M. de Bovet, Ancien Archevêque de Toulouse. Paris. 1829.

6. *Lettre*

6. *Lettre à Mons. Champollion le Jeune sur l'Incertitude des Monumens Egyptiens.* Par D. M. T. Henry. Paris. 1828.
7. *Ideen über die Politik, den Verkehr und den Handel der vornehmsten Völker der alten Welt.* Von A. H. L. Heeren. 2<sup>te</sup> Theil, 4<sup>te</sup> Ausgabe. Leipsig. 1829.
8. *Brief Remarks on the Chronology of the Egyptian Dynasties.* By Wm. Mure, Esq. London. 1829.

**A**NCIENT Egypt, in all ages of literary inquiry, has been, like the source of her own Nile, the great object of eager research, patient hope, and perpetual disappointment. The mysteries of her elder power and wisdom were surveyed with something of religious awe by the Greeks and Romans, who generally acknowledged in her the parent of their deities, their arts, and their civil government. To the Christian world, her connexion with the early history of the Jews has kept alive the same powerful interest. The literary pilgrims, who have visited her shores, from the days of old Herodotus, (not, indeed, the first of the Greeks who made enquiries into her early history upon the spot, for he was preceded by Hecataeus of Miletus,) down to our own time, have perpetually maintained or rekindled the excitement by new accounts of the wonders of this inexhaustible region. In the darkest ages, the pyramids, that stood, as it were, almost on the verge and entrance of the land of marvel, were known and familiarly spoken of as among the wonders of the world; while later diligence and enterprise have gradually opened to us the whole valley,

‘ Far off from sun-burnt Meroe,  
From falling Nilus to the sea  
That beats on the Egyptian shore.’

Our travellers, if we may again, tempted by the beautiful language of Gray, venture into poetry, have penetrated wherever

‘ ——— with adventurous oar and ready sail,  
The dusky people drive before the gale;  
Or on frail floats to neighbouring cities ride,’

which, alas, no longer

‘ Rise and glitter o’er the ambient tide,’  
but lie in their massy and majestic ruins on each side of the stream. City after city, up to the cataracts, even where the mouldering porticos are of a later date, still displays the same architectural character of weight, solidity, and colossal proportion, which belongs to the more ancient edifices; while above the limits of Egypt, temple after temple, either built with the same gigantic labour, or hewn out of the solid rock, shows, that if one mighty empire did not, at a very remote period, extend along the course  
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of the Nile, from the borders of Abyssinia to the sea, yet one religion predominated from Meroe to Memphis; the same arts, usages, and perhaps civil polity, followed, either ascending or descending, the course of the great river.

Yet it must be acknowledged, that however each successive adventurer upon the wide ocean of Egyptian antiquities has rarely failed to obtain a ready hearing, the public mind has rapidly subsided into a state of desponding apathy. The veil, that seemed to be partially raised, has fallen again: the strong, feverish excitement has given place to languor and insensibility, and the learned world has acquiesced in the utter hopelessness of obtaining any satisfactory results from Egyptian inquiry. Almost in our own days, the French expedition to Egypt, with its commissariat of Savans, extended, indeed, our knowledge, both of the nature of the country and of the more remarkable monuments; the surprising discoveries of Davison and Belzoni in the pyramids, and of the latter among the royal tombs of Thebes and the temples of Nubia, awakened, for a time, the most eager hope, which soon subsided into something like the former disappointment; for, though many extraordinary facts came to light, they only heightened our wonder without adding greatly to our knowledge, and stimulated, without satisfying, our ardent curiosity to become more intimately acquainted with a people, who, from their sculpture and buildings, might almost appear to belong to the elder race of giants rather than to the ordinary sons of men.

Perhaps the humiliating feeling that we had been baffled in our attempts to proceed farther, led us to underrate the progress which we had actually made. Though much remained undone, much had been done. The closer inspection of the stupendous monuments, which had before only excited amazement by their vastness and daring dimensions, displayed sometimes a simplicity, often a complicated regularity of design, which commanded not merely astonishment but admiration. The architecture was impressed with one great predominant character, strikingly adapted to the purposes to which it was consecrated and the local circumstances of the country. Along the flat plains of the great valley the long and level lines of cornice and architrave stretched out in almost endless perspective; avenues of sphinxes or human colossi, many furlongs in extent, though now broken by the hand of time, showed to the imaginative eye what we would call a sort of processional magnificence of design, by which the mind was led along through an almost interminable succession of gigantic objects, up to the great inmost centre of royal pomp or religious adoration. What Thebes must have been, when spreading over a circuit of from twenty-seven to thirty miles, with the noble



river flowing through it, and each quarter occupied by its immense palace or temple, surpasses all conception. Each successive traveller—Pococke, Denon, Hamilton, and lastly Champollion,—having exhausted the whole language of wonder, ends with confessing the utter inadequacy of the strongest terms to convey the impressions excited only by the ruins. Nor was it in architecture alone that this ancient people had made a progress little suspected by the jealous and exclusive idolaters of Grecian skill. Their sculptures were found, by the most competent judges, to display a very high though peculiar state of the art. Their colossal statues were distinguished by a calm and solemn grandeur of conception, (Champollion, we perceive, asserts, from attentive study, that they are usually, in the strictest sense, portraits,) while their reliefs are full of vigour, life, and expression. The most confused scenes, battles and sieges, have been struck out with wonderful clearness of distribution and skilfulness of gradation. Even their paintings, though of a lower style of art, as the Egyptians used only uncompounded colours, and were ignorant of perspective, were far from devoid of beauty, and full of interest; it was impossible to hear, without some sort of incredulity, that scenes of religion, war, or peace, depicted perhaps fourteen centuries before Christ, were still to be seen in all the freshness of their original colouring.\* Perhaps, in some respects, the costliness of the works in which many of these discoveries were communicated, prevented their exciting that general interest which was for a time created by the exhibition of Belzoni's tomb. The splendid French work, the '*Description de l'Égypte*,' is only to be seen in great public libraries; and even the singularly animated descriptions of some of the Theban monuments, by the most accomplished of our English travellers, Mr. Hamilton, which, if separated from the matter of more temporary interest in his *Ægyptiaca*, might have acted more strongly on the public mind, still remain in their original costly quarto form.

This perpetual frustration of high-raised hopes was the more provoking, as one step, it appeared, would place us within the circle of knowledge. Every obelisk, every building, every tomb, almost every mummy case, as well as countless papyri, were inscribed

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\* We are likely to obtain much very curious information on the private life of the Egyptians: M. Champollion has caused three hundred drawings to be made of all the very curious paintings, rapidly surveyed, but, as far as he went, admirably described by Mr. Hamilton, in the sepulchral excavations of Beni Hassan. Champollion has arranged them under different heads, among which are agriculture, the farm-yard, arts, and trades, household,—singing, music, and dancing,—games and diversions,—domestic practice, navigation, zoology, besides the higher classes of religious and historical subjects.—Champollion, 5th and 6th Letters from Egypt.

with words or symbols which might, perhaps, at once reveal the secrets of Egyptian wisdom; but though they spoke, they spoke in a language irrecoverably lost. Each kind of writing, for it was impossible not to discriminate between the different forms, was alike dark and mysterious: the hieroglyphic, so long supposed to represent objects, either directly by their similitude, or symbolically by certain conventional signs—the hieratic—and the demotic or enchorial, as they have been since called, lay sealed up in the unawakening slumber of ages; though different, yet but imperfectly distinguished from each other; and abandoned to the reveries of learned enthusiasts, like Father Athanasius Kircher, who discovered in these mysterious signs the whole secret of the cabalistic art; or the pious dreamer who read the hundredth psalm over the portico of an Egyptian temple;—Warburton alone had a dim and remote vision of the truth, but it was the happy conjecture of native sagacity, and rested on no solid grounds of proof.

On a sudden, it was announced to the often-deceived and therefore incredulous world, that a key had been discovered which would unlock the sacred treasures of ancient Egyptian lore. The fame of the first discovery in this unknown land unquestionably belongs to the late Dr. Young, a man who united a profound knowledge of the exact sciences with the most extensive erudition, to a degree rarely found among the scholars of the present, or perhaps of any former time. That this is not a purely English assertion may be shown from the words of one of the first linguists in Europe:—

‘La Docteur Young, Anglais, est sans contredit le premier auteur de cette découverte.\* Le célèbre Zoéga avait déjà soupçonné qu’une partie des signes hiéroglyphiques pouvoient être employée alphabétiquement, mais l’honneur d’avoir démontré ce fait appartient au Docteur Young.† . . . . Disputer à ce savant la priorité de cette découverte

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\* M. Klaproth supports his decision by a proof, which we are not aware that M. Champollion has answered. In the year 1821, after the discovery of Dr. Young had been made known, Champollion published, at Grenoble, a volume ‘De l’Ecriture Hiératique des anciens Egyptiens,’ in which he distinctly states his conviction, that the *Hieroglyphics are not phonetic*, ‘que les signes Hiéroglyphiques sont des signes de choses et non des signes de sons.’ This volume has been withdrawn from circulation on the pretext that the author was actuated by ‘la crainte de blesser les scrupules de quelques personnes pieuses.’ M. Klaproth asserts, that there is positively nothing in the volume which could produce that impression, and that the real motive for its suppression was the unfortunate avowal which decides at once the controversy. It is right to add, that we have not seen the volume, and rest entirely on the citation before us, and that M. Klaproth is inclined to a novel, in our opinion not very successful, system of interpreting hieroglyphics.

† Deeply do we lament that this assertion, which a short time since would have been an act of justice to a living author, by whose labours we might long have hoped to profit, must assume the tone of sacred piety towards the dead. Even to the close of life this eminent man clung with fond attachment to his ruling passion, the love of knowledge. During his last illness he corrected the proof-sheets of a work, which he

découverte serait aussi absurde que de vouloir soutenir, que celui, qui le premier mêla du salpêtre avec du soufre et du charbon n'a pas été l'inventeur du poudre, mais bien celui qui s'est servi pour la première fois de ce mélange comme moteur pour les projectiles.'—*Klaproth, Préface, Collection des Monumens Egyptiens de M. Palin.*

The first steps of Dr. Young were slow and cautious; yet the great principle was distinctly, and in our opinion unanswerably, established, that the hieroglyphic characters, in many cases, represent words not things,—that they are alphabetic not pictorial characters,—signs of the articulate sounds of the human voice, not transcripts or symbols of the external objects, which they would convey to the mind. Dr. Young at first seems to have doubted whether, in some instances, they did not represent syllables rather than letters; he was embarrassed by the vowels, which appear, as in the Hebrew, to be frequently omitted; and on this point he was speedily outstripped by the more rapid decision of his great rival.

For at this period the torch was snatched from his hand, and the race continued by a man eminently qualified, not only by the stronger but even the weaker parts of his character, to pursue the career of discovery with success. Encumbered by no professional avocations or scientific-pursuits, M. Jean François Champollion could at once throw his whole undivided mind into the inquiry. Egyptian antiquity had already been the idol of his early literary worship; and directly this new light was thrown across his path, following it, till he almost persuaded himself that it had been kindled by his own genius, it became at once his sole passion and ambition. Ardent, and able to impart his ardour to others; indefatigable, and encouraged and enabled by the munificence of his government to push his researches wherever they were most likely to prosper; now, after having exhausted the Parisian collec-

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had long meditated, in conjunction with his friend, the Rev. Mr. Tattam; the latter furnished a compendious grammar of the Egyptian language,—the former, the rudiments of a dictionary of the ancient tongue. A cursory survey of Dr. Young's portion of this work (which does not bear much upon the business of our present article) enables us to state confidently that there is scarcely another, if another, scholar in Europe, who could have so far advanced a subject so recently opened to learned research. But we have been particularly struck with the liberal and manly tone with which he speaks of his competitor. Far from invidiously depreciating his labours, he bears ample testimony to their value, while at the same time he gives his opinion on the extent of their usefulness with the utmost plainness and simplicity, without condescending to that commercial interchange of mutual flattery once so common among scholars, who seem to have known no medium between contemptuous vituperation and fulsome panegyric. We add, with sincere pleasure, that the tone of M. Champollion towards Dr. Young, in his recent publication, is that of respect and even friendship. We cannot express ourselves, on the general question, more strongly than to say, that in the abundance of his claims upon our gratitude M. Champollion can afford to be strictly just; he who has so much improved, and made so much use of, the invention, may stand so high, as, without the least disparagement to his own fame, to award the full glory of discovery to the original inventor.

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tions, fixing himself among the extraordinary treasures of that of Turin, made by Drovetti; and now taking flight for Egypt, and consulting the oracle in its native dwelling, among the ruins of Thebes or Nubia; self-confident, so as to overlook obstacles and objections which would have repelled less daring speculators; rapid in observation, fertile in invention and combination; M. Champollion adds to all these eminent qualifications remarkable clearness and felicity in communicating the results of his inquiries. The '*Précis du Système Hiéroglyphique*' has the rare merit of making an abstruse subject not merely intelligible but even attractive to the less learned reader; and in the two letters to the Duke de Blacas, he has contrived so to prolong the charm, that we almost regret to hear occasionally the stern voice of rigid reasoning arraigning some of his positions and questioning some of his subtle inferences. Yet even the infirmities of Champollion have powerfully contributed to his success; the pardonable individual and almost laudable national vanity, with which, identifying his own fame with that of his country, he speaks of this great discovery, almost as if it might equal his own name and that of France with the glory of a Columbus or a Newton; his positiveness in asserting as unquestionable truth that which is still embarrassed with considerable difficulties; the careless and contemptuous indifference with which, having seized every word of an authority which makes in his favour, he throws aside all that stands in his way; these failings are perhaps inseparable from that ardour of character which carries him, with unfailing spirits, through such incessant labours. Had Champollion been less rapid and self-confident—had he breathed the more sluggish air of London instead of the light and exhilarating atmosphere of Paris—had he encountered the slow incredulity, the grave doubts, the cool and scrupulous reasonings of our learned men, rather than the interest of a circle, where the contagion of enthusiasm is propagated with instantaneous rapidity, and where the brilliancy of a discovery more than half proves its reality, in that case he might still have been digging away the sand from the vestibule of the long-buried edifice, and not boldly penetrated at once to the sanctuary.

In the following article it is our object to direct attention to the *historical* rather than the *philological* part of the question; to throw together, as far as our limits will allow, what is known of the early Egyptian history, in a popular form, that the reader may better understand the nature of the historical discoveries announced by Mr. Champollion.—For, however the wonders upon wonders announced by his successive letters from Egypt may hereafter be somewhat reduced by more cautious and sober criticism, (of this we presume not to judge till his proofs as well as his assertions

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are before the public,) yet it is clearly now impossible to dismiss the kings and conquerors of ancient Egypt into the unsubstantial region of mythic or allegorical personages; or, according to the fashion of the last century, into that of astronomical symbols: we see their deeds represented in sculptures and paintings, we read their names on their statues or public buildings, in some cases, perhaps, rashly and erroneously, yet still with an accumulation of coincident evidence, in confirmation of the general system of interpretation, as great and overpowering as such a subject could possibly admit. We shall content ourselves, then, with referring the reader for the detailed history of the progress of this remarkable discovery, either to Champollion's own work the '*Précis du Système Hiéroglyphique*;' or to the early part of the Marquis Spineto's Lectures, read before the University of Cambridge, in which the gradual development of the system is traced with clearness and fidelity; or lastly, if the reader is acquainted with the German language, to a summary but excellent account in the new edition of Heeren's '*Ideas on the Politics and Commerce of Ancient Nations*,'\* a work of the very highest rank among those with which modern Germany has enriched the literature of Europe. This author unites the laborious erudition of his countrymen with that animating spirit of real genius, which disposes into harmonious order and quickens into life that which, in meaner hands, lies in dull and heavy masses of unintelligible or at least unattractive learning. From any of these works, or, indeed, from some contemporary journals, he will be able to fill up the following very imperfect outline.

The trilingual, or rather bilingual, Rosetta stone, on which an inscription was written in hieroglyphics, enchorial characters, and Greek, led to this important discovery. Some of the enchorial words were made out by comparison with the Greek, by Messrs. Akerblad and De Sacy. Dr. Young not only much improved on their researches, but applied the same principle to the hieroglyphics. The Rosetta stone furnished the letters which formed the name of Ptolemy; the base of an obelisk, obtained by Mr. W. J. Bankes, who has not quite received his fair share of praise in Egyptian inquiry, gave that of Cleopatra. It was soon found that royal names were inclosed in a sort of oval ring, called by Champollion a cartouche, a most important circumstance, as it directed the inquirer at once to those

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\* This work, though undesignedly, has been rather unfairly treated in this country. A translation of by far the least valuable volume, that on Greece, has been published by an Oxford bookseller. We should gladly see the whole work made accessible to the English reader; but it would require no ordinary accomplishments to do so. Oriental, classical, and modern languages must be alike familiar to the person who should undertake the task. The scholar who could, perhaps, most easily have executed it, Dr. Alexander Nicol, is, alas! no more. Will Dr. Wait pardon us for suggesting it to him?

parts of an inscription which might be best submitted to the test. These cartouches were often coupled with a second, containing the titles and appellations of the king. Every attempt was crowned with success; Champollion, in Europe, followed up the inquiry with his characteristic activity; Mr. Salt, in Egypt; and later, Mr. Burton and others of our countrymen, pursuing the same plan, obtained the same results. The names of Cæsar and Ptolemy were read with almost undeviating similarity of spelling; at length those of the Persian monarchs, and those of the elder Pharaohs. Thus an alphabet was gradually constructed, and the principle upon which the Egyptians adapted their signs to their letters slowly came to light.\* It was found that they were not arbitrarily selected, but by certain conventional rules. The sign used for a particular letter was the image of the external object, the old Egyptian name of which began with that letter; as a lion in hieroglyphic English would represent an *l*—a dog, a *d*. It happened, likewise, most fortunately, that M. Etienne Quatremère had recently published a work, in which he proved that the Coptic was the lineal descendant of the ancient Egyptian tongue; and in the Coptic, the words were usually found, the images of which had been adopted to represent the first letter of the name. Usage, moreover, seemed to confine the representative symbols of each letter to a moderate number; every image of an object, which might begin with the letter wanted, was not indiscriminately used; and probably, among the apparent representatives of the same letter, the different signs may indicate those slight differences of sound which, in some languages, multiply so much the cognate letters. The vowels, as in Hebrew, were often omitted; certain signs were used to denote grammatical particles or inflexions, genders, and numbers. Thus hieroglyphics were proved to constitute a phonetic alphabet: but all hieroglyphics were not phonetic; some really represented external objects—others, in a less direct manner. Champollion arranged them under three heads, remarkably concurring with the best Greek authorities, particularly the curious passage of Clement of Alexandria. I. Figurative; which express the object directly by its image. II. Symbolic, tropic, or enigmatic; which represent, by an external object, as it were, metaphorically, some analogous idea. III. Phonetic; the representatives of letters. The different kinds of

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\* Heeren, as far as we know, was the first who observed the impossibility of representing proper names by symbolic figures. Here, as elsewhere, necessity was probably the mother of invention. Signs may represent genera, and classes, and orders, but can scarcely discriminate individuals. The symbols of royalty added to the sign of the man designate the king. The victorious, or the wise, or the religious king may be distinguished from the weak or tyrannical; but what adjunct will show that we mean King George or King William, rather than King Henry or King Edward?



writing used in Egypt were, at the same time, more clearly distinguished, and mutually illustrated each other. (1) The ancient hieroglyphic, though still used, gave place for many purposes to the (2) hieratic, which was a sort of tachygraphy, or cursive writing of the more regularly formed images of its prototype. (3) The demotic, or enchorial,\* was formed from the hieratic, but with less diversity in its characters, which receded more and more from the primitive type, and was almost, if not entirely, phonetic. After this hasty sketch, we revert to the more immediate object of our article, the early Egyptian history.

Did civilization ascend or descend the Nile? Such is the first great problem. Was Ethiopia the parent of the religion, the arts, and the civil polity of Egypt; or did the light of Egyptian wisdom, conveyed by the arms of Egyptian conquest, penetrate into the dark caves of the Troglodytes, and subdue their yet barbarous clans to the use of the humane arts, and the restraints of civil polity? To ascertain this fact, we must visit the remote and famous Meroe. Before, however, we set forth on our adventurous voyage up the sacred Nile, we must clear our way by some observations; 1st, on the earlier chronology of the post-diluvian period; 2ndly, on the authorities which exist, independent of the monuments, for the construction of Egyptian history.

I. 'The opinions of chronologers,' says Stillingfleet, 'are like the city clocks, which seldom agree, yet some come nearer the time of day than the others do.' Of the truth of the excellent divine's latter assertion we entertain not the slightest doubt; but, unfortunately, we have no time-piece or dial, by which we can ascertain the steady and certain chime which ought to regulate our movements. Even when our astronomers take the subject in hand, we do not always derive that advantage which we might hope from the decisions of the exact science: witness the controversy about the Præadamitic Zodiac of Dendera, which, after having tried the calculating powers of many a learned mathematician, and carried up the existence of the earth on which it was constructed somewhat higher than the Cali Yuga of the Indians, or a Welsh genealogy, turns out to have been sculptured on a building at least as late as the Antonines. We are accustomed to suppose that we possess an undoubted canon of ancient chronology in the Holy Scriptures; but, perhaps, next to a clear acquaintance with what the sacred volume does undoubtedly contain, the most valuable knowledge is of what it does not. In the Universal History, above one hundred and twenty dates are given for the Creation, most of

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\* Besides the recent labours of Dr. Young, on the enchorial language, the student will peruse with profit the work of the very learned Professor Kosegarten, *De prisca Egyptiorum Literatura*.

them made out by persons who regard with most sincere reverence, and derive their arguments from, the sacred writings. The first of these places that event B. c. 6984 : the last, 3616 ; differing by the moderate amount of more than 3000 years. The period of the deluge is fixed with no greater uniformity. The Septuagint gives B. c. 3246—the Hebrew text (according to Usher), 2348. We shall add, as more connected with our subject, the extreme dates assigned to the Exodus, which is fixed by Josephus, (according to Dr. Hales, nearly the same with Des Vignolles,) B. c. 1648 ; by the English Bible, on the authority of Usher, 1491 ; by the vulgar Jewish chronology, 1312. Our concern, however, is merely to show that the best scripture chronology affords ample space for the highest antiquity which the great Egyptian kingdom can fairly claim. For the period between the flood, and the first connexion of sacred history with Egypt, we have four distinct authorities—the version of the LXX. ; the Samaritan ; Josephus, who professes to have adhered faithfully to the sacred volume ; and the Hebrew chronology adopted in our Bibles. None of these, strictly speaking, agree, but the three first concur in assigning a much longer period between the deluge and the birth of Abraham ; the LXX., 1070 years—the Hebrew, only 292. If it should be urged that the translators of the Septuagint, environed on all sides by Egyptian antiquities, and standing in awe of Alexandrian learning, endeavoured to conform their national annals to the more extended chronological system ; and that Josephus, either influenced by their authority, or actuated by the same motives, may have adopted the same views, yet the ancient Samaritan text still remains, an unexceptionable witness to the high antiquity of the more extended period. In fact, we are, perhaps, wasting our time in contesting this point, as we may fairly consider the Hebrew chronology of *this period* almost exploded. In our own country, most of those who have investigated the subject, men who certainly will not be suspected of want of reverence for the sacred volume,—Mr. Bryant, Mr. Faber, Dr. Hales,—concur in reverting to the system which generally prevailed in the early Christian church ; and lastly, Dr. Russell, in a very sensible essay, prefixed to his work on the connexion of sacred and profane history, has shown, with great probability, not only the late construction of what may perhaps fairly be called the Rabbinical chronology, in the second century of Christianity, but also, following the steps of the ancient Christian writers on the subject, the peculiar object for which it was framed. It would be difficult, indeed, to conceive the vast extension and multiplication of the human race,—the slow development of civilization,—the revolutions in the forms of government,—the rise of mighty empires,—the splendour of gigantic cities,—

cities,—within the narrow limits of two or three centuries; but in above a thousand years what changes might not be wrought! Compare the France and England, the Paris and London, of the days of William the Conqueror, with their present state; or, perhaps, the wild woods of America, inhabited by wandering tribes of savages, with her populous cities. Nor must it be forgotten, that, from the visit of Abraham, above two centuries more elapsed before the migration of his descendants; and of the state of Egypt, in the days of the patriarch, we know little more than that a king was ruling, with some degree of state, in some part of Lower Egypt—probably at Tanis or Zoan; and that the valley of the Nile had begun to make its rich return to the toil of the agricultural cultivator.

II. It has been ingeniously observed, that, from our three leading Greek authorities on Egyptian antiquities, we may suppose ourselves to hear the different legends of the three great sacerdotal establishments. Herodotus, though he professes to have compared their statements with those of the priests of Thebes and Heliopolis, obtained his chief information from the ministers of Ptha (Hephaistos) at Memphis. Manetho of Sebennyus may be considered as giving us the voice of Saitic, or rather, Heliopolitan tradition. Diodorus avowedly speaks as having been made acquainted with the sacred books of Thebes.\* The honesty and fidelity of the old Halicarnassian can scarcely be doubted: the question is, how far the priests may have misinformed the inquisitive stranger, or how far he may have misunderstood the priests? for whether he conversed with them through one of the caste of interpreters, or had himself acquired the language, does not appear. His restraint, when writing upon religious matters, is very remarkable; on certain other subjects, his informants do not seem to have been very communicative; nor does he appear to have paid much attention to the monuments of Thebes. Of the credibility of Manetho we should be better able to judge, if, of his great history of his country, we possessed more than the barren list of his dynasties, altered to suit the different systems of the Christian chronologists, and the fragments which Josephus has quoted for the purpose of confuting them. The manner in which his dynasties and the monuments mutually illustrate each other, makes out a strong case in his favour; and it may fairly be observed, that though his earlier dynasties, even if accurately reported, may be incorrect or fabulous, his later may be true,—as Livy's history of the kings of Rome may *possibly* be, as Niebuhr would persuade us, pure

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\* We cannot agree with Heeren in supposing him to assert that he had actually read their books; the word *ἐκτελέσει* seems to bear a much more general meaning.



poetry, while his later decads may be worthy of the highest credit. Diodorus had the advantage, besides his intercourse with the priests of Thebes, of studying the works of many earlier writers, particularly Hecataeus of Miletus, who preceded Herodotus in his visit to Thebes. Under the Ptolemies, the study of Egyptian antiquities was remarkably active; and in the excellent treatise of Heyne, '*De fontibus Historiarum Diodori*,' the reader will find a long list of the authors whom this diligent, and, we should conceive, generally judicious writer, most probably consulted. Dr. Young (Article on Egypt, in the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*) has observed how curiously the monuments illustrate some of the most extraordinary statements of Diodorus relating to Egyptian customs. Besides these writers, we have a fragment of an old chronicle, which the monk Syncellus (an indifferent authority) says misled Manetho; a very curious list of Theban kings, by Eratosthenes the Cyrenian; much valuable incidental information in Strabo, Plutarch, and other writers.

We now resume, after these long, but necessary, digressions, the subject which we proposed—the Ethiopian descent of the religion and arts of Egypt. The opinion of Zoega upon the first peopling of the valley of the Nile deserves our notice.

'I conceive,' says this learned writer, 'that when Egypt began to be inhabited, it was partly by some colonists from Arabia, who followed the pastoral life, and by others from Ethiopia, who had already learned to till the soil. The former occupied the marshes about Pelusium, and part of the Delta, with Babylon and Memphis, up to the middle of the Heptanomis; the Ethiopians built Thebes and Abydos, and many towns, both in the Thebais and Delta, and waged war for many ages with various success against the Shepherds. To this period the history of Osiris appears to belong, who, coming as a stranger from Ethiopia, after he had improved, by many inventions, the state of agriculture, and taught many of the useful arts of life to the Egyptians, at length, by a stratagem of Baby, the king of the shepherds (whom the Greeks call Typhon), was slain, and gave occasion for the well-known mournful rites. The Thebans afterwards prevailed, built Memphis, took Heliopolis from the shepherds, and, at length, Pelusium, or Abaris.' \*

The author goes on to assert that Sesostris first consolidated the whole territory into one great monarchy. There is probably much truth in this bold outline, though the shepherds expelled from Abaris were most likely, as will hereafter appear, of a different race from the Arabian.

Nothing, indeed, is more curious than the kind of sacred reverence in which the name of the Ethiopians was held in all primitive tradition.

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\* Zoega de Obeliscis.

'Already,'

‘Already,’ says Heeren, ‘in the earliest legends of the most civilized nations of antiquity, gleams the name of this remote people. The annals of the Egyptian priests were full of them; the nations of inland Asia, about the Tigris and Euphrates, mingled the songs of the conquests and campaigns of their heroes and heroines with Ethiopian legends; and, at a period considerably earlier, they glimmer amidst the Grecian mythology. When the Greeks scarcely knew Italy or Sicily by name, the Ethiopians were already in the mouths of their poets.’

Both in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, at a certain period of the year, Jupiter departs to visit this most remote and just of people,—

‘Nor disdains to grace  
The feast of Ethiopia’s blameless race.’

For twelve days the god is absent in this pious and hospitable region. There can be little doubt that some annual procession of the priests of Ammon, with their god, probably up the Nile to the primitive seat of their worship, is the ground-work of this legend, adopted into the Grecian mythology. ‘The Ethiopians,’ says Diodorus Siculus, ‘are said to be the inventors of pomp, sacrifices, solemn assemblies, and other honours paid to the gods.’ That is, they were the religious parents of the Egyptians, to whom the Greeks looked up, whether truly or not, as to their instructors in the worship of the gods, and in the principles of civil polity. It is in that sacred island, or shield-formed peninsula, made by the confluence of the Astapas, or Tacazze, with the Nile,—it is in that ancient Ethiopian Meïroe, that perpetual object of traditional reverence,—and the site of which a French traveller, M. Caillaud, has been so fortunate as to visit,—that we find the religion, the civil polity, the arts, and even the letters of Egypt in their infancy. Nothing is more remarkable in ancient history than the uniform existence of a great priestly caste or aristocracy, at first invariably the benefactors and civilizers of mankind, degenerating sometimes into oppressors and opponents to the progress of knowledge in the body of the community, lest the pre-eminence to which they were at first justly entitled should be wrested from their power. Among the Indians, the Babylonians, the Etruscans,—our own Gaulish ancestors,—probably the Pelasgian population of Greece,—even in the New World,—every where, in short,—appears, at a certain period of civilization, this primitive union of the religious and temporal supremacy in a distinct and privileged order, sometimes, no doubt, a tribe of another stock; and nowhere is this more distinctly traced than in the early Egyptian history. But while the progress of the arts of life, extended territory, perhaps frequent wars and conquests, gradually undermined the sacerdotal dominion in Egypt, and transferred

transferred the sovereign authority into the hands of the temporal monarch; while foreign dynasties swept away the power, both of the ancient Egyptian church and state; while Persian and Macedonian rulers governed that country on the common principles of oriental despotism; in the remote Meroe, the primitive polity remained almost unaltered, up to the time of the Macedonian kingdom of Alexandria; the model and type on which the ancient Egyptian monarchy was formed by its Ethiopian founders, was still in existence under the Ptolemies, and was extinguished only by the progress of Grecian opinions, which led the monarch to disdain the yoke of the priestly aristocracy, and to assert his royal supremacy, by a measure which rather displayed his independence than his humanity. Diodorus has left us an account of this transaction. Our author, on this point, besides consulting the writings of Agatharcides of Cnidos, and Artemidorus of Ephesus, professes to have obtained his information from oral communications with certain Ethiopian priests and elders, whom he fell in with at Thebes.\*

‘ The laws of the Ethiopians differ not a little from those of other nations, particularly in the choice of their kings; for the priests select the most distinguished of their own order; but of those thus selected, whichever the god (no doubt Ammon), as he is carried about in festal pomp (*καμαζων*, here, probably, is the banquet of Homer), shall lay hold of, him the people elect for their king, and instantly fall down and offer him divine homage, the sovereignty being thus conferred upon him by the providence of the gods. The king, thus chosen, adopts the mode of life appointed by the ancient laws, and conforms to them in every respect, neither bestowing favour nor inflicting punishment, but according to the primitive and immemorial usages of his ancestors. It is their custom never to execute those capitally condemned; but they send one of their officers to the criminal, bearing the symbol of death. Immediately that he beholds the fatal sign, he retires to his own house, and deprives himself of life. It is never permitted to fly into a neighbouring country, and thus, as among the Greeks, to commute the sentence of death for banishment. There is, indeed, a tradition, that, when a certain criminal attempted to make his escape from Ethiopia, he was detected by his mother, who twisted her girdle round his neck. He ventured not to make resistance, but quietly suffered himself to be strangled, that he might not involve his family in still deeper disgrace. But the most extraordinary fact of all relates to the death of their kings; for in Meroe, the priests who officiate in the worship of the gods, and hold the highest and most influential rank, when it seems good to them, send a messenger to the king, commanding him to die, for the gods having uttered this ora-

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\* Synesius, a late writer, has an account of the election of the kings of Thebes; but his authority is very doubtful.



cular decree, mortals must not presume to neglect the ordinances of the immortals. They add other arguments, which are received with the utmost simplicity by a mind brought up in reverence for ancient and uninterrupted usage; and the king, having nothing to urge in opposition, submits at once to the inevitable necessity. Thus, in older times, the monarchs implicitly obeyed the priests—not subdued by force of arms, but their reasons enslaved by superstition. But under the second Ptolemy, Ergamenes, King of the Ethiopians, having received a Greek education, and studied philosophy, first dared to treat this usage with contempt; for, assuming a spirit worthy of his royal dignity, he penetrated, with his soldiers, into the holy place (τὸ ἅγιον), where stood the golden shrine (ναὸς) of the Ethiopians, slew all the priests, and, abolishing the custom, ruled afterwards according to his own arbitrary will.—*Diod. Sic.*, b. iii., c. vi.

Here, then, is the prototype of the ancient priestly monarchy of Egypt; and, accordingly, in the oldest Nubian monuments, the king usually wears the united symbols of royalty and priesthood: even after the priesthood had lost or abandoned the privilege of electing the sovereign from their own body, the king continued to be initiated into their caste. Heeren conceives that several of the reliefs in the most ancient temples represent this important ceremony; while, in many other points, they show the still respectful subordination of the civil to the religious power: his attendants, as *Diodorus* says, were the youth of the priestly caste. How far the assumption of titles, Beloved of Ptha or Ammon, or even of the names of the gods, or the supposed deification of the sovereigns, may have originated in this intimate connexion, may be doubted. We have sometimes thought, that some allusion, either to connexion or rivalry between the throne and the altar, lurked in the curious account of the anxiety which the Theban priests showed to prove to Herodotus, by their rows of wooden colossi, that the same number of kings and priests had ruled and ministered in regular succession.

Another remarkable illustration of the resemblance in the arts, as well as the institutions, which prevailed along the whole course of the Nile, has come to light by the journey of M. Caillaud, to the site of the ancient Meroe. The great mystery of the pyramids neither has received, nor appears likely to receive, any light, from the discoveries in hieroglyphical literature. Notwithstanding the researches of Davison and Belzoni, and the wonderful calculation of the multitudes of chambers which may occupy the interior of these vast fabrics, we are as much in the dark as ever, as to their age and their builders. The pyramids appear, as it were, almost on the verge of the land, to impress the stranger at once with the genius of this colossal-minded people, whose region he has just entered:—

‘ They

‘ They stand  
To sentinel the enchanted land.’

Yet they stand in silent and incommunicative majesty ; and, we believe, no hieroglyphics, or other characters, have been, as yet, discovered, either within them or without. By the decisive testimony of Pliny,\* we know that the ancients had no settled opinion on the subject, and the positive statement of Herodotus is not merely improbable in itself, but is neutralized by his own admission, that the pyramids were a subject on which the priests were unwilling to converse. It now appears, that at the furthest extremity of the Nilotic region, we find again exactly the same form of building. Immeasurably inferior in their dimensions, the whole region of what we may suppose the ancient dominions of Meroe is studded with fabrics of the pyramidal form. M. Caillaud thus describes those of Nouri or Nourè.

‘ On en compte quinze fort grandes ; leur état de conservation me permet d’en mesurer les bases, à quelques centimètres près. Une de ces pyramides excède de près du double les dimensions des autres ; sa base est de 48 mètres 50 centimètres ; ses faces vont en se retrécissant par gradins comme celles de Saquarah ; la partie supérieure de l’une de ces faces s’est écroulée, et laisse voir à l’intérieur le sommet lisse d’une petite pyramide qui semble avoir été recouverte par celle que je décris. Toutes les autres ont de 26 à 28 m. de base. Leur construction ne diffère point de celles des pyramides d’Egypte, si ce n’est qu’elles sont plus effilées ; leurs faces sont garnies d’un revêtement en grès très-uni, et qui paraît avoir été regréé sur place, ce que faisaient souvent les Egyptiens pour les murailles de leurs monumens ; l’intérieur est bâti en pierres écarrées d’un poudingue formé de cailloux de quartz légèrement agglutiné : elles ont 20 à 30 centimètres en hauteur d’assise, et 45 environ en longueur. . . . Toutes ces pyramides étaient orientées de la même manière : l’axe de chacune, faisant un angle de 45 à 50 degrés vers l’ouest avec le nord magnétique, en place les angles dans la direction des quatre vents cardinaux.’—*Caillaud, Voyage à Meroe*, t. ii. p. 72.

These southern pyramids have in general a small sanctuary, or porch (pylon), before the entrance, and in this respect differ from

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\* ‘ Qui de iis scripserunt sunt Herodotus, Euhemerus, Durio Samius, Aristagoras, Dionysius, Artemidorus, Alexander Polyhistor, Butorides, Antisthenes, Demetrius, Demoteles, Apion. Inter omnes eos non constat a quibus factæ sint, justissimo casu oblitteratis tantæ vanitatis auctoribus.’—Pliny xxxvi. 12. Diodorus uses the same language. Both Dr. Young (article, Egypt) and Champollion (2de Lettre) have observed the resemblance of the Cheops, Cephren and Mycerinus of Herodotus, to the Souphis 1st, Souphis 2nd, and Mencheres of Manetho’s fourth dynasty of Memphite kings. Marsham long ago supposed that Herodotus having followed the line of Theban kings to a certain point, reascended and began that of the Memphites. This is quite irreconcilable with the text of Herodotus ; but may he not have misunderstood his informant, and arranged the Memphite kings, after the Theban, as their successors ?

those of the north ; though we have some reason to doubt whether this was uniformly the case. At all events, this similarity in the form of building, at the two extremes of the line of civilization, is a fact of great interest.

Nor is this all ; the ruins of the supposed Meroe are covered with the same hieroglyphic characters which are read on the monuments of Thebes and Abydos. Diodorus, in a very curious passage, (b. iii. c. 4.) expressly asserts the Ethiopic origin of hieroglyphics, which he calls *Αἰθιοπικά γραμμάτα*. At present, perhaps, we cannot decide whether Egypt owed to Meroe this sign of advancing civilization, or whether it was borne to Meroe from Egypt by the reflux of intercourse or conquest, which unquestionably took place at a later period.\* The following observations, however, of M. Cail-  
laud are too curious to be omitted.

‘En comparant les pyramides de Barkal et d’Assour avec celles de l’Egypte, les plus grandes surtout, on supposera peut-être que ces dernières ont eu aussi des sanctuaires extérieures ; mais c’est une opinion que je ne partage point. Si les pyramides d’Egypte, les plus grandes surtout, eussent été accompagnées d’édifices de ce genre, ils auraient eu des proportions relativement très-grandes, et il en serait indisputablement resté quelques traces. Au reste, on ne peut se défendre d’assigner deux époques de construction aux pyramides que j’ai décrites. Celles qui, à divers indices que j’ai fait connaître, *m’ont paru être les plus anciennes, n’ont point de sanctuaires, et par conséquent point d’hiéroglyphes*. Celles sont les deux plus grosses pyramides de Barkal, la plus grande partie de celles de Nourri et Belel, plusieurs dont il ne reste que les bases près des ruines d’Assour.’†

Another trifling circumstance is worth mentioning ; while the Ethiopian animals, the rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and giraffe, appear upon the Nubian sculptures, the Asiatic camel is never found. Camels, it may be remembered, were among the presents made by the king of Lower Egypt to Abraham ; but the Egyptians never seem to have adopted as a symbol, or object of worship, this useful servant of the Arabian desert. Thus then everything concurs to establish this theory, which, instead of being new, as Champollion asserts, ‘was clearly that derived by Diodorus, either from their priests or earlier traditions.’ It was thrown out by Sir W. Jones ;—it was zealously advocated by Bruce, who says, ‘The mountains immediately above or behind Thebes are hollowed out with numberless caverns, the first habitations of the Ethiopian colony which built the city ;’ and it has been admitted by the most accomplished of our modern travellers, that ‘we owe the earliest

\* In a curious passage of the Ethiopics of Heliodorus, he distinguishes between the royal and vulgar letters of the Ethiopians—the royal being the same with the hieratic of the Egyptians.—Ethiop. lib. iv. 8.

† Cailaudi, iii. 209.



seeds of science, politics, and religion, to the descendants of these Troglodytes, who but emerged from their caves to enlighten and civilize nations.\*

Of what race, then, were these primitive civilizers of mankind, who, from their capital of Meroe, held, as Heeren would teach us, a commercial intercourse with India on one hand, and with the whole range of Africa on the other; whose temple was at once, like the holy place of Mekka, the great centre of religious and of commercial resort; who, bearing with them the worship of Ammon and Osiris,† the arts of life, the habits of trade, and above all, the science and implements of agriculture, during the thousand years which elapsed from the flood, gradually spread their industrious colonies down the Nile, till they changed the morasses in which it stagnated to fertile corn-fields? Is our pride to submit to the humiliating conclusion, that, after all, we owe to that race, which has been so long the object of our contempt,—would that it were not necessary to add, of our tyranny,—the first dawn of that civilization, in the full daylight of which we are basking, while our instructors have shrunk back into almost primeval night? Was the superstitious, ignorant, and degraded negro the first missionary of commerce, and art, and civil polity? The monuments enable us to give a decisive answer on that head. Nothing is more remarkable, nor more generally acknowledged by all who have inspected or delineated the images, the sculptures, and paintings of ancient Egypt, than the apparent fidelity with which they discriminate the different races which they represent. But though the negro, with his sable complexion, flat lips, and woolly hair, frequently appears as an enemy or captive, the great dominant caste seem a swarthy, but not black people; tall, with hair curled, but not woolly; and countenances with a certain degree of sharpness and regularity of profile. Heyne, with the prophetic intuition of real genius, for we scruple not to award the praise of that highest quality of the human mind to him who first cast the light of reason over the wild domain of mythic history, had already anticipated this fact—‘*Utinam antiqua monumenta intueri liceret! forte enim ex iis declarari possit, diversas a vulgo facies ac vultus fuisse sacerdotum; ita omni dubitatione supersederemus, diversæ*

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\* Hamilton's *Egyptiaca*.

† The worship appears to have retained its more simple form in Meroe, where they worshipped only Ammon and Osiris, though with great magnificence. Heeren conceives that Caillaud has unknowingly discovered near Meroe the site of the famous oracle of Ammon, in some ruins which he ascribes to a different edifice. Is it worth observing, as a link in the history of nations and religions, that some of the Arabians, according to Arrian (*apud Photium*) worshipped only Jupiter and Dionysius, i. e. Ammon and Osiris?

originis ista tribus fuerit, adeoque Ethiopicæ, non Nigriticæ.' According to the wish of Heyne, the monuments have been inspected. In the more ancient, as well as the modern sculptures, the leading figures, the heroes of the design, are almost invariably the furthest removed from the negro expression of countenance; sometimes approaching to that character to which we are accustomed to assign the praise of manly beauty. The paintings confirm this view; the pure and uncompounded colours, used by the Egyptian artists, enable them to distinguish, if not nicely, yet with sufficient clearness, between the different races which they represent. The still more unexceptionable testimony of the mummies is equally strong. Those of the upper orders reveal the almost living lineaments of a people, tawny, not black, with long and sometimes lank hair, and with features which bear no trace of negro descent.

Whether the Troglodytes from Meroë were the first peoplers of the valley of the Nile, may be doubted; it is, perhaps, on the whole, more probable that, in some parts at least, as they descended, they found a rude race already settled in the region, over whom they assumed the ascendant of superior civilization, and thus formed the higher caste of a mingled nation. In the earliest of the Nubian temples, those hewn out of the solid rock,—for it must be remembered that later generations were constantly adding to the rude primeval buildings of these people, who perhaps only enshrined their gods in loftier subterranean halls than the narrow excavations in which themselves found shelter from the burning sun, the suffocating wind, or the sand-wave of the desert;—in these edifices, which almost line the banks of the river, it is possible that the progress of this tribe may be traced, when they shall have been fully and completely surveyed. Much has been already done by poor Belzoni, more by the French artists, Messrs. Gau and Huyot; but much still remains to be done, particularly in the accurate discrimination between the primitive edifices, and the additions made under the Pharaohs and even the Ptolemies.

At an early period, Thebes, or its vicinity, was the capital settlement of this people. They first, if Bruce is right, (who, however, was anticipated by Pococke,) excavated the mountains which skirt the fertile plain of Thebes, afterwards occupied by that vast city, into dwellings for themselves and their gods, and gradually spreading over the plain which lay between them and the Nile, and over the other shore of the river, brought the rich soil into cultivation and laid the foundation of the 'hundred-gated city.' The connexion of their religion with agriculture is established by every testimony of which such a subject is capable. The universal voice of tradition and history ascribes to the Egyptian god the invention of tillage.

Primus aratra manu solerti fecit Osiris,  
Et teneram ferro sollicitavit humum.'

'The priests of the Egyptians and Ethiopians,' says Diodorus, 'bear a sceptre, formed in the shape of a plough; their kings have adopted the same.' By the same doubtful light of tradition, it appears that we may still follow this caste or people, along the banks of the river. This, or Abydos, seems to have been the resting-place where they made a considerable establishment before they reached Lower Egypt.\* Here, after the government had assumed a monarchical form, was the seat of an ancient dynasty of kings, and Abydos was long held in reverence as one of the sacred places of the people, and was reported to contain the grave of Osiris. At this period, it is probable that Lower Egypt was a vast morass, and the Delta had, perhaps, hardly yet been deposited by the periodical swelling and subsiding of the river. The scientific researches of modern times give confirmation to the assertion of Herodotus, that Egypt was the 'gift of the Nile.'\* Cuvier has lent to this hypothesis the sanction of his great name; and that distinguished geologist seems to think it by no means incredible, that in the days of Homer, Pharos really lay at the distance from the main land described in the *Odyssey*. During the centuries subsequent to the Deluge, that almost creative process of nature, which is going on about the embouchures of the rivers in Australasia, may have advanced with greater or less rapidity according to local circumstances, and thus gradually conquered that valuable domain from the repulsed and still receding ocean, till the Delta and the adjacent region became the granary of the ancient world, and the solid foundation of the stately cities of Memphis and Alexandria.†

The first population of this region may have been, as Zoega supposes, a few miserable tribes of shepherds, who took possession of the neighbouring lowlands, where the vast fertility of the vegetation might tempt them to pasture their flocks; till the still descending husbandmen of Ethiopia introduced the more productive art of tillage, and by means of canals and watercourses, changed the stagnant swamps into wide corn-fields,—not merely facilitating the retreat of the redundant waters at the periodical season of overflow, but retaining them safely and regularly distributed over the

\* On this subject, there are a few useful observations in the *Lettre à M. Champollion*, par M. Henry. The rest is rambling, and more full of assertion than reasoning.

† In a discourse recently delivered at Paris, Cuvier declared that 'we come by a very simple calculation to the result, that 2000 years before Christ the whole of Lower Egypt had no existence.' We presume that the learned philosopher does not mean to bind us to the strict letter, or we shall find some difficulty, even on the lowest system of chronology, in constructing that kingdom of Egypt, which Abraham visited, and the city of Zoan (Tanis), where, in all probability, its king resided.



surface of the great valley, for the purpose of constant and general irrigation. Throughout the whole region sacerdotal colonies gradually fixed themselves, in places either suited for agriculture or traffic; a new temple, a new priestly college, a new mart, grew up by degrees into a new city, perhaps a new kingdom, which either retained or threw off its allegiance to the parent state. Almost every ancient city assumed the name of its god; the Grecian appellation of Thebes, 'Diospolis,' was, no doubt, translated from some native term; Memphis was the city of Ptha (Hephaistos), Heliopolis that of the sun; in later days, Apollinopolis, Latopolis, and many others, might be added.

Probably, however, before this lower region was extensively settled, the reign of the gods gave place to the reign of men: the sacerdotal government was changed into a monarchical form. Egyptian history, properly so called, begins with Menes, the first mortal king. To the dominion of the priestly caste belongs, no doubt, as Larcher has suggested,—that vast period which either ancient Egyptian vanity, or perhaps more modern Egyptian misapprehension, assigned to the reign of the gods and demi-gods. They are the mythic ages of Egyptian history. The 30,000 years of the reign of the Sun, the 3984 of the twelve gods, and 217 of the demi-gods, are, no doubt, either a mythic allegory, or an astronomical problem converted into history. If the key be ever recovered, it will most likely very ill repay the pains that have been taken to find it out.

Menes has been identified by many chronologers with the Mizraim of the Scriptures, for reasons which no doubt would have been highly satisfactory to good Fluellen. But of Menes or his age we really know nothing, except from accounts which the Greek authors themselves give as vague traditions—*φασὶ* is the modest salvo of Herodotus—*ὥς λέγεται* of Diodorus, when he assigns a period of 1452 years between Menes and Sesostris. Whether the revolution from the sacerdotal to the monarchical rule was sudden and violent, or silent and peaceful, cannot, of course, be made out, yet there are one or two points worthy of notice. Under Menes, Egyptian civilization made some considerable progress down the course of the river. Herodotus ascribes to him the construction of a vast dam, by which the course of the Nile was altered and confined, and the site of Memphis secured against the danger of inundation. Menes, according to Herodotus, was the founder of that great city. Diodorus, however, ascribes the fame of its parentage to Uchoreus, a much later sovereign. If, however, any settlement was made by Menes in the neighbourhood of Memphis, this extension of dominion, perhaps the establishment of a different worship—that of Hephaistos

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—was not unlikely to lead to the first change in the original polity,—the greater independence of the throne. One tradition, indeed, intimates that Menes was an object of hostility to the priests of Thebes, though a more remote cause is assigned,

‘After the gods,’ says Diodorus, ‘Menes is reported to have been the first king of Egypt. He taught the *people* to worship the gods and to offer sacrifice. Besides this, he laid out tables and couches, adorned them with costly furniture, and, on the whole, introduced luxury and a sumptuous style of living. Whence, many generations after, in the reign of Tnephactus, the father of Bocchoris the Wise, he, they say, making an expedition into Arabia, and his supplies failing, was constrained, in a day of great want, to live on the poorest food of some of the natives. Delighted with it, he condemned his former luxury, and imprecated a curse on the king who first introduced the costly way of living; and so enamoured was he of this change in his eating, drinking, and sleeping, that he caused the curse *to be written on a pillar in the sacred characters in the Temple of Jupiter at Thebes*, which is the chief reason that the fame and glory of Menes have not survived to later ages.’

Plutarch has the same story. Is there not something here like an attempt to break through the rules of caste, to admit the people to the religious ceremonies, and to violate the established rules of diet? The solemn registration of the curse on a pillar, by the priests, is very remarkable.

From Menes to the accession of the seventeenth (or perhaps fifteenth) dynasty, there is a vast chasm. Herodotus leaps at once from Menes to Mœris, whom Champollion places in the eighteenth dynasty. All he states is, that the priests (whether of Memphis or Thebes) read him a roll of three hundred and thirty kings. But these *rois fainéans* had left no monuments: ‘they had no poet, and are dead.’ All the barren intelligence which the inquisitive Greek could glean was, that eighteen of them were Ethiopians (this is observable), the rest native princes, with one queen, Nitocris, of whom he relates a strange legend. Diodorus gives Menes fifty-two nameless successors, then come two named Busiris, at the distance of eight generations, one from the other: to the latter of these he ascribes the building of Thebes. After some interval comes the famous Osymandyas, and after him, Uchoreus, the builder of Memphis. The two historians meet again in the person of Mœris, or Myris. We have likewise for this period the list of Diospolitan kings, which Eratosthenes, the Cyrenian, professes to have obtained from the priests of Thebes. ‘There is a strong argument,’ says Dr. Young, ‘in favour of the authenticity of this, from the agreement of many of the etymologies with the acknowledged meaning of the terms in the Egyptian language.’

language.' But still it is little more than a barren catalogue. A few incidents are added to the lives of some of the kings in the lists of Eusebius, some of which (as the death of Menes by a hippopotamus) look much like hieroglyphics turned into real facts.\* So long as we have this vast vacant space, we proceed rapidly; but when we encounter the crowding kings and dynasties of Manetho,—sixteen long and regular lines of princes, we know not how high we must extend the length of our chronology. It is well known that Marsham attempted to reduce this formidable array into regular order, and within the limits of a moderate period, by the probable supposition, that many of them were collateral dynasties, reigning at the same period in different parts of Egypt. This hypothesis is contemptuously rejected by Champollion; but, with all his zeal for Manetho, he has not yet condescended to give us a more rational solution;—and the notion that there were many kings reigning at once in Egypt is not new. In the strange account of the birth and early adventures of Moses, quoted by Eusebius from Artapanus,† (clearly an Alexandrian Jew,) it is distinctly asserted. 'This, we acknowledge, is but indifferent authority; but it certainly was the opinion of Eusebius, as appears from the Armenian version of his *Chronicon*,‡ recently discovered, and published at Venice by Lucher. Nor is it a little remarkable, that Manetho himself distinctly asserts, that at the time of the expulsion of the shepherds, there were other kings in Egypt besides the victorious Thebans.§ As they are given by our chronologers, it is true that the dynasties of Manetho stand in successive order; but it is impossible to tell through how many hands all we know of Manetho—except, *perhaps*, the passage in Josephus—may have passed.||

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\* The hippopotamus was connected with Typhon, the evil spirit; may not this refer to the execration of Menes?

† πολλοὺς γὰρ τότε τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύειν.—*Artapan. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang.*, p. 432.

‡ Porro, si quoque valde auctus temporum numerus reperiat, tamen et illius diligenter rationem scrutari oporteat; forte enim iisdem temporibus multos Aegyptiorum reges simul fuisse contigerit; siquidem Thinitas aiunt, et Memphitas, Sai tasque et Aethiopes regnasse, ac interim alios quoque; et sicut mihi videtur alios alibi; minimè autem alterum alteri successisse; sed alios hic, aliosque illic regnare oportuisse.—*Euseb. Chron.*, pp. 201, 202.

§ Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Θεβαίδος, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου βασιλείων γένεσθαι φήσιν ἱπανάστασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιμένας.—*Manetho apud Joseph. contra Apion.*

|| M. de Bovet, in his 'Dynasties Egyptiennes,' argues, with some ability, on the uncertainty and variations in the earlier dynasties of Manetho. He may, *possibly*, induce some readers to embrace with him the opinion of Perizonius, which identifies the Hebrews with the shepherds; but when the worthy ex-archbishop of Toulouse would gravely persuade us that the warlike expeditions of Sesostris to conquer the world, are nothing more than a disguised account of the peaceful journey of Jacob into Mesopotamia to obtain a wife, we can only compare him with the good divine of



Of all this period, the monuments are silent. They relate almost exclusively to the 'high and palmy' state of the Pharaonic kingdom. M. Champollion, assisted by the tablet of Abydos, has made some few incursions into the sixteenth Theban dynasty, contemporary with the shepherds; but as the tablet only furnishes the prænomena of the kings, his success is comparatively unimportant. Fragments of older buildings are said to be frequently detected in the later works of the eighteenth dynasty at Thebes, inscribed with the legends of an earlier race, particularly of Mandouei, whose name, whether that of god or man, has been, on many obelisks and monuments, studiously effaced by a hammer. But as the identification of Osymandyas with a compound Ousi-Mandqui, seems to us one of the least satisfactory of his conclusions—and as, in his recent letters, he asserts that the building described by Diodorus as the palace of Osymandyas, is clearly the Ramesseion, the palace of Sesostris—on this subject we shall await (as our limits warn us) the full detail of his operations.

We have said that the monuments are almost silent as to all this earlier period. Champollion accounts for this fact on the supposition, at first sight highly probable, that all the earlier monuments were swept away by the devastating inroads of the shepherds, who, after subduing Lower Egypt, extended their ravages to the Thebais. The latter fact, however, appears to us not quite clear. The Thebais was tributary, but perhaps no more; and when we know how little scrupulous oriental sovereigns often are, in using the materials of the 'eternal works' of their ancestors to establish their own, we cannot be surprised to find older fragments wrought up in later edifices. The shepherd invasion is an era of great importance, and profound interest: yet upon this, excepting in the passage of Manetho, quoted by Josephus, the other historians of Egypt are entirely silent.\* Nor is this wonderful. The

priests

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our own church, who made out, much to his own satisfaction, and with no little ingenuity, the identity of Orpheus and king David. But M. de Bovet has still stranger things. The number of fifty-two—that of the kings interposed between Menes and Busiris, are no more than the letters of Ham, Shem and Japhet, 'des Egyptiens devaient placer au premier Cham leur père,'—CH. M. SH. M. I. MU—PH. TH. (meaning fifty and a fragment, 'c'est-à-dire un peu plus que cinquante, ce qui était assurément bien rendu par cinquante deux!!') Seriously speaking, these are not the arguments which will establish the truth of the Mosaic history.

\* There is, however, a remarkable passage in Herodotus. Speaking of the reigns of Cheops and Cephrenes, to whom he attributes the building of the pyramids, he says—'These (their united reigns) are reckoned at 106 years, during which the Egyptians suffered every kind of misery. The temples were shut up, and remained unopened during the whole period. The Egyptians are not very willing, from animosity, to utter the names of these kings; but speak of the pyramids as the work of the shepherd Philitis, who, at that time, pastured his flocks in that region.' It is a singular coincidence, that, in one copy, the date assigned to the reigns of the shepherd dynasty by Eusebius, is 106 years. On this ground, Mr. Faber has deduced

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priests were little likely to entertain strangers with the accounts of these dark periods of national shame and subjugation. Unfortunately, the passage itself, as it stands in Josephus, is by no means clear. It is not quite certain how far we have the express words of Manetho, and where the comment of Josephus begins.

‘There was once a king among us named Timaus. During his reign, I know not how, the Divinity became adverse; and suddenly, from the parts towards the East, a people of unknown race had the courage to invade the country, and subdued it easily and without resistance; and, having mastered the chieftains, savagely burnt the cities, and razed the temples of the gods. They treated the natives with the utmost cruelty: the men they slew, and made slaves of the women and children. At length, they chose one of their body for king, whose name was Salatis. He dwelt at Memphis, levying tribute on the upper and lower country.’

The passage goes on to state, that, apprehending the power of the Assyrians, then very formidable, they built or strengthened a city in the Saitic Nome, called Abaris, where they placed 240,000 men. Thither the king went in summer, distributing to his people the corn that he received in tribute, and reviewing and exercising his troops. Josephus then gives a list of five kings who succeeded Salatis, the average date of whose reigns, above forty-eight years each, we will venture to assert, not only surpasses all ordinary estimate, but is unparalleled in history. We take the liberty to recommend this fact to the notice of M. Champollion Figeac. But the most curious point is, that Josephus, who would persuade us that this multitudinous, irresistible, conquering, and exterminating race of invaders, are merely the seventy peaceful persons who formed the family of his ancestor, Jacob, asserts that Manetho, in another copy, translates *hykshos*, shepherd kings, as shepherd captives, and thus overthrows at once the kingly dynasty which he has been at so much pains to raise. There is another strange addition, which has thrown chronologers into great, and, it should seem, inextricable difficulties. After giving us the sufficiently formidable date of the six reigns, he goes on to assert that they and their descendants reigned for 511 years.

If Champollion is right, in supposing the savage race of the monuments to be the conquering shepherds of Manetho, they must have retained till their expulsion their wild habits, rude dress, and tattooed limbs. They are still represented in defeat as a fierce and skin-clad race; nor is there any evidence that they betook themselves to agricultural habits, though they levied large supplies of

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an ingenious, but now clearly untenable, argument, attributing the building of the pyramids to the shepherds. We, in general, avoid the temptations of etymology and verbal analogy; but the resemblance between Philistis and the Philistines of Scripture is curious.

corn upon the natives. They are said to have made Memphis their capital, but Abaris is described rather as the vast fortified village-camp of a pastoral horde, than as the regular city of a civilized nation. Yet it has been perpetually asserted, for the convenience of theorists, that the shepherds adopted the habits, arts, and religion of the conquered people. This seems to have been done in deference to a very early opinion maintained by Eusebius, that it was under the fourth of this dynasty, Apophis, that Joseph was sold into Egypt, and became first minister of the kingdom. Even Heeren enters into this view ; we reject it without scruple, as utterly irreconcilable, as will appear, to the facts of the Mosaic history.

But these savage shepherds of the monuments are worthy of still further consideration. We insert the description of Champollion—

‘ Ces deux nations, ainsi qu’une troisième toujours peinte en rouge avec des *cheveux roux* et même des yeux *bleus*, sont les ennemis constants de la primitive monarchie Egyptienne ; les derniers, surtout, évidemment les moins civilisés, puisqu’ils se montrent, pour l’ordinaire, les cheveux longs et en désordre, vêtus soit d’une peau de bœuf conservant encore son poil, soit d’une simple pagné couvrant le milieu du corps, et que leurs bras et leurs jambes sont souvent décorés d’un tatouage grossier. J’ai lieu de croire, que ces barbares ne sont autres que ces fameux pasteurs, ces Hikschoûs, qui à une époque très reculée, sortis de l’Asie envahirent l’Egypte et la dévastèrent, jusqu’à ce que les princes de la xviii<sup>e</sup> dynastie eussent mis un terme à leurs déprédations, en les chassant d’abord de l’Egypte, et en repoussant ensuite leurs nouvelles invasions. Les monumens Egyptiens n’offrent jamais l’image de ces peuples, que dans un état de défaite, de captivité ou d’abjection. On les représente, par exemple, renversés et liés sur les marchepieds du trône des Pharaons, ce qui met en scène le verset du Psalmiste : *Ponam inimicos tuos in scabellum pedum tuorum* ; les simples particuliers manifestaient leur haine pour ces ennemis de l’Egypte, d’une manière analogue ; car j’ai remarqué dans les collections Caillaud et Drovetti, ainsi qu’au cabinet du roi à Paris, des sandales en cartonnage de toile, portant, sur le point où appuyait la plante des pieds, des figures coloriées de *pasteurs captifs*, et des prisonniers appartenant à ces deux mêmes nations vaincues représentées sur le côté du trône du roi Horus.’—*Champollion, Lettre à M. de Blacas, p. 51.*

Now it is not a little remarkable, that this hostility to a red-haired race appears in history as well as on the monuments. Typhon was represented as red-haired ; and it is reported, says Diodorus, that in ancient times, men of the same colour with Typhon were sacrificed at the tomb of Osiris ; few, however, of the Egyptians are found with red hair, many, on the other hand,  
among



among foreigners. The Typhonian people, sacrificed according to Manetho, (Plutarch de Isid. et Osir.) were, no doubt, intended to represent this abominated race—Abaris was a *Typhonian* city. From whence, then, came this people, entirely different, by all accounts, from that race with long dark beards and flowing dresses, which are represented in the sculptures of Karnack and elsewhere, as the mortal enemies of the great Egyptian kings? The latter, Heeren, very improbably we think, would identify with the Hykshos, as they too are a pastoral people, flying with their flocks and herds before their valiant assailants. But the red-haired and blue-eyed tribe, clothed in undressed hides, seems to indicate a northern, most likely a Scythian, origin; they have nothing of the Arabian character, still less of the remarkable line and expression of countenance which, we know not from what period, has been the inalienable distinction of the unmingled race of Israel. The following observation of Bruce is worth quoting:—  
 ‘Near Yembo there are some of the inhabitants who have red hair and blue eyes, a thing scarcely ever seen in the coldest mountains of the east.’ Can these be descendants of the ancient Typhonian people? But Champollion, in one of his recent letters from Thebes, has started a new explanation of the four races represented in the tomb opened by Belzoni, and exhibited in London, which, instead of being that of Psammis, a Saitic king, appears to belong to Ousirei the First. They are representatives of the four races, Egyptians, Africans, Asiatics, and Tamhou—construed Europeans. ‘The last have skins of what we call flesh-colour, of the most delicate whiteness, the nose straight or slightly arched, blue eyes, fair or red beards, tall and very slender figures; they are clothed in ox hides with the hair on, and are real savages, tattooed in various parts of the body—they are called ‘Tamhou, Europeans.’ Two questions arise here,—are these the same with the noted people described above? and on what authority is ‘Tamhou translated Europeans? May they not be Scythians?

But whatever the origin or fate of the shepherds, they were expelled by the arms of the last of the contemporary seventeenth, and the first of the eighteenth dynasty of Theban kings. It was this dynasty which reigned in Thebes for 360 years, from the nineteenth to the fifteenth centuries before Christ; that raised the country from its prostrate state, covered the land, at least the south, with colossal edifices, and, with their successor Sesostris, head of the nineteenth dynasty, carried their triumphant arms, it is said, through all the regions of the world. The obelisks, which either remain in Egypt, or have been transported by European pride to decorate foreign cities, are almost all of this age.

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‘ Cette famille illustre couvrit l’Egypte (we quote Champollion) de grandes constructions, et presque tous les musées de l’Europe renferment des monuments consacrés à la mémoire de quelques uns des princes qui la composent. Mais la collection royale de Turin en réunit à elle seule plus que toutes autres ensemble.’ This was the collection made in Egypt during many years of industry, and by any means, by M. Drovetti; and it was chiefly from the treasures of statues, funerary pillars, bas reliefs, with their inscriptions, and from hieratic papyri\* in the same place, that Champollion has summoned up his splendid phantasmagoria of the ancient Pharaohs. The tablet of Abydos, though mutilated, contains the prænomena of many of this race in regular succession; yet, as the prænomen is coupled in the other inscriptions on the statues or stelæ with the real name, he was enabled thus to assign to each his proper place in the dynasty of Manetho, the groundwork of the whole system.† The most sullen sceptic will not withhold from M. Champollion the praise of unwearied industry, and inexhaustible ingenuity. For ourselves, we must avow, that it offers as strong a case of historical probability as can be made out by less than authentic, consecutive, and contemporary annals. The system has worked well, not only in the hands of Champollion—Mr. Salt in Egypt and Champollion in Europe have come to the same striking historical conclusions. Since he himself has been in Egypt, Champollion has kept alive the public curiosity by statements of the highest interest—on the temples, on the obelisks, in the tombs, on statues and reliefs, he has read the legends of the kings by whom or in whose honour they were erected; wonders after wonders have been announced: but on these points we must await the more complete details; till we have the full whole report of his proceedings, we shall build only occasionally on the curious, to us by no means incredible, illus-

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\* If these state papers of ancient times, containing grants and other documents, be genuine, so falls to the ground for ever the objection so triumphantly urged during the last century, that Moses could not have written the Pentateuch, because the art of writing was unknown.

† It has been strongly urged, that the names are sometimes different, according to Champollion’s system, from those in Manetho. We see little in the objection. Champollion quotes Syncellus, that the kings of Egypt had often two or three names—*διώνυμοι γὰρ καὶ τριώνυμοι πολλαχού των Αιγυπτίων οἱ βασιλεῖς εἰρηνται*. No doubt much of the confusion in oriental history arises from the indiscriminate usage of the title, the appellative, and the patronymic, as well as the real name. In Egyptian history, the Pharaoh of Scripture—which perhaps lurks in the Pheron of Herodotus—the appellative Amenophis, beloved by Ammon, Ammonius—are instances in point. Champollion states that Se is son, the sign of the patronymic, and Sesostris may be no more the real name of the king than Atreides of Agamemnon. It is possible, too, that the frequent recurrence of names, nearly, if not precisely, similar, may lead to occasional error; if then Champollion, following the natural bent of his disposition, shall sometimes decide too hastily, he ought to be permitted to retract without impeachment either on his general accuracy or the soundness of his system.

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trations of Egyptian religion and history, which he has collected from the monuments, interpreted by the inscriptions.

We have not space to lead out in long array the eighteen monarchs, some of the kings with their queens by their side, who have been thus evoked from the shades of oblivion. The arguments by which they are identified are necessarily of that minute and cumulative character which will not admit of compression. We select a few of the most remarkable.

The first of these kings, the conqueror of the shepherds, appears under the various names of Amonis and Thoutmosis in the ancient chronologers; in the list of Champollion, he is Amenoftep, which may imply, in some measure, under the especial favour of Ammon, a title not unlikely to be assumed by a king, who, by the assistance of his native god, had triumphed over such formidable enemies. In the fifth sovereign, the Thoutmosis the Second of the monuments, the Mephres or Mephre of Manetho, we recognise the Moeris or Myris of the Greeks; and here, after a long interval, we rejoin our ancient guides Herodotus and Diodorus. In Mephres we may, without fanciful etymology, trace a name derived from Phre or Re the Sun; and it appears that the celebrated obelisks, called Cleopatra's Needles, were first erected by Thoutmosis, in honour of Phre at Heliopolis. The greater works, however, of this first of the splendid kings were at Memphis; and hence he is the first who, according to Herodotus, writing from the traditions of the Memphite priests, had left any monuments; those of the earlier kings of that line being only to be found in Nubia and Thebes. It was for the benefit of Memphis that the vast lake, called after Moeris, was dug, and in that city he built the great portico of the temple of Ptha (Hephaistos).

We pass on to the eighth sovereign, no less a personage than the Memnon of the Greeks, and with Amenophis the Second we return to Thebes, the city of Ammon. How early, or through what channel, this king found his way into the poetry of the Greeks, it is difficult to conjecture; yet the Ethiopian, the Son of the Morning, by a very ancient anachronism, was mingled up with the exploits of the Trojan war. He is mentioned in the Odyssey, though not in the Iliad; made probably a considerable figure in the rhapsodies of the Cyclic poets, of whom Quintus Calaber is the echo—and was the hero of the *Æthiopics* of Arc-tinus Milesius. His monumental name is Amenophis, and Pausanias informs us that the celebrated musical statue was that of Phamenoph, not Memnon, while a poetical inscription on the statue affirms that the king was called by both names,—

ἔκλυον αὐδήσαντος ἐγὼ Πούβλιος Βαλβῖνος  
φωνὰς τὰς θείας Μέμνονος ἢ Φαμενόφ.

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The *ph* is the Coptic article. This statue, with its companion, stood before the portal of the Amenophion, a building of the most enormous extent, and, probably, magnificence; its vestiges and plan have been traced, but, says Champollion, this edifice, comparable in extent to the great palace of Karnack, has almost entirely disappeared.

Not less splendid was the last king but one of the dynasty—Rhamses, or Rhameses, the fourth of that hereditary name, distinguished by the title of Mei Amoun, loving Ammon. He, too, was a warlike prince, and the immense palace of Medinet-aboo is covered with representations of his exploits. A recent letter of Champollion describes, and particularises, the various nations who were subjugated by this predecessor of the greater Rhamses, or Sesostris; but the discussion both of the nations and names must be postponed till the details are more ample and complete. It is the covering of his monument which was brought to England by Belzoni, and is now at Cambridge. The line of the eighteenth dynasty ended in Rhamses Amenophis, the fifth of the former name, the third of the latter; to him, however, we shall hereafter return.

But the hero of Champollion's system,\* as of all early Egyptian history, and, if we are to believe Diodorus, of their poetry, is that great Theban king, the head of the nineteenth dynasty, the Sesostris of Herodotus, the Sesoosis of Diodorus, the Sethos of Manetho, the Rhamses the Great of the monuments; we have the distinct authority of Manetho that he bore both names,—τὸν δὲ υἱὸν Σέθων, τὸν καὶ Παμέσσην ὠνομασμένον,—and likewise of Chæremon, another ancient author quoted by Josephus. Everywhere this mighty king stands forth in prominent grandeur; before, and in the temple of the southern Ipsambul, no less than in Thebes, and in the ruins of Memphis, his colossal statues appear stamped, Champollion asserts, with the reality of portraiture. In almost every temple, up to the confines of Æthiopia, his deeds and triumphs are wrought in relief and painting. The greater part of the celebrated obelisks either are inscribed to him or bear

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\* The circumstance which has most contributed to throw an air of mystification over the researches of Champollion, has been the announcement of a discovery made at Aix previous to his embarkation for Egypt. A papyrus, written in *superb demotic characters*, was said to have been found in the collection of a private gentleman, read off at once with as much ease as we mortals devour one of Sir Walter Scott's new novels, and declared to contain a *contemporary* account of the campaigns of Sesostris. This, as Dr. Young has drily observed, wants confirmation, but, perhaps, the case has not been fairly stated; hints to the antiquary, as 'to the jealous, are confirmation strong as proofs of holy writ;' on some hint of Champollion, M. Sallier of Aix may have been tempted to excite a strong sensation among his neighbours, the provincial literati; and the story, by the time it reached Paris, may have grown to the present alarming magnitude.

his record. That of the Lateran has been long known (from the curious interpretation of it in Ammianus Marcellinus) to belong to a King Rameses; one side of Cleopatra's Needle is occupied with his deeds; and besides his legends in the ruins of Luxor and Karnack, the immense edifice on the western side of the river, which corresponds with singular, if not perfect exactness, to the magnificent palace of Osymandyas described by Diodorus, is so covered with his legends as to be named by Champollion, without the least hesitation, the Rhameseion.

Ancient history is full of the triumphs of this Egyptian Alexander;\* was it the echo of native legends, either poetical, or, if historical, embellished by national vanity, or containing substantial truth? The memorable passage in Tacitus is at once the most brief and full statement of the glories of his reign. On the visit of Germanicus to Thebes, the elder of the priests, interpreting the inscriptions in his native language, related to the wondering Roman the forces, the conquests in Africa, Asia, and Europe, and the tribute levied by the Great Rhamses:—

\* The date of the accession of Sesostris, as the head of the nineteenth dynasty, is of great importance, but, like all such points, involved in much difficulty. M. Champollion Figeac. by an ingenious argument deduced from the celebrated Sothiac period of 1460 years, reckoned according to data furnished by Censorinus, and a well-known fragment of Theon of Alexandria, makes out the date of 1473 B.C. Dr. Young (article on Egypt) assumes 1424. The pamphlet of Mr. Mure is written to show that it cannot be placed higher than 1410, or lower than 1400. M. Champollion Figeac's argument appears to us as unsatisfactory as it does to Mr. Mure, partly from the reasons assigned by that gentleman, but chiefly from the uncertainty (which Dr. Young has also observed) of fixing the reign of Menophres, which is the basis of the whole system, and which is altogether a gratuitous assumption. It appears to us, however, that the question may be brought to a short, if not precise, conclusion. The first date which approximates to certainty is the capture of Jerusalem by Sessack, or Sesonchosis, the first of the twenty-second dynasty, in the year 971, or, at the earliest, 975, B.C. What, then, was the intervening time between this event and the accession of the nineteenth dynasty? The reigns of the three series, as given by Mr. Mure from the various authorities, stand thus,—

	Eusebius. Latin text of Jerome.	Eusebius. Grk. text & Syncellus. (Scaliger.)	Eusebius. Armenian Text.	Africanus. (Syncellus.)	Scaliger.	Old Chronicle.
Nineteenth Dynasty	194	202(194)	194	210(204)	209(203)	194
Twentieth . . . .	178	178	172	135	125	228
Twenty-first . . .	130	130	130	130	116	121
	<hr/> 502	<hr/> 510	<hr/> 496	<hr/> 475	<hr/> 450	<hr/> 543
Add date of capture of Jerusalem . . .	971	971	971	971	971	971
	<hr/> 1473	<hr/> 1481	<hr/> 1467	<hr/> 1446	<hr/> 1421	<hr/> 1514

The question resolves itself into the relative degree of weight attached to Africanus, Eusebius, or the Old Chronicle, as to the reigns of the twentieth dynasty. It should be observed, that there may be five years of error in the date of the capture of Jerusalem, and it is uncertain at what period in the reign of Sessack that event took place. M. Champollion Figeac's date, therefore, for different reasons from his own, is as probable as any other:—certainty we consider at present out of the question.

‘ Mox visit veterum Thebarum magna vestigia : et manebant stru-  
tis molibus litteræ Ægyptiacæ, priorem opulentiam complexæ : jussus-  
que è senioribus sacerdotum patrium sermonem interpretari, re-  
ferebat habitasse septingenta millia ætate militari ; atque eo cum  
exercitu regem Rhamsen Libyâ, Æthiopiâ, Medisque et Persis, et  
Bactriano, ac Scythiâ potitum ; quasque terras Suri Armenique et  
contigui Cappadoces colunt, inde Bithynum, hinc Lycium ad mare  
imperio tenuisse ; legebantur et indicta gentibus tributa, pondus  
argenti et auri, numerus armorum equorumque, et dona templis, ebur,  
atque odores, quasque copias frumenti et omnium utensilium quæque  
natio penderet, haud minus magnifica, quam nunc vi Parthorum, aut  
potentiâ Romanâ jubentur.’—*Tacit. Ann.* ii. 60.

Let us trace this line of conquest, vast, and perhaps romantic  
as it may appear, so as to induce those writers who, towards the  
end of the last century, were for resolving all history, mythology,  
and religion, into astronomy, upon grounds, rather more plau-  
sible than usual, to consider the great king of Egypt no more  
than a mythological personification of ‘ the giant that rejoiceth to  
run his course from one end of heaven to the other.’ The first  
conquest generally attributed to Sesostris is Æthiopia. Some  
writers, indeed, make him commence with a maritime expedition  
against Cyprus and Phœnicia, but the most probable account  
states that, either during his father’s life, or after his own acces-  
sion, he led the triumphant banners of Egypt along the whole  
course of the Nile to the sacred Meroe. He conquered, says  
Diodorus, the southern Ethiopians, and forced them to pay  
tribute, ebony, gold, and elephants’ teeth. Nowhere do the mo-  
numents so strikingly illustrate the history. In the Nubian  
temples representations of the victories of this great king line the  
walls. One at Kalabsche has been described with great spirit by  
Heeren, from Gau’s engravings. It represents a naked queen,  
with her children, imploring the mercy of the conqueror. Now,  
though female sovereigns were rarely known in Egypt, in Ethiopia  
they were common. Even at a late period, the Candace of the  
Acts will occur to every reader. Besides the queen, there are the  
spoils at the feet of the conqueror, what seems to be ivory, with  
golden ingots, and huge logs of ebony. We proceed on our course,  
first remarking a fact which, if we remember rightly, has escaped  
the notice of Heeren, that the career of Sesostris is led precisely  
along the line on which he has traced, with so much ingenuity and  
research, the road of ancient commerce. It might almost seem  
that the conqueror followed the track of the caravan, or fleet, to  
plunder or make himself master of the successive centres or em-  
poria of commerce, and of the different countries from which the  
richest articles of traffic were sent forth. The first step, as stated,  
was



was the subjugation of Ethiopia, the next of Africa to the west,—of this, it is true, we have but an indifferent voucher, that of a Latin poet, and one, in general, more to be suspected of tumid hyperbole than his brethren.

‘*Venit ad occasum, mundique extrema Sesostris.*’—LUCAN.

Still, some extensive subjugation of the Libyan tribes may be assumed, without much hesitation. The wild animals of the desert are perpetually led in the triumphs of the Egyptian,—the antelopes, the apes, the giraffes, and the ostriches.

Arabia, to the older world, was the land of wonder and of wealth. From the Hebrew prophets, who delight to dwell on the ‘gifts to be brought from Arabia and Saba,’ to the latest Greek and Latin poets—the geographer Dionysius and the luxuriant Nonnus, the riches and marvels of the land and people are perpetually displayed. Let us hear Dionysius.

Thence southward trending to the orient, laves  
The Erythrean with its ocean waves,  
Of all earth’s shores, the fairest, richest land,  
And noblest tribes possess that happy strand.  
First of all wonders!—still for ever soar  
Sweet clouds of fragrance from that breathing shore;—  
The myrrh, the odorous cane, the cassia there,  
And ever-ripening incense balm the air.

Hence the well-known and beautiful passage of Milton. More sober history—that of Herodotus, Diodorus, Ammianus, confirms this ancient opinion.

Araby the Blest, either producing, or possessing the carrying trade of, those costly spices and incenses which were so prodigally used in Egypt in embalming the dead and worshipping the gods, would naturally be an object of ambition to an Egyptian conqueror. Accordingly, even before the triumphant career of Rhamses the Great, curious vestiges of Egyptian conquest in the Arabian peninsula have been brought to light, and have been alluded to in M. Champollion Figeac’s last chronological notice; and Arabah (the Red Earth) is described as under the feet of Rameses Meiamoun, in one of those very curious representations of his conquests said to line the walls at Medinet-Abou, and which we only refrain from enlarging upon, as expecting more ample details. It was on a height overlooking the narrow strait which divides Africa from Arabia, that Sesostris, according to Strabo, erected one of his columns. The wars between the later Abyssinian kings and the sovereigns of Yemen, in the centuries preceding Mahomet, may illustrate these conquests. The hatred or terror of the sea attributed to the later Egyptians was either unknown to or disdained, as the monuments clearly prove, by  
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the great Theban kings—more than one regular naval engagement, as well as descents from invading fleets, being represented in the sculptures. On the Red Sea, Sesostris, according to history, fitted out a navy of four hundred ships;—but whither did he or his admirals sail? Did they commit themselves to the trade-winds, and boldly stretch across towards the land of gold and spice?—are some of the hill-forts represented in the sculptures those of India?—did his triumphant arms pass the Ganges?—do the Indian hunches on the cattle, noticed by Mr. Hamilton, confirm the legend so constantly repeated, of his conquests in that land of ancient fable?—or, according to the more modest account of Herodotus, did they coast cautiously along, and put back when they encountered some formidable shoals? Did they follow the course of the Persian gulf, assail the rising monarchies of the Assyrians and Medes, or press on to that great kingdom of Bactria, which dimly rises amid the gloom of the earliest ages, the native place of Zoroaster, and the cradle of the Magian religion? Champollion boldly names Assyrians, Medes, and Bactrians, as exhibited on the monuments; but the strange and barbarous appellations which he has read, as far as we remember, bear no resemblance to those of any of the oriental tribes; earlier travellers, however, have observed that the features, costume, and arms of the nations with which the Egyptians join in battle, are clearly Asiatic; the long flowing robes, the line of face, the beards, the shields, in many respects, are remarkably similar to those on the Babylonian cylinders and the sculptures of Persepolis.

‘The dominion of Sesostris,’ our legend proceeds, ‘spread over Armenia and Asia Minor. His images were still to be seen in the days of Herodotus—one on the road between Ephesus and Phœcæa, and another between Smyrna and Sardis. They were five palms high, armed in the Egyptian and Ethiopian manner, and held a javelin in one hand and a bow in the other; across the breast ran a line, with an inscription,—“This region I conquered by my strength (*lit.* my shoulders).” They were mistaken for statues of Memnon.’ May we not suppose that all the poetry about the latter hero was grounded on these statues? This universal conqueror spread his dominion into Europe; but Thrace was the limit of his victories. On the eastern shore of the Euxine he left a colony of part of his army—the ancestors of the circumcised people, the Colchians. Was there, even then, a golden fleece on those shores? Were the rich sands of Phasis so productive of the precious metal, as to tempt the conqueror to a permanent settlement? But his most formidable enemies were the redoubted Scythians. Pliny and other modern writers assert that he was vanquished by them,

and fled. Valerius Flaccus has embodied the ignominious rumour in verse, ascribing the victory to the Getes :

————— ‘ ut prima Sesostri  
Intulerit rex bella Getis ; ut clade suorum  
Territus, hos Thebas, patriumque reducat ad amnem,  
Phasidis hos imponat agris.’

But Egyptian pride either disguised, or had reason to deny, the defeat of her hero. There is a striking story in Herodotus, that when the victorious Darius commanded that his statue should take the place of that of Sesostri, the priests boldly interfered, and asserted the superiority of their monarch, who had achieved what Darius had in vain attempted, the subjugation of the Scythians. Of the return of Sesostri, the rebellion of his brother, his works of peace, the division of the land, the canals he dug, and the edifices he erected, we say nothing, as we would confine ourselves to that of which the monuments bear witness—his martial exploits. Are we then to dismiss all this long history of triumphs and conquests into the regions of mythic or allegoric legend ? Are we to consider it the pure creation or the monstrous exaggeration of national vanity ?—to resolve it into the audacious mendacity of the priest, or the licensed fiction of the bard ? *A priori*, there is nothing improbable in the existence of one or of a line of Egyptian conquerors : Egypt was as likely to send forth ‘ its mighty hunter, whose game was man,’ as Assyria, Persia, Macedonia, Arabia, or Tartary. On the other hand, we have the uniform testimony of ancient history, ancient tradition, and existing monuments. Egyptian history is reported to us by every ancient author—Herodotus, Diodorus, Manetho, Strabo—and is assuredly deserving of as much credit as the scattered fragments of the oriental annals, which bear the names of Berosus or Sanchoniatho, or the traditions preserved by more modern antiquaries. The only *history* which approximates to this period is that of the Bible, and this we shall hereafter consider. How far the general *tradition* may be traced to Egypt as its sole fountain-head, may be doubted ; there is some semblance of a connexion with Scythian tradition preserved in Justin and Jornandes ; in the former we find the name of a Scythian king, contemporary with Sesostri.

But the monuments which cover the walls of the Nubian cities, more particularly of Thebes, afford the strongest confirmation to the extensive conquests of one or more of the mighty Pharaohs. These monuments, entirely independent, it must be remembered, of the interpretations of their legends by Champollion, represent battles and sieges, combats by land and sea, in countries apparently not African, against nations which have every character of remote, probably Asiatic, races. There are rivers which cannot  
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be the Nile; fortresses which, in their local character, seem totally unlike that of the districts bordering on Egypt. The nature of these extraordinary sculptures is probably little known to the general reader; we shall, therefore, most gladly extract the animated description of one of them from the work of Mr. Hamilton, —the description of an Homeric battle, struck out with something of Homeric fire.

‘The moment chosen for the representation of the battle is that when the troops of the enemy are driven back upon their fortress, and the Egyptians, in the full career of victory, will soon be masters of the field. The conqueror, behind whom is borne aloft the royal standard, is of a colossal size, that is, far larger than all the other warriors, standing up in a car drawn by two horses. His helmet is adorned with a globe, with a serpent on each side. He is in the act of shooting an arrow from a bow, which is full-stretched; around him are quivers, and at his feet is a lion (*the constant companion of Sesostris*) in the act of rushing forward. There is a great deal of life and spirit in the form and attitude of the horses, which are in full gallop, feathers waving over their heads, and the reins lashed round the body of the conqueror. Under the wheels of the car, and under the horses’ hoofs and bellies are crowds of dying and slain, some stretched on the ground, others falling: on the enemy’s side, horses in full speed, with empty cars, others heedless of the rein, and all at last rushing headlong down a precipice into a broad and deep river, which washes the walls of the town. The expression is exceedingly good, and no where has the artist shown more skill than in two groups, in one of which the horses, arrived at the verge of the precipice, instantly fall down, and the driver, clinging with one hand to the car, the reins and whip falling from the other, his body trembling with despair, is about to be hurled over the backs of the horses; in the other, the horses still find a footing on the side of the hill, and are hurrying forward their drivers to inevitable destruction; these throw themselves back upon the car in vain. Some that are yet unwounded pray for mercy on their knees, and others in their flight cast behind a look of anxious entreaty:—their limbs, their eyes, and hands, sufficiently declare their fears. The *equi exanimés* are admirable, whether fainting from loss of blood, or rearing up and plunging in the excess of torture. Immediately in front of the conqueror are several cars in full speed for the walls of the town; but even in these the charioteers and men of war are not safe from the arrows shot from his unerring bow, and when wounded they look back on their pursuer as they fall. Further on, more fortunate fugitives are passing the river, in which are mingled horses, chariots, arms, and men, expressed in the most faithful manner, floating or sunk. Some have already reached the opposite bank, where their friends, who are drawn up in order of battle, but venture not to go out to the fight, drag them to the shore. Others, having escaped by another road, are entering the gates of the town, amid the shrieks and lamentations of those within. Towers, ramparts,

ramparts, and battlements are crowded with inhabitants, who are chiefly bearded old men and women. A party of the former are seen sallying forth, headed by a youth, whose different dress and high turban mark him out as some distinguished chieftain; on each side of the town are large bodies of infantry and a great force of chariots issuing out of the gates, and advancing, seemingly by different routes, to attack the besiegers.

'The impetuosity with which the hero of the picture has moved, has already carried him far beyond the main body of his own army, and he is there alone, amid the dying and the slain, victims of his valour and prowess. Behind this scene the two lines of the enemy join their forces, and attack in a body the army of the invaders, which advances to meet them in a regular line. Besides the peculiarities of the incidents recorded in this interesting piece of sculpture, we evidently trace a distinction between the short dresses of the Egyptians and the long robes of their oriental enemies, whether Indians, Persians, or Bactrians: the uncovered and the covered heads; the different forms of the cars, of which the Egyptians contain two, and the others three, warriors; and, above all, the difference of the arms, the Egyptian shield being square at one end and round at the other, their arms a bow and arrows; the enemy's shield is of the form of the common Theban buckler; their infantry are armed with spears, their charioteers with short javelins.' The author adds, 'that the number of human figures in this battle-scene is not less than fifteen hundred, five hundred of which are on foot—the rest in chariots.'—*Hamilton's Ægyptiaca*, p. 115.

But how is it that the sacred writings preserve a profound silence on all the invasions, conquests, and triumphs of this Egyptian Alexander, or, if Champollion is to be fully credited, this race of Alexanders? We must take up the question of the connexion between the sacred and Egyptian history at an earlier period. On this interesting inquiry, two of the writers, the titles of whose works are prefixed to our article, M. Coquerel, a Protestant; and M. Greppo, a Roman Catholic divine, have entered with much candour and ingenuity. To what period in the Egyptian history is the Mosaic exodus to be assigned? This question seems to have been debated, if we may so speak, on the scene of action among the Jewish and Grecian writers in Alexandria. The fact was universally admitted, though the chronology was warmly contested; as to the fact, it may be fearlessly asserted, that the Mosaic record, independent of its religious sanction, has generally as high a claim to the character of authenticity and credibility as any ancient document; he who should reject it, would not merely expose his own sincerity as a believer in revealed religion, but his judgment as a philosophical historian. Nor can we read the histories of Diodorus, or Tacitus, or the  
treatise

treatise of Josephus against Apion, without clearly seeing, that the Egyptian historians, however they might disfigure, no doubt did notice the servitude and the escape of the Israelites from Egypt. But both this and the chronological question were carried on with the blinding feelings of national pride and animosity on each side, and it is far from likely, that we should entirely disentangle the web which has thus been ravelled, nor can we expect to receive any direct information on this subject from the monuments. One pious writer has taken alarm at this silence; but surely without much reason, for the monuments almost exclusively belong to Upper Egypt; nor does a proud nation inscribe on its enduring sculptures its losses and calamities; it is the victorious not discomfited monarch whose deeds are hewn in stone.

Both M. Coquerel and M. Greppo adopt the common Usserian date, 1491, for the Exodus. Now, though this date is as *probable* as any other, we cannot think it certain: we have already stated the great variation of chronologists on this point; nor is any question of biblical criticism more open to fair debate than the authenticity of the text 1 Kings vi. 1, the basis of this calculation. Our authors likewise adopt M. Champollion Figeac's date, 1473, for the accession of Sesostris, and the common term of 215 years for the residence of the Israelites in Egypt. Joseph might thus be sold under Moeris; Jacob and his family entered Egypt under his successor, Miphre-Thoutmosis, and departed in the third year of Amenophis Rhamses, father of Sesostris. Several curious incidental points make in favour of this system. At the period assigned to the ministry of Joseph, clearly, the native princes were on the throne—the priesthood were in honour and power, particularly those of Phre. The obelisk raised by Moeris, Miphra, at Heliopolis, will be remembered: his son likewise bore the title of Mi-phre. Now Joseph was married to the daughter of Pet-e-phre, the priest of Phre, at On or Heliopolis. At this period, too, the Shepherds were recently expelled, and therefore an 'abomination to the Egyptians,' and the land of Goshen was vacant by their expulsion. Diodorus, it may be observed, gives seven generations between Moeris and Sesostris, which, at three for a century, amount nearly to the date of the residence of the Israelites in Egypt. Towards the close of the period the race of Rhamses ascend the throne; and Raamses is the name of one of the cities built by the oppressed Israelites. Such are the curious incidental illustrations of this system, the same, we may observe, with that of Usher and Bishop Cumberland; but we must not dissemble the difficulties. The Exodus, according to the dates adopted, took place seventeen years before the death of Amenophis; he, therefore, could not have been the Pharaoh drowned



drowned in the Red Sea : a difficulty rendered still more startling by the very interesting description of the sepulchral cave of this Amenophis V., recently communicated by Champollion, and which seems clearly to intimate that this Pharaoh reposed with his ancestors in the splendid excavation of Biban el Malook. " "

Here, however, M. Greppo moves a previous question—Have we distinct authority in the Hebrew Scriptures for the death of Pharaoh? In the contemporary description it is the host, the chariots, the horsemen of Pharaoh, which are swallowed up ; there is no expression that intimates, with any degree of clearness, the death of the monarch : the earliest, apparently, express authority for the death of the king, is a poetic passage in the cxxxvith Psalm, v. 15, which is generally considered to have been written after the captivity, and even this may, perhaps, bear a different construction. There is a second difficulty, to us more formidable.—The scene of the Mosaic narrative is undoubtedly laid in Lower Egypt, and seems to fix the residence of the kings in some part of the northern region ; but it seems equally clear that Thebes was the usual dwelling-place of this Ammonian race of sovereigns. Tradition agrees with the general impression of the narrative : it hovers between Tanis and Memphis, with a manifest predilection for the former. The Tanitic branch of the Nile is said to be that on which Moses was exposed ; and the ' wonders in the field of Zoan,' indicate the same scenes on much higher authority. The LXX. and the Chaldee paraphrast render Zoan by Tanis. We are aware that Champollion will not ' bear a rival near the throne ' of his magnificent Pharaohs, and other opponents may object the ' all Egypt ' of the Scripture. As to the latter objection it may certainly be questioned whether ' all Egypt ' included the Thebaid ; but if Champollion (were we to suggest the possibility of a collateral dynasty and a second kingdom, at this period, in the northern part of the region) should urge the improbability that conquering sovereigns like Horus, Mandouee, or, especially, Rameses Meïamoun, would endure the independence of a part, as it were, of the great Egyptian monarchy, we can only rejoin the frequency with which the great sovereignties of the east are dismembered by the assertion of independence of some powerful satrap, or the division between the sons on the death of a king.\* Have any monuments been discovered in Lower Egypt, between Moëris and Sesostris? Would not the restriction of the dominions of the latter part of the great Theban dynasty to Upper Egypt, and of their conquests to the south and east,

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\* In the twenty-eighth year of Egyptus (the Rameses Meïamoun of the monuments), says Eusebius, in his *Chronicon* (Armen. Vers.), ' Busiris in partibus Nili fluvii tyrannidem exercebat, transeuntesque peregrinos spoliabat.'

account for Herodotus, who wrote from Memphian authority, making Sesostris the immediate successor of Moeris? Might not the blow inflicted on the Tanite kingdom, by the loss of its slave population and its army, enable Sesostris with greater ease to consolidate the whole realm into one mighty monarchy? We are not, however, blind to the objections to this scheme, and rather throw it out for consideration, than urge it with the least positiveness.

Yet far be it from us to confine the inquisitive reader to a choice between these two hypotheses. He may consult Mr. Faber, who will inform him that the Pharaoh who perished in the Red Sea was one of the Shepherd kings; a theory to which there lies this insuperable objection,—the manifest Egyptian character of the transactions which accompanied the Exodus. Mr. Bryant may have pushed the argument too far in his ‘*Plagues of Egypt*,’ but clearly the blows seem aimed at superstitions purely Egyptian. He may turn to Josephus, and find that the Shepherds and the Israelites were the same; but by what strange transmutation a peaceful minister and his family of seventy persons became a horde of conquering savages, and a dynasty of kings, we are at a loss to conceive: Perizonius, however, has ably supported this untenable hypothesis. He will find in Eusebius that the Israelites entered Egypt under Apophis, one of the Shepherd kings (a position not less diametrically opposed to the facts of the history), and escaped under Acencheres II. The Marquis Spineto’s view is something like this, but avoids the objectionable part: he brings them into Egypt under Amenophis I., and expels them under Mandouee, the Acencheres II. of Eusebius, and from hence he thinks the ill-omened name of Mandouee has been beaten with a hammer out of the monuments. There is yet another theory, which we are inclined to suspect was that of Manetho, and therefore worthy of consideration; but it is so strangely disfigured in Josephus, that it is difficult to know to whom we are to ascribe the flagrant contradictions.\* By this account, Amenophis was inserted by Manetho *after* Sesostris and his son Rhamses, yet he is immediately after represented, either by Manetho or Josephus, as their predecessor: he it was who expelled a second race of leprous shepherds; and his fate was moulded up with a tradition of a great catastrophe connected with religion. This would throw the Exodus a century later (the Jewish date comes as low as 1312), and would be somewhat embarrassing to chronologers, but it would settle the ques-

\* The confusion, whether introduced by Josephus or not (we wish we had Apion’s reply), is inexplicable. This Amenophis certainly appears at once the father and grandson of Sesostris. There cannot well be a mistake, for he makes it the basis of a regular calculation. He reckons the time, from the first expulsion of the Shepherds to the reign of this Amenophis, at 513 years, assigning to the eighteenth dynasty 303 years (another palpable contradiction); to Sethos, 59; to Ramesses, 66—Total, 518.

tion about Sesostris; and the Jews of all ages were more likely to exaggerate than depress the antiquity of their nation.

If, however, according to the general view, we place the Exodus before the accession of Sesostris, in what manner do we account for the silence of the holy books concerning this universal conqueror? M. Coquerel and Greppo answer at once, and with great apparent probability, that the triumphant armies of the Egyptian marched through Palestine during the forty years which the Israelites passed in the secret and inaccessible desert. Yet a preliminary question may be started,—according to the general accounts, did the Egyptian's army pass through Palestine? By the line of march which we have drawn out, from what seem the best authorities, it certainly did not, excepting possibly on his return, and of his return nothing is said, excepting that he arrived, whether by land or sea is not stated, at Pelusium. We will not urge the words of Justin, that this great conqueror had a strange predilection for remote conquests, and despised those which lay near his own borders:—‘*Longinqua non finitima bella gerebant; nec imperium sibi, sed populis suis gloriam quærebant; contentique victoria, imperio abstinebant:*’ but it is possible that the comparative insignificance of Palestine, or its ready submission, might preserve it from actual invasion, if it did not happen to lie on the line of march. It is true that Herodotus sends forth the Egyptian to win his first laurels by the conquest of Cyprus and Phœnicia: but the subjugation of the island clearly denotes a maritime expedition. The conquest of Phœnicia is confirmed by a very singular monument, a bilingual inscription in hieroglyphics and arrow-headed characters, the former of which shews the legend of Rhamses the Great. This has been found at Nahar-el-Kelb in Syria, near the ancient Berytus. In fact, while Phœnicia, already perhaps mercantile, might attract an Egyptian conqueror, Palestine, only rich in the fruits of the soil, which Egypt produced to the utmost redundancy, was a conquest which might flatter the pride, but would offer no advantage to the sovereign of the Nile. Herodotus indeed expressly asserts that he had seen one of his obscene trophies of victory, raised among those nations which submitted without resistance in Syria Palæstina. Larcher has already observed on the loose way in which the boundaries of Palestine were known by the Greeks, and has urged the improbability that the magnificent sovereigns of Judæa, David and Solomon, would suffer such a monument of national disgrace to stand; he supposes, therefore, that it might be in the territory of Ascalon. We are somewhat inclined to suspect that many of these pillars might be no more than the symbols of the worship of Baal-Peor. Was Herodotus likely to read a hieroglyphic inscription without  
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the assistance of his friends, the priests of Egypt? Be this as it may, after all, if we calmly consider the nature of the Jewish history in the Bible, all difficulty, even if we suppose the peaceful submission of the province to the great conqueror, ceases at once. The Book of Judges, in about fourteen chapters, from the 3d to the 16th, contains the history of between three and four centuries. Its object appears to be to relate the successive calamities of the nation, and the deliverances wrought by 'men raised up by the Lord.' But the rapid march of Sesostris through the unresisting territory, as it might exercise no oppression, would demand no deliverance. More particularly, if it took place during one of the periods of servitude, when masters and slaves bowed together beneath the yoke, it would have added nothing to the ignominy or burthen of slavery. Perizonius, indeed, has not scrupled to place the conquest of Sesostris, in accordance with his chronological system, under the Canaanitish servitude.

But, if much obscurity still hang over the coincidence of sacred and profane history at this period, when, some centuries later, the Egyptian and Jewish annals renew their interrupted connexion, the lights thrown upon both, by the discoveries in hieroglyphical literature, are both striking and satisfactory. The marriage of Solomon with the royal daughter of Egypt is the first point of coincidence. It may be worth observing, that we now again find a Tanite dynasty, the twenty-first, on the throne. But the head of the twenty-second is a more important personage, the Sesonchosis of Manetho, the Shishonk of the Monuments.—'And it came to pass, in the fifth year of King Rehoboam, that Shishak, King of Egypt, came up against Jerusalem (1 Kings xv. 25), with twelve hundred chariots and three-score thousand horsemen: and the people were without number that came up with him out of Egypt, the Lubims (Lybians), the Sukkiims (Troglodites), and the Ethiopians.'—2 Chron. xii. 3. Champollion states that he has found at Karnak a sculpture, in which thirty nations are led before the triumphant Shishonk, among which appears, in legible characters, Joudaha Malek, the King of the Jews. The immediate successor of Shishak, or Shishonk, was Osorchon, identified with that Zerah, the Ethiopian, who, with far different fortune, went out against the religious Asa 'with an host of an hundred thousand, and three hundred chariots; and came unto Maresha.'—2 Chron. xiv. 9.

In the decline of the two Hebrew kingdoms, the prophets mingle together, still more perpetually, the warlike Ethiopians and the hosts of Egypt. It is against their united forces that the Assyrian kings wage war. \* Isaiah hath walked barefoot three years for a sign and a wonder upon Egypt and upon Ethiopia;

so shall the King of Assyria lead away the Egyptians prisoners, and the Ethiopians captive \* \* \* and they shall be afraid and ashamed of Ethiopia, their expectation, and of Egypt, their glory.'—Isaiah xx. 2—5. It appears from the concurrent testimony of history and the monuments, that at this time the tide of conquest had rolled down the Nile, the Ethiopians had risen to great power, and a dynasty of three kings sat in succession on the united thrones. Of these three, Sabaco, Sevechus, and Tirhakah, the names have been made out on the monuments—Sabaco as Sabakopf, at Abydos, by Mr. Salt, or as Schabak, according to M. Champollion. Sevechus appears on some scarabei in the Museum of Charles the Tenth. Tarak, or Taraco, was found by Mr. Salt on more than one monument in Nubia and Egypt, as well as by Champollion in the European collections. There can be little doubt that the former is the So (the Sua), to whom Hoshea sent an embassy.—2 Kings xvii. 4. Tarak, or Taraco, is without doubt the Tirhakah, the Ethiopian, who came out to fight against Sennacherib.—2 Kings xix. 9; Isaiah xxxvii. 9. The Necho and the Hophra of Scripture (Vaphres or Apries) have been made out with equal certainty; and with their names the connexion of sacred and Egyptian history ceases for a time, when both monarchies were swept to the earth by the devastating conquest of Nebuchadnezzar.

Our limits do not permit us to follow the decipherers of hieroglyphics through the names of the Persian and Macedonian kings, Xerxes, Alexander, and the Ptolemies, down to the period of the Cæsars, whose appellations and titles, still written in hieroglyphic characters, enable the antiquary to discriminate between the architectural works of the earlier and the later ages; thus reversing, with somewhat amusing freedom, the judgments of former diletanti, who certainly had the happy skill of frequently mistaking the most modern structures for the most ancient,—those of the Antonines for those of the Ptolemies,—those of the Ptolemies for those of the Pharaohs. But it is not only on the history alone, but likewise on the religion, the mythology, the laws and civil usages of this most wonderful people, that the monuments, the sculptures, and paintings, elucidated by the hieroglyphic inscriptions, may be expected to throw a strong, if not a clear and distinct, light: we shall see that race, venerated for their wisdom by all antiquity, in their religious processions, pomps, and sacrifices—in their sepulchral rites and offices for the dead; we shall see them on the tribunal, and in the administration of their laws, as we have already in the field of battle. We await with lively interest the full statement of M. Champollion's researches; and shall hear with the highest satisfaction that his government shall have

nave enabled him to enlarge the field of inquiry upon the sites of the totally ruined, and almost buried, cities of Lower Egypt—Memphis, Sais, or Heliopolis; for it is not on the surface, or above the earth alone, that important discoveries may be made: there is reason to believe that much of the secret of Egyptian lore, perhaps that of her mysteries, and all the hidden wisdom of her priests, may still be preserved in her subterranean chambers and passages. We may, indeed, be doomed to new disappointment; but certainly no period ever appeared to promise so fairly, more especially if the regular government of the present ruler shall continue to favour and render secure the researches of European learning and enterprise; if the modern ‘constitutional sovereign’ of Egypt, and his ‘parliament,’ shall restore something like law, order, and peace to this interesting country, whose humiliated and melancholy state of oppression, ignorance, and barbarism, so sadly contrasts with her ancient splendour, and glory, and wisdom.

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ART. V.—*Travels in various Parts of Peru, including a Year's Residence in Potosi.* By Edmond Temple, Knight of the Royal and Distinguished Order of Charles III. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1830.

MR. TEMPLE is one of those lively and entertaining writers who possess the happy knack of blending instruction with amusement. Though a *ci-devant* captain in a regiment of Spanish dragoons, he does not pretend to have galloped at so furious a rate over the plains of South America, as Captain Head did, though no dragoon, across the Pampas; but in activity, good humour, and equanimity, he yields to none. He meets with difficulties numerous and serious enough, but he makes none and complains of none. He is, in truth, just that sort of cheerful, contented *compagnon de voyage* that one would wish to travel with, whether on the road or on paper. His knowledge of the Spanish language enables him to give many lively and characteristic sketches of the manners and customs of the South Americans, always free from any ill-natured or sarcastic remarks. If we were disposed to hint a fault, it would be that he dwells rather too long on points that did not require it.

‘The Potosi, La Paz, and Peruvian Mining Association,’ Mr. Temple tells us, was one of the nine hundred and ninety-nine speculations of the all-speculating year 1825; and a very pretty concern it turned out to be. Among the long list of its employés at home and abroad, this young Irishman had the honour  
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of being enrolled ; and he, as secretary to the establishment at Potosi, General Paroissien, the chief commissioner, Baron de Czettwitz, the chief of the mining department, and Mr. Scrivener, a young gentleman conversant in mineralogy,—forthwith all set out from London ‘in and on a highly-fashionable carriage,’ provided by the Association, and well stowed with gingerbread-nuts and peppermint-drops, and all sorts of luxuries to comfort them on their future journey across the continent of South America. Arriving at Falmouth, they embarked on his Majesty’s good packet-brig Frolic, for a passage to Buenos Ayres, of which Mr. Temple gives a whimsical and amusing, and—we are sufficiently acquainted with sea-affairs to say—a very accurate account ; detailing, with considerable humour, what usually occurs to those unhappy beings who, for the first time, are doomed to cross the Atlantic in a ten-gun brig.

On preparing to depart from Buenos Ayres, it was found that the ‘fashionable carriage’ they had exported from Long Acre was totally unfit for the journey before them ; this fine affair was consequently left to grace the establishment of some lucky trader in hides and tallow ; and, in lieu of it, they had to purchase a long coach of the *Omnibus* genus, called a *galera*, and two baggage-carts, to each of which were required four horses ; there were besides nine *peones* (lads of all work), with a *capitax* to manage the concerns of the journey, carrying with them a number of spades, shovels, and pickaxes, which were stated to be absolutely necessary for the purpose, as Mr. Temple says, of converting the *peones*, occasionally, into *pioneers*. ‘The postilions, nearly as wild as the twelve horses they mounted, ‘recalled,’ says Mr. Temple, ‘forcibly to my memory the “boys” of my native land.’

‘The uncombed, dishevelled locks—the once black hat of many-dinted shape, pitched somehow or other on the head—the rent garment of a species of frieze—the bare leg, indifferent to a squeeze between the horses—the spur (a most unmerciful instrument of punishment in this country) attached to the naked heel—the *devil-may-care* kind of way in which they galloped us through ruts, over stones, and round sharp corners—the flourish of the whip above the head—the wild shriek to encourage the horses to go faster when the animals were going as fast as they had power to go—the arch glance of pride and satisfaction occasionally cast backwards at the passengers within, and accompanied with the touch of the hat, evidently meaning, “There’s driving for you, your honour!”—altogether awakened reflections in my mind that occupied me very happily until we stopped at La Figura.’—vol. i. pp. 71, 72.

We need not stop, however, to notice particularly the continued forest of tall thistles which occupies the first hundred miles of the Pampas ; nor dwell on the immensity of the vast plain that suc-  
ceeds

ceeds this, of which a line of perfect level, extending about a hundred and twenty miles, consists of rich pasture, as far as the eye can reach on either side, without a tree or a stone, and covered with vast herds of cattle belonging to the resident Gauchos, a description of persons, whom, in comparison with the peasantry of England or France, our traveller considers little better than a species of baboon. The rapidity with which the *galera* and baggage-carts were whirled over these plains at the rate of ten to twelve miles an hour, making not less, on one day, than one hundred and twenty English miles, with the thermometer above 90°—the *same* postilions, or *peones*, performing the whole task without any symptom of fatigue—is a feat almost equal to that of Captain Head, when, stripped of all incumbrance in the shape of clothing, he broiled the beef-steak under his haunches.

Mr. Temple thinks the road, or *truck* rather, from Buenos Ayres to Cordova, might be shortened nearly one hundred, in the distance of five hundred and fifty, miles; but he says, what is true enough, that neither pains nor judgment were ever exerted for the benefit or convenience of the inhabitants of the Spanish colonies by their late unworthy rulers. The town or city of Cordova was once the head-quarters of the Jesuits, when they ruled with uncontrolled sway; but their power is now gone, though the priesthood would still appear to keep up a certain degree of influence over the twelve or thirteen thousand inhabitants of the town. We knew that books of all kinds, except missals or breviaries for the mass, were rigidly prohibited by the Holy Inquisition; but we could not have supposed that, the restraint being now removed, and full liberty of thought and action for several years past established, books would not eagerly have been sought after by the Spanish part of the population; yet our traveller says, after making a journey of six hundred miles, 'I have not yet met with a single book in the house of any private person since I left Buenos Ayres.' At that place education, he says, has made rapid strides; and as the tree of knowledge is not difficult to transplant, and is sure to flourish with but common attention, we should have thought its spread would have been more extensive. The old Spanish government gave no patronage to its cultivation—so far from it, indeed, that, when Charles IV. was petitioned for permission to found a university in Venezuela, the council of the Indies advised his majesty to reply, that he did not conceive it necessary that learning should be encouraged in America.

As little did the rulers of this magnificent country, from whose bowels alone they drew all their wealth, totally neglecting its surface, consult, in the slightest degree, the convenience of their subjects; on the contrary, their policy was to render the communication

munication between the provinces as difficult as possible, that the people might not compare and discuss their grievances, and combine for their relief. Roads there were none; and as to bridges, we believe it would be in vain to look for a single edifice worthy of the name in all South America; we doubt even if a ferry or a raft has been supplied for public convenience. Mr. Temple found the river Santiago so deep and rapid, that he and his party were unable to pass without unloading the *galera* and the baggage-carts, and having every article towed over in a most inartificial vehicle, called a *balsa*; but we must leave our facetious traveller to describe this machine of primitive simplicity.

'Take a dried bullock's hide, pinch up each of the four corners, put a stitch with a thorn to keep those corners together, and your boat is made. For use, place it upon the water bottom downwards; then, to prevent its natural tendency to turn bottom *upwards*, put one foot immediately in the centre, and let the other follow with the most delicate caution; thus, standing breathless in the middle, you are now to shrink downwards, contracting your body precisely in the manner in which, probably, in your childhood, you have *pressed a friar into a snuff-box*. This position, however inconvenient, serves to conceal a considerable share of timidity from your companions, though not from the spectators, who line the banks of the river, indulging in loud wild laughter. When crouched down in the bottom, sundry articles are handed in, and ingeniously deposited round you, until the *ba'sa* sinks to about an inch, or, perhaps, an inch and a half from the water's edge; it is then considered sufficiently laden. A naked peone now plunges into the stream. "Mercy on us!" is the natural exclamation; for the first impression from the shock is, that yourself and all your property are going to the bottom; but you are instantly relieved from this very probable conjecture, by the peone's taking hold of one of the corners of the *balsa*, (which projects like that of a cocked hat,) and asking you—"Està V. bien?" "Are you comfortable?" To this question you reply by a nod of the head, for the use of the tongue is lost; but even if words were at command, you may not wish to commit yourself by expressions diametrically opposed to feelings and symptoms; or you may wish it to be imagined, as is sometimes practised in perilous situations, that your profound silence indicates indifference of danger, or may pass for coolness and presence of mind. Silence also conveys an idea of gravity, and of resignation to your fate, which, indeed, is no more than becoming, when you feel persuaded that nothing short of a miracle can prolong your existence beyond a quarter of an hour. The nod being given, a peone on the shore imparts a gentle impulse to your tottering bark, while the peone in the water, keeping hold of the corner with one hand, strikes out with the other, and swims away with you to the opposite bank. The moment you touch it, so great is your joyful surprise at arriving perfectly safe, that all the perils of your voyage are forgotten, and you soon find out (as is often the case in life),



life), that your imagination had represented dangers and difficulties, where, with a little caution, there existed neither the one nor the other.' —p. 125-127.

By means of this clumsy and dangerous machine, and along a track that does not anywhere deserve the name of road, have the whole communications been kept up with the most distant provinces, and all the millions in gold and silver conveyed from the mines of Potosi, and other parts of Peru, to Buenos Ayres, for more than two hundred years. The Pilcomayo river, which rises in Potosi, and the various branches that fall from Peru into that magnificent stream, the Paraguay, have never once been looked at with the view of rendering them navigable ; so little did any kind of improvement or public benefit enter into the minds of the Spanish government, or those who administered its affairs in these distant colonies. There was one paramount object, to which everything else was subservient ; and that was, to secure to itself *per fas et nefas* as much gold and silver as could possibly be procured.

Mr. Temple thinks there is no spot in the new world, or perhaps in the world at large, more inviting to emigrants, with small capitals, than the province of Tucuman. The city of San Miguel del Tucuman

' is seated in the midst of one of the most fertile plains in the world, producing rice, Indian corn, wheat, barley, the sugar-cane, tobacco, sundry fruits and vegetables, and whatever else the husbandman may desire to cultivate. Black cattle, horses, mules, sheep, and goats, roam in large flocks and herds, in superabundant pasture. The mountains, about six leagues from the town, are covered with wood and timber of the finest kind ; orange and lemon-trees abound upon the declivities, and the summits are clothed with rich pasture, whither the cattle are driven during the hot months of summer.'—vol. i., pp. 140, 141.

The forests of this province are said to contain some of the most useful and beautiful woods, whether for building, for machinery, or for furniture. They supply most of the wood-work used in the mining districts. Immense axle-trees, some of which are said to have employed three years on the road before reaching Potosi, at the cost of one thousand to fifteen hundred dollars each, are procured in these forests. Orange trees grow to a size unknown in Europe, and whole cart-loads of the fruit are conveyed to the town by any one who chooses to take the pains of gathering them.

Here Mr. Temple supplied himself with a pair of boots, as rude and novel in their construction as the *balsa*. They are without seam, or a single stitch,—the leg, foot and sole being all of one piece ; and, we are told, fit most admirably. The following,

lowing, accompanied by a sketch, is our author's receipt for making them:—

'Take a horse, cut off his hind legs considerably above the hocks; pull the skin down over his hoofs, just as if you were pulling off a stocking; when off, scrape the hair from the skin with a sharp knife, and remove every particle of flesh that may have adhered to the inside; hang the skins to dry, and in the process of drying draw them two or three times on your legs, that they may take their shape, form, and figure. The upper part A (about twelve inches above the hock) becomes the mouth of the boot; the round projecting part of the hock B the heel; the foot terminates at C (the fetlock joint), where it is cut to the required length.'—vol. i., p. 150.

These boots are called *botas de potro*; and, we are assured, are very light, and as 'easy as a glove.'

The horses, however, are not so cleverly or cheaply shod as Mr. Temple was booted: A pair of their shoes cost eighteen shillings,—'a price,' says our traveller, 'at which a tolerable horse might be purchased.' The German baron thought it monstrous that he should pay more than one-third of the whole value of his horse for only *half*-shoeing (being shod on the fore-feet only); and observed, in good German-English, that 'he could shod get in his country all four horse foots *für sechzehn groschen*.'

Nothing could exceed the civility of the people of this part of the country. Their houses were open for the accommodation of the travellers; but the landed proprietors, in particular, had suffered dreadfully from the revolution. The party lodged at the house of Don José Torres, a gentleman of large landed property, who, at one period, possessed upwards of three thousand head of horned cattle, out of which *only eight cows* now remained, the *gens de guerre* having eased him of the rest. They had left him, however, large massive dishes, forks, spoons, drinking cups, and candlesticks, of silver; and his wife wore neat shoes and white stockings on pretty feet, and was fair and cleanly in her person; but 'dirty, half-naked children, and dirtier slaves, male and female, were all of one party.' Neatness and delicacy are by no means the characteristics of the creoles of South America, at least in their houses; but in their evening dresses, for the promenade or the *tertulia*, 'the South American ladies,' says Mr. Temple, 'equal those of any other country in the neat and tasteful embellishment of their persons.' The Marquess of Otavi is another instance of the losses which wealthy individuals have sustained by the revolution. It is stated that he had been plundered at different times, by different parties, of horned cattle, horses, mules, and sheep, to no less an amount than thirty thousand head, exclusive of

of contributions which he had cheerfully and voluntarily paid in support of the cause of independence. This noble owner of an estate, which, we are told, extends, in one direction, upwards of *thirty leagues*, was sitting on a mud bench, leaning on a table covered with a piece of old carpet, when Mr. Temple entered the large unfurnished apartment. After a hearty welcome, the old marquess led him into the saloon, 'where a ragged peone spread a dirty towel on the table, and was directed to put *the* chair for the cavallero.' Another peone brought in 'an armful of dingy silver plates, which he scattered and clattered on the table, with several forks and a knife.' A family dish of *chupé*,—bits of mutton, potatoes, onions, and pepper, stewed together,—was followed by broiled ribs of mutton. A large silver goblet, filled with water, stood in the centre of the table; and here ended the marquess's entertainment; and we are told that, since the revolution, 'this may be considered a tolerably accurate outline of the general mode of living in Peru, among that class of people which, in England, we denominate the first.'

Donna Juliana, a rich widow of Potosi, known for her piety, charity, and benevolence, as '*La buena Cristiana*,' is the only person mentioned by Mr. Temple as living in a style suitable to her circumstances. The curate, a Dominican friar, and our author, sat down with this lady to dinner. A Peruvian boy, three girls, a fine negress slave, and an elderly confidante, were the attendants. 'For nearly an hour, immense silver dishes were carried in and carried out with the various compositions of our repast.' From every one of the numerous dishes, it was observed that Donna Juliana took a large plateful, sometimes two, which were handed to one of the Peruvians, and placed in a distant corner of the room. In like manner, a portion was taken from the sweetmeats, and other articles of the desert,—all, as our author found, on inquiry, 'to be given to the poor.'

'Every day in the year, at two o'clock, several poor persons attended at the house of *La buena Cristiana*, and took their seats upon the staircase: some of them, aware no doubt of the lenient disposition of their benefactress, encroached even to the door of the dining-room, where a scene rather unusual to a European, certainly to an Englishman, and one of interesting curiosity too, was daily to be seen,—that of a tribe of beggars, assembled *en société*, in a respectable mansion, eating with silver spoons, out of silver plates and dishes, without any watch over the property, or even a suspicion of its being likely to be missing. In mentioning this daily charitable distribution—happy contrast to "the crumbs from the rich man's table!"—I must not forget to remark, that the reserved portions of sweetmeats were for the children who accompanied their parents; a trifling



trifling observation, perhaps, but it has its weight in describing the character of the venerable Lady Bountiful of Potosi.'—vol. i., p. 383.

The more limited land proprietors in the fertile provinces of Tucuman, Salta, and Tarija, lived pretty much in the same style as the Marquess of Otavi,—*chupé*, broiled mutton, and water, being the standing, and, as it appears, the only dishes. In the beautiful province of Tarija, Mr. Temple, addressing himself to a decent-looking man, asked if he could give him a little bread? 'Bread! that is an article, cavallero, absolutely unknown here,'—*absolutamente desconocido aca*. He had some sheep on the side of the mountain, but nothing else; yet he was lord of the manor, and his estate in front of his door extended four leagues. His house was a mere hovel; but his wife and children were bedizened with diamond rings and pearl necklaces. How happens it that, where nature has bestowed her bounty so lavishly—a fruitful soil and a fine climate—man sits down in indolence and apathy, without one single comfort or convenience? A bad government, in the first instance, followed by an unsettled one, acting on an ignorant and semi-barbarous population, may perhaps explain it; but habitual idleness must not be omitted among the causes; it is this that makes the Dutch boor of the Cape of Good Hope contented with his *schuap's-vlesch*.

Whatever be the cause, the fact is that, in this magnificent country, the peasantry everywhere wear the marks of poverty in their appearance, dress, and hovels. 'In one of these,' says our author, 'which was not, in any respect, superior to a common Irish cabin, and which, with all its furniture, I should have thought a dear purchase for twenty dollars, I was interestingly surprised at discovering a *utensil* of a very humble description, but of noble capacity, made of pure silver.' The scantiness of population in the fine province of Tucuman, and in the whole line of road, is also something very remarkable. Mr. Temple observes, on meeting General Alvear on his way to Buenos Ayres,—'this was only the fourth time we had met with travellers in a distance exceeding twelve hundred miles.' 'Richly-wooded hills,' he continues, 'majestic mountains, fertile plains, and limpid streams, display their charms throughout an almost eternal summer, to the indolent inhabitants of a few unseemly huts, within thirty miles of the capital of the province.'

On reaching Salta, a town which our author compares with Dundalk, he estimates the travelling distance from Buenos Ayres at thirteen hundred miles. Here the road porthward ceases to be a carriage-way, and it becomes necessary to provide mules. At this place, letters were received from the Association, announcing that

that thirty-eight persons, with stores of every kind, had been embarked in the good ship *Potosi*, bound for Arica, in Lower Peru; and that the outfit would amount to forty thousand pounds. This intelligence induced our secretary to set off post for a ride of some five hundred miles to Potosi, to negotiate matters with the Bolivian government. He now commenced a journey over grand mountain-scenery, rugged and barren, without a single habitation or a living soul to be met with, along the dreary road, from post to post. The wild cries of the guanacos, scudding in small herds on the mountain tops, seemed to accord with the dreary solitude of the scene. These creatures, by travellers coming from the southward, are first met with in the ancient territories of the Incas. The gentle and docile llama, the camel of Peru, may here also be seen, bearing slowly its burden of some seventy or eighty pounds in weight; as are also two other species of the same family, the vicugna and the alpaca. The following extract will convey some idea of what perilous passes are to be encountered on this main road, from the wealthy province of Peru to Buenos Ayres:—

‘In the afternoon, I had to ascend and descend the highest mountain I had ever yet crossed. After winding for more than two hours up its rugged side, and precisely in the most terrifying spot, the baggage-mule, which was in front, suddenly stopped; and well it might—poor little wretch—after scrambling with its burden up such fatiguing flights of craggy steps; the narrowness of the path at this spot did not allow room to approach the animal to unload and give it rest. On one side was the solid rock, which drooped over our heads in a half-arch; on the other, a frightful abyss, of not less than two hundred perpendicular feet. Patience was indeed requisite here, but the apprehension was, that some traveller or courier might come in the contrary direction, and, as the sun was setting, the consequences could not fail of proving disastrous to either party. At one time, I held a council to deliberate on the prudence of freeing the passage by shooting the mule, and letting it roll, baggage and all, to the bottom. In this I was opposed by the postilion, though José and myself were of opinion, that it was the only method of rescuing ourselves from our critical situation before nightfall. I never felt so perplexed in my life: we were all useless, helpless, and knew not what to do. After upwards of half an hour, (perhaps apprehension may have added a few minutes to this dubious and truly nervous pause,) the mule, of its own accord, moved on slowly for about twenty yards, and stopped again; then proceeded, then stopped, and thus, after two hours’ further ascent, we gradually reached the summit. Two or three times I wished, for safety’s sake, to alight, but actually I had not room to do so upon the narrow edge of the tremendous precipice on my left.’—vol. i., pp. 260, 261.

Our traveller was less fortunate on his return over the mountains of Tarija :—

‘Cruel was the sight to see us toiling up full fifteen miles of a continued steep to the summit of the Corderilla, that here forms a ridge round the south-western extremity of the province of Tarija; but crueller by far to behold the wretched, wretched mule that slipped on the edge of a precipice, and—away! exhibiting ten thousand summersets, round, round, round! down, down, down! nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand fathoms deep!—certainly not one yard less, according to the scale by which I measured the chasm in my wonder-struck imagination, while I stood in my stirrups, straining forward over the ears of my horse, (which equally trembled with alarm,) and viewing the microscopic diminution of the mule, as it revolved with accelerated motion to the bottom, carrying with it our whole grand store of provision.’—vol. ii., p. 400.

And here they were obliged to leave the poor animal to its fate, which there was no doubt would be that of being devoured by condors. But a far more serious accident befel our traveller a few days after this. A favourite horse, that he had purchased on his journey to Potosi, got loose, and galloping off after a herd of his own species, speedily disappeared, and was never recovered. His apostrophe to this animal affords one of the numerous instances which justify the character we gave at starting of Mr. Temple.

“My horse,” said I to myself, “my best horse, my favourite horse, my companion, my friend, for so long a time, on journeys of so many hundred miles, carrying me up and down mountains, along the edges of precipices, across rivers and torrents, where the safety of the rider so often depended solely on the worthiness of his animal—to lose thee now in a moment of so much need, in a manner so unexpected, and so provokingly accidental, aggravated my loss. The constant care I took of thee proves the value I set on thy merits. At the end of many a wearisome journey, accommodation and comfort for thee were invariably my first consideration, let mine be what they might. Not even the severity of the past night could induce me to deprive thee of thy rug for my own gratification. And must I now suddenly say farewell?—Then farewell! my trusty friend! A thousand dollars are in that portmanteau: had I lost every one of them, they must, indeed, have occasioned regret, but never could they have excited such a feeling of sorrow as thou hast, my best, my favourite horse—farewell!”—vol. ii., pp. 411, 412.

The *postilion*, mentioned in the passage where the mule stopped short, was a pedestrian Peruvian. The alacrity of these persons is said to be so astonishing that neither horse, mule, nor llama can have any chance with them. ‘I have heard,’ says Mr. Temple, ‘that it is not uncommon for one of these *andadores* to perform



perform *thirty* leagues from sunrise to sunset.' These Peruvians are generally middle-sized, muscular men, living chiefly on Indian corn, potatoes, and other vegetables; their beverage is water—that is to say, when they cannot get *chica*—an intoxicating liquor made from Indian corn, something like the *bouza* of northern Africa. The mode of making it, and the 'mumbling' of the paste in the mouths of old women, bear a remarkable similarity to the chewing of *kava* on the Sandwich Islands.

'A quantity of Indian corn is pounded into a fine powder and placed in a heap, round which as many old women (I always observed they were old women) as can form a convenient circle sit down upon the ground, and, filling their mouths with the powder, chew it into a paste—perhaps "*mumble*" would be the appropriate term; for to "*chew*," I presume, there must be teeth, but in this operation the performers are toothless. When the paste, then, is mumbled to a sufficient consistency, it is taken out of the mouth, and rolled between the palms of the hands into a ball, generally about the size of a grape-shot, but varying, of course, according to the capacity of the mouth from which the substance is taken. The balls are piled in a pyramid, until the flower of the *mais* is finished; they are then placed upon a fire to bake. After this, they are put into a given quantity of water, where they ferment. I am not aware that any other ingredient is used. The fermentation forms the beverage called "*chica*," which is the nectar of the Indians; and, although inebriating, it is by no means injurious to health. In hot weather, I must acknowledge, notwithstanding the process, which is a most unsightly scene to witness, a draught of *chica* is extremely grateful; though I know not how to describe the taste, nearer than what may be imagined would be obtained by a mixture of small beer and indifferent cyder, yet is it considered as nutritious among the labouring classes as porter is in England.'—vol. ii., pp. 43, 44.

While almost universal poverty reigns in the fertile valleys and plains of Tucuman and Salta and Tarija, we cannot be surprised to meet with it among the defiles of the barren mountains. But it might be expected that the postmasters, who are a sort of public functionaries, should be placed in more decent circumstances than the following dialogue between one of them and our traveller would imply:—

'When I asked for meat, I received the *customary* answer—"No hai, Señor!" "There is none, Sir!"—for potatoes, "No hai, Señor!"—for milk, "No hai, Señor!"—for eggs, "No hai, Señor!"—"What have you then?" "No hai nada, Señor!" "Nothing at all, Sir!" To form a true idea of the effect of this dismal announcement of famine to a starving traveller, it is requisite to have heard the peculiarly mournful tone in which "*No hai, Señor! No hai nada, Señor!*" is sighed out of the mouths of these people. Poverty, want, misery, and affliction, are conveyed at once in the melancholy sentence, and  
a single

a single glance round the abode where the stranger stops confirms its lamentable truth.'—vol. i., pp. 275, 276.

Two days travelling, after taking leave of this poverty-stricken postmaster, brought our author among scenery of a new appearance. The road, without being improved, now indicated the approach to some great town or city.

'It was no longer an unfrequented solitude, as I had been accustomed to find it. Peasantry, with droves of asses and flocks of beautiful llamas, were to be seen passing to and fro; some strolling lazily to the city, laden with fruits, vegetables, Indian corn, flour, charcoal, fire-wood, and other necessities; some returning from the market at a brisk pace, after disposing of their burdens, and hastening many leagues into the fruitful valleys of the country to renew them. Indians, male and female, with poultry, milk, eggs, and sundry commodities for consumption, enlivened the way, and apprized the hungry traveller that, although surrounded by bleak, uncultivated, and *uncultivable*, mountains, he was still in the land of the living.'—vol. i., pp. 282, 283.

Suddenly appeared in the distance a high, cone-shaped mountain, of a reddish-brown colour, which there was no mistaking—'that celebrated mountain whose hidden treasures have withstood the laborious plunder of two hundred and fifty years, and still remain unexhausted: the mountain of Potosi.' The town of the same name 'is situated at the foot of this mountain, which rises 'like a colossal sugar-loaf above it, to the height of nearly three thousand feet; and which, although half an hour's walk distant, yet seems so close, that, if it were to fall over, it would, to all appearance, overwhelm the whole city.' Its absolute height above the level of the Pacific Ocean was stated, by Dr. Redhead, at 15,981 feet, which differs only eleven feet from a subsequent measurement by Mr. Pentland, who travelled in South America on scientific pursuits. The town itself is 13,265 feet, and considered by our author 'the highest inhabited place upon the globe;' though M. Humboldt took the farm of Antisana, in the province of Quito, which he makes 13,000 feet, to be, 'without doubt, one of the highest inhabited spots on the earth.' The city of Quito, which the same ingenious author sets down as the next highest, is only 9621 feet,—lower than Potosi by 3600 feet. But we may observe that both these gentlemen are mistaken; for highly elevated as these places are, there are whole towns on the banks of the Sutledge, behind the Himalaya mountains, at an elevation of thirteen to fifteen thousand feet above the level of the sea; a height as far superior to any human habitation in the cordilleras of the Andes, as are the Dhawala-giri, the Juminawatari, and some other peaks of the oriental range, to Chimborazo or Ylimani. The peak of Chimborazo was considered by Humboldt the

the highest of the cordilleras of the Andes ; but Mr. Temple was informed by the chief commissioner, who took a warm interest in such subjects, that the height of Ylimani had been given to him as 21,800 feet, which exceeds that of the former by 350 feet—and this, he says, agrees with the estimate of Mr. Pentland, and the observations of Dr. Redhead.

An inferior mountain, which rises like a buttress at the feet of the large cone, on the side next the town, is called by the Indians the son of Potosi ; every stone of this (though less rich than the father) is said to be in some degree metalliferous, and it contains mines from which considerable quantities of silver have been extracted. Of the great cone, Mr. Temple gives the following account :—

‘ In the large one there are not less than five thousand *bocas minas* (mouths of mines) ; but it does not follow that there are five thousand distinct mines, for several mines have two, and some three, different mouths or entrances. This may convey a tolerably fair idea of the manner in which the cerro is perforated, but no idea can be formed of the nature and state of the mines themselves, which have been worked from their discovery to the present day, without the slightest regard to method or even to common convenience. I entered several, in which I was obliged to crawl for many yards on my hands and feet ; an estimate may thence be formed of the disadvantage at which the labourers work, and of the great loss of time that must ensue in conveying the ores out of the mines in sheep-skin aprons, as practised by the Indians.’—vol. i., pp. 302, 303.

Mr. Temple gives a detailed account of the method of extracting the metal from the ores, as practised in the mining establishments of Potosi—which is that of stamping, washing, and amalgamating with quicksilver, and is no doubt capable of considerable improvement in the different processes. Mr. Temple says that, a few years before the revolution, forty *ingenios* (laboratories) were in active operation at Potosi, and produced, at a moderate calculation, eight thousand marcs (about four thousand pounds avoirdupois) of pure silver weekly. In their more recent state, according to Humboldt, they are not the first in the known world, but may be ranked immediately after those of Guanaxuato, the richest mining district of Mexico. But the revolution which has since taken place has greatly deteriorated all the mining concerns of South America, and ‘ nowhere,’ says Mr. Temple, ‘ has destruction been more mischievously active, more complete, and more manifest, than on the property of the *azogueros* (mining establishments) of Peru.’ Their expensive machinery has been wantonly destroyed—their extensive *ingenios* have been plundered and dilapidated—their mines have crumbled in, and filled with rubbish or with water—and the arbitrary exactions of the contending military chiefs,



chiefs, have reduced their proprietors to a state of beggary. Still, however, the mines are not entirely abandoned nor unproductive: there are still fifteen *ingenios* at work on a limited scale, in Potosi, and these are stated to produce, collectively, on an average, fifteen hundred marcs of silver weekly, or nearly 125,000*l.* sterling per annum.

Mr. Temple gives a *precis*, from a curious manuscript presented to him by Dr. Nicol, drawn up by Lamberto de Sierra, minister of finance, accountant and treasurer of the royal coffers in the imperial city of Potosi, 1st May, 1802. It is dedicated to the celebrated Godoy, and contains an account of the produce of the mines, from their first discovery in the year 1545. This discovery, according to common belief, was first made by a Peruvian, who, in pursuit of a llama up the steep side of a mountain, to save himself from falling, caught hold of a shrub which, being torn from the soil, exposed a mass of solid silver at the roots. According to Mr. Temple's MS., however, 'the Indian at night made a fire on the side of the mountain, and in the morning perceived a quantity of silver that had melted and spread on the surface of the ground; which circumstance is noted in the archives of this treasury.'

This manuscript enables our author to correct many errors of the Abbé Raynal, and also several contradictions and mistakes of the Baron Humboldt. It gives a table, showing the amount of the king's fifths paid in each year at Potosi, from 1564 to 1641. At this latter period, it appears that about fifteen thousand Indians were working in the mines and amalgamation-works, and upwards of fifteen thousand llamas, and an equal number of asses, were employed in carrying the ores. It is supposed that the barbarous edict of the *mita*, or conscription, by which these Indians were forced to give gratuitous, or nearly gratuitous, labour, chiefly enabled the proprietors to carry on their works; but the advantage was, probably, not very great: although they payed them little or no wages, they were under the necessity of feeding them; and the quantity of labour, being forced, was not likely to be very considerable. General Miller, indeed, has computed, we know not on what *data*, that eight millions, two hundred and eighty-five thousand Indians have perished in the mines of Peru! But this kind of calculation is something, we suppose, like that of Voltaire:—'On massacra autrefois une douzaine de millions d'Américains, mais c'étoit pour rendre les autres raisonnables. Un calculateur a vérifié que depuis la guerre de Troie, jusqu'à celle de l'Acadie, on a tué, au moins, en batailles rangées, cinq-cent cinquante-cinq millions, six-cent cinquante mille hommes;' and all, quoth the satirist, 'pour le bien public.'

While

While our travelling secretary was employed in setting to work some native Indians, whom he had hired, and who, it seems, laboured honestly for two shillings a day each, in one or two of the holes (*bocas minas*) he had bargained for in the great conical mountain of Potosi, the German Baron was collecting information respecting the mines of Puno, on the western side of the lake of Titicaca, which is stated to be eighty leagues in circumference, and at an elevation of 12,761 feet above the level of the Pacific ocean. It was into this lake that the Peruvians, at the time of the Spanish conquest, were said to have thrown immense treasures of gold and silver. The neighbourhood of Cusco and La Paz was, in fact, the seat of the opulence and power of the Incas. Being at La Paz, Mr. Temple says—

‘In the seventeenth century, about one league from this city, a large mass of solid gold was found by an Indian, and purchased, for 11,269 dollars, by the Spanish viceroy, who sent it to the cabinet of natural history at Madrid, where I believe it is still to be seen. It was supposed to have been detached by lightning from the huge Ylimani, in which many veins of gold are known to exist. Large quantities of native gold have also been found from time to time at the base of the Ylimani, in a lake situated at the enormous elevation of 15,780 feet above the level of the sea. This lake of Ylimani is likewise celebrated for having been made the depository of a great part of the treasures of the once-famed city of Cusco; it being handed down by tradition, that, at the period of the Spanish conquest, the Indians carried them thither, and sunk them in the lake, to secure them from the rapacity of their invaders. In confirmation of this tradition, several articles of gold have been found at different times; and the belief of the fact has given rise to a *Company* for draining the lake, which, it appears, may be accomplished to a certain extent at a moderate expense.’—vol. ii., pp. 75, 76.

The hills of Puno, of which Laycaycota is the most celebrated for its riches, are said to correspond, in their general disposition and mineralogical characters, with those metalliferous porphyries of the Real del Monte, Bolanos, and Guanaxuato mines of Mexico, and with those of Hungary and Transylvania. One of the mines on the Cerro de Laycaycota, belonging to the unfortunate Salcedo, who was charged with a conspiracy and executed as a public traitor, is said to have produced in one year something very near one million and a half sterling. The Spanish government, as usual, took possession of his mines. The same thing happened more recently to one Don Rodrigues, who, under the supposition of being implicated in the insurrection of the Peruvians in 1780, was arrested and sent to Buenos Ayres, where he remained in confinement upwards of twenty years, and died on being restored to liberty at the breaking out of the revolution. His enormous

enormous wealth may be judged of by the nature and profusion of the silver articles he possessed.

‘Rodrigues was proprietor of a famous silver mine in the vicinity of Oruro, which was so productive, that he discarded from his house all articles of glass, delf, or crockery-ware, and replaced them by others made from the silver of his mine. Utensils of the most common use, as well as articles of luxury and ornament, such as pier-tables in the principal apartments, frames of pictures and of mirrors, foot-stools, pots, and pans, were all of silver. “And,” said the person, when relating the foregoing, “do you see that trough in the court-yard?” pointing to a very large stone trough for the purpose of watering mules and other animals; “I do assure you that Señor Rodrigues had two of much larger size for the same purpose, of pure and solid silver; and before the revolution there were three or four houses in Oruro that could boast of having quite as much.”’—vol. ii., pp. 29, 30.

These mines have been abandoned since the revolution, and are now filled with water; but Mr. Temple says, on the authority of the Baron, that they are capable of being cleared, and the sum necessary for the undertaking, upon a liberal scale, would not exceed 20,000*l.* sterling; that no expensive machinery is requisite; that native Indian miners may be had in abundance at two shillings a day; that the nature of the rock dispenses with the cost of arching the adits and galleries; and that, from the richness of the ore, the repayment of all disbursements might reasonably be expected within eighteen months from the period of commencing the operations. To conduct the establishment, a master smelter, a millwright, a smith, and a mason, to keep the mills and furnaces in repair, a carpenter and boat-builder, and a German amalgamator, would be the only European artisans required. But then, to work them to advantage, there must be no useless establishments, exorbitant salaries, extravagant preparations, wild-goose expeditions; no chief commissioners, such as that, for instance, of ‘The Potosi, La Paz, and Peruvian Mining Association,’ who, says Mr. Temple, ‘accompanied by his secretary of legation, with a suite of other dignitaries, posted in a coach and four, escorted by outriders, and followed by baggage-waggons, laden with portable kitchens, portable beds, portable soups, chronometers, hydrometers, barometers, theodolites, and peppermint-drops.’ Such extravagant and useless, not to say pernicious, expenditure, was sure to be followed by defalcations in the payment of instalments, forfeiture of shares, protesting of bills, cancelling of contracts, and the necessary abandonment of enterprises, even on the spot, when in active operation, ‘where nature had provided the means of ample remuneration, had prudence been consulted, foresight employed, and economy adhered to.’

While



While the secretary was indulging in speculations to which the Baron's report gave rise, and which he concluded undoubtedly the Association would eagerly entertain, he received two letters—one from Castro, the Company's agent at Buenos Ayres, announcing that he could accept no more drafts till he had received advice of his bill for 12,000*l.* for their outfit having been paid; the other, from the Company's solicitor, that the call for a second instalment would be hopeless, and that some of the Directors were unable or unwilling to pay up their first quotas. 'This information,' says he, 'instantly chilled the sanguine hopes I had hitherto entertained of the ultimate prosperity of our enterprise, because the salaries alone of our monstrous establishment, exceeding 10,000*l.* sterling per annum, rendered it impossible to carry on the operations to any advantage without an advance of money.' Intelligence, however, speedily reached him of the arrival of their valuable ship at Arica, on the strength of which Mr. Temple drew a bill on the chief commissioner, who had gone thither, and recommenced his suspended operations on a small scale. His interview with the President Sucre, at Chuquasaca, where he informed him of the commissioners' draft being protested, is rather amusing. Sucre, like a wise man as he is, observed—'*Los señores Ingleses* must have been reading the history of El Dorado with a little more credulity than it deserves, if they imagined that the precious metals were to be obtained without labour and expense; for, although it is true that they abound in this country, they cannot be had for *nothing*, any more than the materials of which we build our houses.' Our secretary thought (and confesses it was the first time the thought struck him) that the President was right, and laments that some really clever fellow had not explained this little matter, *in limine*, to 'The Directors of the Potosi, La Paz, and Peruvian Mining Association.' At the same time, he thought it very unreasonable that Don Felix Castro should make a piece of work, and protest a bill for a few thousand pounds, on the credit of a company of gentlemen, who had declared, in their printed prospectus, that 'they had a capital of *one million sterling*,' with a clause that 'it might be *increased*, if deemed advisable.'

Misfortunes are proverbially said never to come single: they now poured down upon our secretary. From the Directors in London he had been informed that the three Directors who had signed the charter of the ship Potosi, having applied to the other Directors to indemnify them from any consequences under their liability as charterers, their request had been refused. He now received the additional information that these charterers had sent out a power of attorney to seize the cargo of the Potosi, to pay certain

certain claims. The judge of Arica, however, decreed that the ship and cargo should be delivered up to the legal representative of the Association at large, with costs. Unluckily, Don Felix Castro, of Buenos Ayres, had also sent an agent to embargo the whole of the property, for the protested bill of 12,000*l.*, with costs and damages, which could not be resisted. ‘Thus,’ says the secretary, ‘of that same cargo, which cost the Association, freight included, at least 30,000*l.*, not so much as a *twopenny-tack* was applied to the effect for which it was purchased;’ and he adds that no account whatever was ever rendered of the proceeds of that cargo. ‘The consequence was, that the numerous establishment sent out in the ship were reduced to a state of distress truly deplorable.

‘On landing at Arica, each individual received for his support nine dollars per week, which was soon after reduced to seven, then to five, then to three, and latterly to—nothing at all. Wearing apparel, watches, rings, and sundry other articles, were hawked about the streets of Arica and Tacna by the necessitous owners, who, but a few weeks before, having landed in high health and spirits, and full of hope as to their future fortune, imagined themselves on the high road to riches, and expected rather to add to their little store of luxuries, than to be reduced to sell them at any price for the purpose of obtaining a bit of bread.’—vol. ii., p. 201.

Yet at this moment a despatch was received from the Directors, sending them a list of nineteen mines to which their attention was to be directed, with orders to hire scientific persons to amalgamate the ores, and to appoint an additional agent at Potosi; telling them, at the same time, they must not, under any consideration, expect to receive any more money from England. The names of the Directors of this precious Association may, no doubt, be found in the newspapers of 1825, if any one should be curious enough to see them; but, whether they were or were not mere *fools*, we must say we have not the smallest desire to court their acquaintance. Mr. Temple says that the whole of his disbursements at Potosi, during eight months, including the cleaning out and working of three mines, paying high salaries, expenses of journeys, advances for timber, barley, and other articles, amounted to no more than 3065*l.* sterling, which he states to be sufficient for every requisite preparation for carrying into effect any well-conducted mining establishment in Peru; thus proving that there is no necessity for such enormous capitals as have been subscribed, and squandered away in South America.

‘It appears from the books of the *Administrador* of the national bank of Potosi, that, in the year just ended, there has been purchased in his department 177,127 marcs of *plata piña* (silver in a pure

pure state), from the mines of this mountain, and those of the districts of Portugalette and Chayanta. The value, according to the London market, equals 350,000*l.* sterling, which might be easily quadrupled with moderate capital, judgment, and skill; the above is derived from accumulated scrapings of many needy individuals, employing a few thousand dollars for the means of mere subsistence, beyond which they have not funds to work. This circumstance is alone sufficient to prove, not only that the mines here are not exhausted, but that, by a very partial working, they produce no inconsiderable sum.'—vol. ii., pp. 251, 252.

Mr. Temple tells the Directors, that the object of the Association might have been carried into full and prosperous effect by very small means, had not their culpable negligence so suddenly and effectually caused its ruin, by acts wholly and solely proceeding from themselves; that they had left him no alternative, to avoid the last stage of distress, but to depart from Potosi while he had the means of defraying the expenses of the long and lonely journey before him; and that his late companions had dispersed and gone where each thought he could best earn his bread. The expenses of this silly and improvident Association are calculated, first and last, to have amounted to 70,000*l.*, of which, Mr. Temple is ready to testify, not one-twelfth part was expended on mines or mining. The chief commissioner affirms, that the ill-fated cargo, seized at Arica, furnished by a London house, was charged from 20 to 30 per cent. too high, as compared with other invoices.

Having wound up all the mining concerns in Potosi, Mr. Temple, grievously vexed and disappointed as he was, determined to put the best face on the matter; and, however difficult it might be 'to wear a face of pleasure with a heart of pain,' invited a few friends to a farewell dinner, among whom was Señor V., doctor of laws and secretary to the government, but the learned doctor excused himself in the following note:—

' " Doctor V. is extremely grateful to Don Edmondo for his friendly summons to his feast (*festin*), but Doctor V., not having shaved for some days, and being so very dirty (*sucio*), he begs to be excused from appearing among decent people (*gente decente*). " '—vol. i., p. 266.

The reply of this unshaved, unwashed, uncombed dignitary calls to Mr. Temple's recollection what old Francis Quarles says:—

' Behold these rags! am I a fitting guest  
To taste the dainties of thy noble feast,  
With hands and face unwashed, ungirt, unblest? '

The city of Potosi is remarkable only for the vast elevation on which it is perched. The revolution destroyed one half of its population,



population, which does not now exceed twelve thousand souls, and one half of these are Peruvians. The streets are cleaner than those of American towns generally are, there being plenty of *fall* to carry off the mud and dirt by the rains; the ~~outside~~ <sup>outside</sup> of the houses are whitewashed; the inside is almost destitute of furniture, and filthy, with very few exceptions, even in the first houses, some of which, Mr. Temple says, like the stable of Augcas, seem not to have been cleansed for thirty years. The churches, whose walls were once covered with decorations of pure silver, have been plundered and dismantled, while they are building a shapeless pile of grey granite, commenced twenty years ago, which is called the cathedral. In the same square is a piece of architecture worthy of it, which Mr. Temple took for a shot manufactory: his servant called it 'the big chimney'—it is the national trophy in honour of Simon Bolivar, the Liberator. The climate is unhealthy from the sudden and excessive alternations of heat and cold. As to society, or any kind of amusements, there is none.

'Society is confined, literally, to two or three families of two or three persons, to whose houses we sometimes go for half an hour in an evening to sip *maté* through a tube, to hear a guitar gingled, or to sit on a bench against a wall, wrapped to the chin in our cloaks, replying, "*Si, Señor,*" to every body's tale concerning the severity of the cold winds from the south. The ladies, squatting on a rug upon the floor, huddled in a corner, and covered up in their woollen mantles, occasionally press us to take another *maté*, but complete the scene of *ennui*, by their total want of occupation, than which nothing can be more unsightly and repugnant to those who have been accustomed to female society in England; where, from the nursery to the age of spectacles, the needle is actively plied, even until its eye has become undistinguishable to the eyes of the person who employs it, and who may frequently be seen fencing at it in vain with the sharpest-pointed thread, until a grandchild, or some accommodating friend, when all hopes of success have failed, kindly undertakes to hit the mark, and thus furnishes the means of pursuing this habitual pastime, infinitely preferred by English ladies to that state which has already been described as a *délicieux repos*.'—vol. ii., pp. 192, 193.

The morning costume of the ladies, our author says, very much resembles that of Spain—'a slovenly dishabille on a slattern person, which, to an Englishman, is altogether revolting.' Hair tossed and tumbled; old shoes worn into shabby slippers, and down at the heels, exposing manifold wrinkles in the neglected stockings; the shawl converted into a morning wrapper, but ill concealing the want of stays; and linen that courts the wash-tub—such

—such is the general appearance even of young ladies when seen at home in a morning: huddled in a corner of an unfurnished apartment, squatting on small square rugs spread on the ground, somewhat in the eastern style; and in this state of slovenliness, indolence, and *ennui*, is the whole day consumed—but in the evening, ‘not more surprising,’ says our author, ‘is the transformation of the chrysalis to that of the gay butterfly, sporting in the air,’ than the metamorphosis of these ladies: ‘then, indeed, is every stocking braced up with scrupulous tightness for the public promenade, where many an admiring eye is attracted to the taper limb, that displays itself with so much grace in that ‘stately elegance of walk,’ for which the whole race of Spanish ladies is unrivalled.’ Mr. Temple seems quite enraptured in speaking of ‘their charming little pedestals:’ ‘we need not,’ says he, ‘if we could, describe the interest and intelligence that reside in a pretty foot; it is full of sense and meaning, and speaks unutterable things.’

Every imported luxury is necessarily dear in these almost inaccessible regions of the Cordilleras; but the necessities of life, including llama mutton, are reasonable enough,—with the exception of fuel. But the *carne con cuero* is the great luxury of a South American *gourmand*, which is thus described: ‘The moment a bullock is killed, the flesh on each side the spine, beginning at the rump, is cut out, with enough of the hide to meet or lap over, so as to prevent the juices from escaping; it is then covered with embers, and roasted like a potato.’ Sausages, hams, and bacon, though imported, are much in use. Sweetmeats and rum are served together at all dinner-parties. Tobacco is in universal use; all smoke cigars, but a person is not expected to accept one from the mouth of another, as is the case in Spain, (even from the mouth of a domestic,) where the declining of such a compliment is a grievous offence against friendship and good breeding, but—

‘You must accept with grateful acknowledgment the remains of a glass of rum; the more lips it has touched the more cordiality in the dram;—off with it! and beware of wiping your mouth either before or after it. Should you be induced to wipe the brim of the glass before drinking, or turn it between yourself and the light to seek a little space free from humidity, your reputation is gone for ever!—“*Que barbaro!—Que hombre tan groséro!*”—“*Jesus! José! Jesus!*” When a lady selects a gentleman from the company, by beckoning, or calling him to take her glass and sip after her, the compliment is then highly enviable; and, whether her lips be pale and shrivelled by the wintry effect of years, or cherry-ripe and pouting in the fragrance of summer, he is bound by the well-understood laws of respect, etiquette,

etiquette, honour, gallantry, love, and all their little jealousies, to imprint his own lips upon the precise spot where those were placed which preceded him, and then to take off the very last drop in the glass.'—vol. ii., pp. 307, 308.

We are told, however, that 'the English mode of expressing applause, "hip! hip! hip! hurra! &c." has been adopted in South America, 'and that the uproar of a dinner-party there is not exceeded by that of the happiest midnight revellers at the London Tavern.' Imported wines are enormously dear; but the vineyards of the valley of Cinti are said to produce a something like Burgundy, which may be had in Potosi for about half-a-dollar a bottle.

The food of the Peruvians is very simple, mostly vegetables,—of which potatoes and maize constitute the chief part, though they have their *olla* of llama meat stewed with these, and seasoned with salt, pepper, and other savoury herbs. They chew the leaf of a bitter and pungent plant called *coco*, with lime, which promotes saliva and quenches thirst; they carry it in a little pouch, just as the Malays and other orientals do their chunam and betel-leaf.

Mr. Temple says, they have a mode of preserving potatoes by *freezing* them thoroughly, then pounding, and drying them in the sun, in which state they are called *chuna*, and form a wholesome and substantial food—we should have feared the freezing process would reduce the potato to a watery consistence, but, as an Irishman, Mr. Temple ought to know this better than us. The Peruvians are a healthy, strong, laborious race, of a similar character as to features with the rest of the American family, but varying in shades of colour from the snowy ridge to the low valleys. They are exceedingly attached to those who treat them with kindness; Mr. Temple says, that when travelling in defenceless solitude, 'these poor people are the most harmless beings upon earth, in whose doorless huts we may lay ourselves down to sleep, with a confidence that bolts and bars do not elsewhere always ensure.' He found them, he says, always ready from sheer benevolence to cede to him, when weary and faint, the only little store they possessed. These poor people have, it is true, gained their liberty by the revolution, but in the conflict, they suffered nearly as much as their ancestors did on the first conquest, as far as their little property, and, in many cases, their lives were concerned. The royal armies, flying before the patriots, consumed by fire whatever they could not destroy by the sword. Those who escaped death fled from their villages, leaving their dismantled abodes to record the downfall of the



the dominion of Spain, as their ancestors were compelled to do, under similar calamities, three centuries before. That tragedy has been repeated by the Spaniards in taking their leave of Peru. 'Unrelenting slaughter,' says Mr. Temple, 'and indiscriminate destruction marked the progress of the Spanish conquest, and the ruins of towns and villages in the present day are mournful evidence that similar acts have signalized their defeat.' The poor Peruvian oft repeats the tale of his countrymen's disasters during the war of independence.

'Often, after a day's journey, have I joined the circle round a fire, in the middle of some remaining apartment of a ruined dwelling, and there seated upon the skull of an ox, listened with infinite interest to the descriptions of scenes of woe which the parties present had witnessed or suffered in. So naturally do they relate their plain unvarnished tale, as to excite in the listener a sympathy deeply partaking of the secret pleasure which they themselves evidently feel in recording the evils they have endured: so true it is, that a secret pleasure does attend the reflection upon days of sorrow that are past.'—vol. ii., p. 12.

The Peruvians, like every uneducated people, are very superstitious; but all their superstitions are not their own, many of them having been inculcated by their instructors in the Christian religion. At a little distance from Potosi is a narrow pass or chasm in the mountain called the *puerto*, the cheeks of which are from two to three hundred feet high, touching nearly in places at the top. The Peruvians are taught to believe that

'This extraordinary fissure was occasioned by the Devil in a contest with Saint Anthony, who, of course, vanquished the former; but the pleasantry of the tale is, in accusing the "fallen angel" of a breach of decorum, startling to the Indians themselves even in their unpolished state of society. The arch-fiend, say the monks, was vexed at finding himself outwitted by the saint, and, when retiring discomfited from his presence, slapped his hand indecorously behind, and gave vent to his rage with so much violence, as to rend the surrounding mountains, and form the existing chasm! To record this event, the image of the offended Anthony is placed in a niche in the rock on one side of the road, where none pass it without a becoming reverence, and doubtless a due feeling of indignation at the uncourteous insult, for which the downcast look of humility in the countenance of the saint plainly evinces his shame even to this day.'—vol. ii., p. 3.

Mr. Temple informs us, however, that the ministers of religion, who once ruled with uncontrollable authority, have in part voluntarily renounced, and partly been unceremoniously stripped of, that power which was but too frequently abused to an excess of austerity and rigour. They are no longer those haughty and

inexorable despots they once were, but have yielded to the circumstances of the times, the general diffusion of knowledge, and are received and respected among the best societies. In this respect they would appear to be placed in a superior position to the clergy of Sonora, in Mexico, as represented by Lieut. Hardy. They have had the good sense to swim with the stream; they attended the public authorities at the opening of the College of Pichincha, in Potosi, the first establishment for public instruction on a liberal system in this part of the country. The ceremony was opened by a Latin speech, in praise of Bolivar and Sucre. The prefect recommended the governors and masters (the head-master being a clergyman) to take example from the English nation. 'The speakers,' says Mr. Temple, 'made honourable mention of Locke, Socrates, Newton, Canning, Plato, Boyle, Washington, Alexander the Great, Homer, and Nebuchadnezzar. The day was one of general joy and jubilee.'

The clergy appeared, also, to be more hospitable here to travellers than in Mexico. 'The stranger, on entering a village, has only to ask,' says Mr. Temple, 'Where is the house of the Father Curate?' and on saluting him with 'Good morrow to you, Señor Cura;' a smile of welcome, with a few words of kindness, and a shake of the hand, 'establishes you, in nine cases out of ten, with as much ease and freedom as in your own house.' Sometimes, however, the Padre himself is but very miserably accommodated. In one place, our traveller found the curate's house such as, in Connaught, would be called a very good cabin, with a mud bench against the wall, to serve as a chair, and a square mud-built heap near it, doing permanent duty as a table; yet excellent mutton (llama) broth was served up in large silver dishes, and drinking-cups of the same metal stood in the sill of the window; 'and,' says he, 'when I asked for water, to wash my hands before dinner, it was brought to me by the *Ama* in a capacious utensil, also of silver; certain prejudices, however, induced me politely to decline availing myself of it for *that* purpose, which not a little surprised the *Ama*, who assured me that the curate never used anything use.' The holiday of the 'Elevation of the Cross' having been celebrated in the village, a great concourse of people of both sexes had assembled, of whom the good cura accommodated as many as his Connaught hut would contain, with a night's lodging. A large church taper being placed in the middle of the floor, our traveller says

'By its glare, I counted seventeen persons, male and female, some of them most fantastically dressed, reposing and preparing for repose. The men laid themselves down just as they came in and chanced

chanced to find a vacant space upon the floor. The females all said an *Ave-maria*, told their beads, crossed themselves, and undressed; then, placing their thickly-quilted petticoats for a bed, they also lay down *sans cérémonie* as they best could, covering themselves with their shawls:—

“There they were, the girls and boys.

As thick as hasty-pudding.”—vol. ii. p. 46.

And here we must drop the curtain over the warmth of our traveller's description of the charms of the Chola girls, ‘simple village maids,’ with whom the gallant captain seems to have been enraptured. These Cholas are the mixed descendants of Spaniards and Peruvians. Many of them are described as very handsome, with fine figures, and countenances full of animation, and most pleasing feminine expression. Their raven locks are of most luxuriant growth, on which they bestow much pains, and nothing will tempt even those in humble life to part with them. Mr. Temple in vain offered two ounces of gold (between six and seven pounds) for a head of hair, a sum that would have been most acceptable to the humble owner. Their ear-rings of gold are so ponderous as to require being supported by a golden chain, which passes over the head. Their full-plaited petticoats, containing from twelve to fourteen yards of rich velvet or satin, trimmed with ribbons of gaudy colours, or festoons of artificial flowers, far exceed in protuberance and in extent of rotundity, the stuffing out which our modern *élégantes* employ to acquire the desired degree of *embonpoint*.

Mr. Temple is evidently well pleased with the country and the people of South America, and is a strong advocate for encouraging emigration, particularly from Ireland, to the provinces of Cordova, Salta, and Tarija, the beauty and fertility of which he describes in raptures. As far as the easy and ample means of procuring all the necessaries of life are concerned, there can be no doubt that a labouring family would readily accomplish that object; but the great distance from any market for their superfluous produce, the want of roads, the unsettled state of the government, the ravages committed by the constant marching of troops, and by the frequent and innumerable swarms of locusts, equally destructive as so many armies,—the one consuming what the other may leave—and the total want of society and of every comfort and convenience, would make it, in our opinion, imprudent for any family in decent circumstances to embark in such an undertaking, cheaply as estates may be purchased; nay, even if they were to be had for nothing. Scarcely a month passes in which there are not some revolutionary movements; and to



all appearance, judging from the state of parties, at least another generation must pass away, before anything like settled tranquillity can be expected. Mr. Temple tells us that while he was there the provinces of Salta, Tucuman, Santiago, Cordova, and Rioja were a prey to civil war, 'having taken the field,' says he, 'one against the other, under the mistaken notions of patriotism and liberty.' Nay, the very day he left Potosi, a conspiracy was detected, which had been hatched by a set of fellows headed by one Señor Villanueva; 'the ultimate object, and by far the most silly of their plans, was, to cry *Viva Fernando Septimo ! el rey absoluto !*' Twenty-eight were taken prisoners, and all sent about their business, except Villanueva, who was led into the public square, tied to a post, and shot. Mr. Temple gives us an amusing, and, we believe, a pretty true receipt 'how to get up a revolution.'

'In a country where, in every class of life, there are but few occupations, there must of necessity be many idlers, and idlers are generally the most discontented of mankind. These meet at corners of streets, in *pulperias*, and in coffee-houses, to pass the time in smoking cigars. One of the party accidentally mentions that "Don Fulano has got an appointment under government, of fifty dollars a month."—"How came he to get it?" says another. "I have more right to it than he," says a third. "Let us have a revolution," says a fourth. "*Corricnte !*—with all my heart!" is the unanimous exclamation of the party. Fresh cigars are immediately lighted, and before they are smoked out, the "revolution" is planned. Guns, swords, and pistols, are talked of, and some few are probably obtained; but, being more for the presumed object of protection to themselves than of injury to others, arms are not of paramount importance. If the "revolutionists" understand that their plot has been discovered, they abscond in all haste to distant towns and villages, where they reside in quiet till their scheme has been forgotten, which generally happens in the course of a few weeks. If they have not been able to effect their escape, and are made prisoners, ten to one but they are thrown into gaol, where they probably remain also a few weeks, and are again let loose, one of them in the mean time being selected to be shot in the great square, *pour encourager les autres*. But if they prove successful, which sometimes happens, they turn out of office the existing authorities, and instal themselves and friends. The first act of the new government is always to repeal some measure of their predecessors which had not met with public approbation; this, with a proclamation of pardon and oblivion of all past political offences, obtains popularity; a ball is given at the *cabildo*, and everything goes on smoothly for a whole moon perhaps; when another cigar-party assembles, and acts, with little alteration, the same farce over again. But what, it may be asked, are the

the military doing all this time?—smoking *their* cigars.’—vol. ii., p. 300-302.

Our author neither is nor professes to be acquainted with any department of natural history. He had heard of, and afterwards met with, bones of prodigious size, and even whole skeletons, in the beautiful valley of Tarija, which are dug out of the ravines, and in the sides of banks and precipices bordering on the Río Vermejo, which, rising in that valley, and joining the Río Grande, falls into the great river Paraguay. Garcilaso, and the other early historians, speak of an ancient race of giants in Peru, who were destroyed by thunder and lightning; and these bones are to this day, our author says, known and talked of as, ‘*huesos de los gigantes antiguos de Tarija*.’ From three perfect teeth, in a part of the under jaw, which Mr. Temple dug out and brought to England, the late Dr. Wollaston immediately recognized the animal to have been the *mastodon*. As to the doubts and difficulties which have occurred to Mr. Temple, in common with many others, how these creatures were brought to the places where their remains are found, we cannot do better than refer him to the book he has quoted, the *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ* of Professor Buckland.

In conclusion, we would advise Mr. Temple to be more cautious, in any future work, as to using other people's descriptions as if they were his own. In one of his *notes* he gives us, without a hint of its being borrowed, Marco Polo's description of a condor or *ruckh*, with wings of forty feet spread, feathers twenty feet in length, the quill part eight inches in circumference, with powers sufficient to carry off a live rhinoceros. The bird actually shot by Temple himself by no means tallied with this account; but it is too late for him to declare, a page or two further on, ‘this is not my condor;’ the impression is made, and the author set down as one of those who avail themselves of what is usually called the traveller's privilege. In fact we have seen Mr. Temple's veracity called seriously in question on account of this very circumstance; which, however, appears to us to be very hasty criticism, and such as could hardly have proceeded from any man that had read through the book.

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ART. VI.—1. *The Works of Bishop Butler.* Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1826.

2. *The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature.* By Joseph Butler, late Lord Bishop of Durham. *With an Introductory Essay*, by the Rev. Daniel Wilson, Vicar of Islington. London. 1827.

3. *An Essay on the Philosophical Evidence of Christianity ; or the credibility obtained to a Scriptural Revelation from its coincidence with the Facts of Nature.* By the Rev. Renn Hampden, M.A. late Fellow of Oriel College. London. 1827.

THEY were sad times that succeeded the civil wars. It was not the court only that was stricken, but the country. ‘That was an age not less degenerate in spirit than corrupt in manners ; when all wisdom and virtue, and religion, were almost, in most places, grown ridiculous ; when the *serious* use of reason became, in vulgar opinion, the most impertinent and insignificant thing in the world ; when innocence was reputed a mere defect of wit, and weakness of judgment ; integrity, a fond pertinacity of humour ; constancy of mind and gravity of demeanour, a kind of sullen morosity or uncouth affectation of singularity ; and all strict practice of Christian duty incurred the imputation of some new-found opprobrious name one or other.’ So spake Barrow from the pulpit of Westminster Abbey in the year 1663, when one great coming event had not as yet cast its awful shadow before. But if the physical world be so governed as to be subservient to the moral (which it probably is), and if it be lawful to intrude into the secret counsels of the Most High (which it may not be), it might be thought that to call the people back to a better mind, to sober them once more in the midst of these delirious follies, nothing less could suffice than some national scourge which should make them remember that they were mortal, and that accordingly the plague was commissioned to desolate the land. The moral effect of such a visitation must for a time at least have been great, when every man had to walk with his life in his hand, and when some, foreseeing that the chance of surviving was little, and the chance of decent interment after death less, dug their grave with their own spade, and thus saved themselves from being buried with the burial of an ass. Still the plague does not appear to have whipped the offending spirit out. Like Pharaoh’s plagues, it was probably felt, feared, and forgotten ; for, during the century which succeeded it, both infidel and heterodox abounded ; and whilst a Chubb and a Tindal were labouring to destroy the foundations



foundations of the Christian creed, a Whiston and a Clarke were maintaining tenets at variance with some of its most essential doctrines. It was an age of reason, and in one respect, at least, rightly so called; for it was at this period that the faculty acquired fresh force by a more skilful application of its powers; and the method of induction, which the great Bacon had struck out nearly a century before, was now adapted with signal success to every department of knowledge. To argue from points established to points undetermined—to advance, from data not to be disputed, to conclusions which would not otherwise be obvious, seems a very simple process, requiring no Œdipus to discover and propound. Yet the want of this rule (simple as it is) had involved mankind in errors innumerable, for it had occasioned a world to be built on mere hypothesis. Now, however, a new order of things arose: experiment was substituted for fancy. Sir Isaac Newton, instead of indulging his imagination in freaks about the Iris, let the ray of light through the aperture of his shutter, and divided it into its component colours by his prism of glass, and traced its course through the vessel of water on which it fell; and upon the substantial observations thus made, constructed his sublime system of Optics, and unravelled the mysteries of the rainbow. Locke, pursuing the same course in metaphysics as Newton in physics, emancipated mankind from the doctrines of reminiscences, innate ideas, and the like consecrated lumber; and diverting them from speculative conjectures to the actual examination of their own faculties, founded a fresh era in the philosophy of the human mind; by the application of this same principle, medicine was made to supersede magic, and chemistry to take place of alchemy; and, in a word, science, which hitherto, like the architects of Laputa, had begun to build at the wrong end—in the clouds instead of on the earth, from the chimnies downwards—henceforward laid its foundations on a rock, and only reared such a superstructure as those foundations would warrant. A principle thus wholesome in other investigations was no less so in that which concerns us most of all; and as Newton had profited by it in his natural system, and Locke in his intellectual, so did Bishop Butler (in his own province equal to either) avail himself of it in his system of theology.

It may well be imagined, from what we have already said, and it will be still more clearly seen from what we shall have occasion to say by and by, that few persons were of a temper in those days to take God's word on trust. On the contrary, so fastidious were the times, that it was not even considered a subject of inquiry, but a mere fiction, agreed so to be by all people of discernment, a good thing for the poor, and a topic upon which a man of  
parts

parts might very properly make himself merry.\* Butler saw the evil, and projected the remedy. He well knew he had those to feed who were not fit for very strong meat; and, accordingly, he proposed, in his own characteristic language, to show—what? that Christianity was true to a demonstration?—no, but ‘*that it was not so clear a case that there was nothing in it.*’ Here was certainly no great flourish of trumpets. ‘*Quid feret hic dignum tanto promissor hiatu*’ was a reproach that no man could cast in his teeth. He gives such a pledge as he feels that he can not only redeem, but redeem an hundred-fold; and the augmented effect of reasoning conducted in this spirit can only be appreciated by those who have felt the dissatisfaction (especially in dissertations upon sacred subjects) occasioned by a contrary process—when a good argument (it may be) is crushed under an unlawful load of conclusions, and a crowd of angels is made to dance upon a needle’s point. It is a great secret in the art of reasoning not to go for too much; and, above all, in dealing with sceptics or unbelievers, is it important to drive the sharp end of the wedge first: seeing this, they may by and by ‘see greater things than these.’

• That there is such a thing as a *course of nature* none can deny. This, therefore, is the ground on which Butler takes his stand, whereon he fixes a lever that shakes the strongholds of unbelief even to their foundations; for on comparing this scheme of nature with the scheme of revelation, there is found a most singular correspondence between their several parts,—such a correspondence as gives very strong reason for believing that the author of one is the author of both.

‘ What, if earth  
Be but the shadow of heaven, and things therein  
Each to other like, more than on earth is thought?’

The argument, indeed, does not amount to proof, but to presumption. It is as though the parentage of a foundling were to be made the subject of inquiry: now that it is the child of such or such a parent—of the one or other of the two women, for instance, that strove before Solomon—can indeed only be *made out* effectually by the production of certain matters of fact in evidence; but at the same time, if it manifestly resembles an acknowledged son of a parent in question—‘one face, one voice, one habit, and two persons’—this circumstance, though it would not of itself *prove* the point in dispute, would very greatly *corroborate* the proofs derived from other and independent sources, and would overcome many scruples which might otherwise arise

in the mind of judge or jury, as to any supposed deficiency in the proofs themselves. Such is the value of the argument from analogy.

• Thus, Revelation declares that we are to live hereafter in a state differing considerably from that in which we live here. Now the Constitution of Nature in a manner says so too. For do we not see birds let loose from the prison of the shell, and launched into a new and nobler state of existence? insects extricated at length from their cumbrous and unsightly tenement, and then permitted to unfold their beauties to the sun? seeds rotting in the earth, with no apparent promise of future vegetation, yet quickened after death, and clothed with luxuriant apparel? Is not our own solid flesh perpetually thawing and restoring itself, so that the numerical particles of which it once consisted have by degrees dropped away, leaving, meanwhile, the faculties of the soul unimpaired, and its consciousness uninterrupted for a moment? Is not the eye a telescope, and the hand a vice, and the arm a lever, and the wrist a hinge, and the leg a crutch, and the stomach a laboratory, and the whole frame but a case of beautiful instruments, which may accordingly be destroyed without the destruction of the agent that wields them? Nay, cannot that agent, when once master of its craft, work without the tools, and are not its perceptions in a *dream* as vivid as when every organ of sense is actively employed in ministering to its wants? What though the silver chord be loosed, and the golden bowl broken, and the pitcher broken at the well, and the wheel broken at the cistern, still may not the immortal artist itself have quitted the ruptured machinery, and retired to the country from which it came? What though the approach of death seem, by degrees, to enfeeble, and at last to suspend the powers of the mind, will not the constitution of nature bid us be of good cheer, seeing that the approach of *sleep* does the same? Of sleep, which, instead of paralyzing the functions of the man, is actually their

‘ second course,

Chief nourisher in life’s feast.’

And if, in some instances, death does lie heavy on the trembling spirit, in how many others does it seem to be only cutting the chords that bound it to earth, exonerating it of a weight that sunk it—so that, agreeably to a notion too universal to be altogether groundless, at the eve of its departure it should appear

‘ to attain

To something of prophetic strain?’

Here, then, the constitution of nature and the voice of revelation conspire to teach the same great truth, ‘ non *omnis* moriar.’

Well, then, such future state asserted, Revelation next affirms  
that



that our happiness or misery in it is in our own keeping ; that the Deity, having warned us thereof, leaves us to make our own choice. —What says the Constitution of Nature to this ?—Even that here again (to use the remarkable words of the author of Ecclesiasticus) ‘ all things are double one against another ;’\* for it is evident that pain is annexed to this object, and pleasure to that, in this *present world*, with no other view, as far as we can see, than to direct our goings in the way ; that our path is made to lie, *even as regards the affairs of this life*, amongst burning ploughshares, through which we are left to thread our course, till, by repeated sufferings, we learn to refrain from treading awry ; and that every thing above us, and beneath us, and around us, proclaims, in accents not to be misunderstood, that, to refuse the evil and choose the good, rests with ourselves. Nay, the details of the two systems are singularly alike. Thus, punishment is in *this life* often foreseen as probable, and disregarded—often the full and certain expectation of it is withheld—often it admits of being intercepted up to a certain point, but not beyond that point—often it is risked for present profit—often it is greater than seems commensurate with the gain—often it tarries very long behind, *pede claudo*—still comes at last, suddenly, with the clamorous violence of an armed man—the cause of it, perhaps, forgotten—poured forth as if from a treasure-house of wrath awaked. Now, all this is clearly not accident, but a system ; not caprice, but design ; pointing out, as with the finger of God itself, that it is the will of the Great Contriver that thus it should be. Such is the constitution of *Nature* in this world : yet, is it not a literal transcript of the doctrine of *Revelation*, with regard to the *next world*, that our warning is given us ; our neglect of it to be at our peril—our punishment, sooner or later, to follow our neglect ? When the constitution of our nature tells us beforehand, that, if we are determined to pluck our treasure out of the fire, we must put up with burning our fingers—the case is strictly analogous to that of revelation, when it tells us beforehand, that, if we are determined to seize on present pleasure, we must put up with suffering future pain. Surely these two witnesses agree together, in a manner so remarkable as to leave ample room for apprehension, even on principles the most sceptical, that the latter, like the former, may be bearing God’s message.

Further—Revelation affirms this natural government of the world to be a *moral* one too : a government under which men are not only rewarded and punished (for this is consistent with the most capricious tyranny), but rewarded and punished with a strict reference to the *good* or *evil* of their deeds. What does the con-

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\* Chap. xlii. v. 42.

stitution of nature say to this?—Does it again furnish the counterpart? Here, it is true, the heathen poet was for a moment staggered. The passage is well known; curious, however, as showing how instinctively the argument of analogy suggested itself to a reflecting mind, though showing, at the same time, the difficulty of following it out with success till revelation came to hold up the torch:—

‘ Sæpe mihi dubiam traxit sententia mentem,  
Curarent superi terras, an nullus inesset  
Rector, et incerto fluerent mortalia casu.  
Nam cum dispositi quæsissem fœdera mundi,  
Præscriptosque maris fines, amnisque meatus,  
Et lucis noctisque vices; tunc omnia rebar  
Consilio firmata Dei, qui lege moveri  
Sidera, qui fruges diverso tempore nasci,  
Qui variam Rhœben alieno jusserit igne  
Compleri, solenque suo; porrexerit undis  
Littora, tellurem medio libraverit axe.  
Sed cum res hominum tantâ caligine volvi  
Aspicerem, lætosque diu florere nocentes,  
Vexarique pios, rursus labefacta cadebat  
Religio, causæque viam non sponte sequebar  
Alterius, vacuo quæ currere semina motu  
Affirmat, magnumque novas per inane figuras  
Fortunâ non arte regi: quæ numina, sensu  
Ambiguo, vel nulla putat, vel nescia nostri.’

*Claudian: in Rufin.*

Which, for the benefit of mere English readers, we translate thus:—

Oft have I ponder'd, still perplex'd to know,  
If there be gods who govern here below;  
If there be gods—or, if all gods denied,  
Chance must be thought to rule, nor aught beside;  
For, when contemplative I traced the plan  
Of all material things apart from Man—  
The ocean's bound, the stream's appointed way,  
The sweet vicissitude of night and day;—  
These when I saw, I sooth'd my labouring breast,  
For God's all-wise dominion stood confest:  
Stars in their courses seem'd his voice to hear;  
His fruits in just succession crown'd the year;  
The inconstant moon, His sovereign pleasure known,  
Dispensed her borrow'd light—the sun his own;  
His shores the billows of the deep controll'd,  
And earth, self-balanced, on His axle roll'd.—  
Then look'd I upon Man; but now beset  
With darkness and with gloom was all I met:

The base triumphant, and the righteous spurn'd.  
 This shook my faith again, and doubt return'd—  
 Return'd to cast me on the thankless creed,  
 That darkling floats along each random seed;  
 That through the void immense new forms combine,  
 And Chance, sole arbiter, supplants Design—  
 That still to this our choice must be confined,  
 No gods—or gods that care not for mankind.

The Psalmist himself was for a while troubled with these thoughts that would arise in his heart, seeing as he did, that 'the ungodly came into no misfortune like other folk, neither were they plagued like other men.' But both the poet and the prophet, on further deliberation, came to a just conclusion, and 'absolved the gods.' For, indeed, whatever speculative difficulties there might be in the way of such a notion, still a practical belief there is, and ever has been, amongst all nations and languages, that man lives under a *moral* government after all. 'Who is he,' exclaim the ancients of Thebes; 'who is he whom the Delphic rock of prophecy hath denounced as the doer of deeds unutterable; the man of the bloody hand? Time it is that he should flee, with a foot swifter than the horses of the winds: already hath the son of Jove taken arms against him, even hot thunder-bolts, and the fearful Fates follow after, and who shall escape them?\*' Daring was reckoned the spirit of that man who would sojourn under the same roof, or sail in the same boat, with the profaner of the mysteries of Ceres. 'And when the *barbarians* saw the venomous beast hang on the hands of Paul, they said among themselves, no doubt this man is a murderer, whom, though he hath escaped the sea, yet *vengeance suffereth not to live.*' Why, but that this belief is so strong in man, would such a trifle have been left upon record, as that the pen and ink, with which Charles signed the death-warrant of Lord Strafford, was the very same with which he signed his own, in the bill for the Long Parliament? Or why, but for this, would the remark have been so general, that the families who despoiled the monasteries rarely continued to prosper; 'the brand, which the eagle stole from the altar (as the good old Izaak Walton says), and with which she thought to make her nest, serving only to set it on fire.' 'About the year, I suppose, 1615 or 1616,' writes Sir Henry Spelman, in his curious treatise on the "History and Fate of Sacrilege," 'I described, with a pair of compasses, in the map of Norfolk, a circle of twelve miles, the semi-diameter according to the scale thereof, placing the centre about the chief seat of the Yelvertons; within this circle and the



borders of it, I inclosed the mansion-houses of about twenty-four families of *gentlemen*, and the site of as many *monasteries*, all standing together at the time of the dissolution; and I then noted that the gentlemen's seats continued at that day in their own families and names, but the monasteries had flung out their owners, with their names and families (all of them save *two*), thrice at least, and some of them four, or five, or six times, not only by fail of issue or ordinary sale, but very often by grievous accidents and misfortunes.'—A very singular fact, to say the least of it: but the bare disposition to note it is enough for our purpose—as, indeed, is the disposition in general to construe calamities into judgments; for it can only arise out of a confirmed belief that we are living under a *moral* government, whatever may be said or seen to the contrary. Cases might occur to stagger this opinion, as we have said, and must have occurred, so long as a future state of adjustment was only partially taken into the estimate. Still, the opinion itself has universally prevailed; nor can any other account of it be given, than that the tendency of the constitution of nature was felt to be such as established and supported it.—And this who can deny? Who can deny, as a matter of fact, that of whatever kind the invisible sovereignty may be to which we are subject, prudence does, upon the whole, bring its appropriate reward in this world, folly its appropriate penalty?—That crimes are punished as injurious to society, virtues recompensed as beneficial to it; the punishment or the recompense, no doubt, conveyed through the instrumentality of human means, but not on that account the less faithful expositors of the will of God—society itself being evidently of his appointment, and the arguments, both moral and physical, being amply sufficient to show that he did not intend 'man to be alone?' Who can deny that vice carries along with it strong symptoms of being a violation of the principles according to which the world is governed?—that a lie, for instance, entails embarrassments without end upon its author, and makes him feel that he has entangled himself in the machinery of the system in which he lives? Who can deny that there is a principle within him which leads him to befriend the good, to thwart the evil-doer; a principle acting thus, without any selfish object, but as instinctively approving what is right, and condemning what is wrong? Can any thing be conceived more monstrous than a scheme where the reverse of all this should take effect? Is not the existence of such a principle the key-stone of social order itself?—so that, as Milton argues,

‘ if this fail,  
The pillar'd firmament is rottenness,  
And earth's base built on stubble.’

Without

Without it, we know not how Christians could have become such, or to what a Gospel could have appealed within the breast for a right of admission into the world. ‘If ye believe not me, believe the *works*’—not merely as exhibitions of power, for an evil spirit might be supposed capable of doing works of power, if that were all, but of *goodness* also. Still less can we understand how heathen society could have held together for a single week; how, in its discordant elements, it could have escaped self-destruction, dashing itself in pieces like an ungoverned and ungovernable engine, and expiring at length in the midst of an universal anarchy. But such a moral nature having been given us is in itself a proof that the Deity intends we should be subject to a moral rule; and his having placed us in such a situation at present as affords scope for the exercise of this nature, nay, as actually demands its exercise in a considerable degree, is a present earnest that He will be *finally* true to this rule, and act upon it strictly.

Dark as the ways of God may be, there is enough to satisfy a reasonable man that He is on virtue’s side: the *tendency* of things proves it. For instance, who can set bounds to the prosperity of a nation of perfectly righteous individuals—a nation in which every man would literally do his duty? The wisest of the land would be sent to her Parliament,—the national Senate would be a conclave of sages,—no unworthy motives would influence the electors—no political gratitude, arising out of a strong sense of good things to come—no fear or favour would warp a vote—*detur digniori* would be the uncompromising motto, in the choice of a man to whom the property, the liberty, the honour, the morals, the religion of the empire were to be consigned, and whose solemn charge it would henceforth become, to see that in none of these great interests the commonwealth should take damage at his hands. ‘Politicians who would *circumvent* God’ would subside into plain men, who would *fear* him. Faction would be at an end. The public weal would never be put in jeopardy for the purpose of embarrassing a minister, nor would principles reel under party struggles for place and power. New laws would be made, for circumstances might call for them, but perhaps they would be few—(Rome foundered beneath the multitude of her laws, *legibus laboravit*),—for patience to investigate, practical experience to understand, and wisdom to redress an evil, would not fall to the lot of all; and they who failed in these qualities would feel it, hold their peace, and honestly confess, that ‘they had nothing to draw with, and that the well was deep.’ Old laws would be abrogated or adjusted—for this, too, circumstances might require: but perhaps it would be done with fear and trembling, with a *nolumus*; for it would be considered that it is more easy to discover the mischief

mischief which an existing law does, than the mischief which it prevents—that in the application of a theory, (especially on so complicated a subject as political economy,) the most sagacious calculator may overlook some item in the reckoning, which may be fatal to the success of his measure, however well meant—that, in the actual business of life, it is scarcely possible to make too much allowance for friction—and that it was a grave authority (for Lord Strafford's was said to be the wisest head that stood on any pair of shoulders in England,) which declared 'how advised we ought to be of any innovation, considering that inconveniences are rather found by experience than foreseen by judgment.' Debates, it is indeed to be feared, would, in such an assembly, be *tame*; for pleasant sneers at the stupid prejudices, antiquated notions, ecclesiastical bigotry of former generations, (those dead lions at which it is natural that many should kick,) would probably be suppressed by one thankful recollection—'sic fortis Etruria crevit.' Above all, such a body would have the cordial confidence and support of the country, because, however they might err, (as still err they would,) they would be known to act from public spirit and in singleness of heart, as senators sitting under the eye of the great Task-master. Then with what promptness would their laws be executed, appealing, as they would, to a people united in their favour as one man: with what spirit, too, should it be needful, would arms be taken up in their defence, conscious, as the nation would be, of the righteousness of their cause, nothing doubting but that God would go forth with their host, covering their heads in the day of battle, or taking them to himself if they fell. Then again, how would the fame of so peculiar a people spread into all lands; how would they be chosen by strangers far and near as the arbiters of their differences, the peace-makers in their quarrels, the counsellors to whom they might repair without a suspicion of treachery. Thus would the necessity of all subtle and crooked policy be spared, and the balance of the world fall naturally and innocently into their hands. This, alas! is but an Utopian picture; but such is the *tendency* of the essential constitution of things, to give virtue the pre-eminence; of righteousness to exalt a nation; a tendency which must be very strong indeed, to preserve the world even as it is, when we call to mind how vastly more *easy* it is to do evil than to do good, how the hand which cannot rear a hut may demolish a palace. Nor will the value of this concurrence between nature and revelation be thought a trifle, if it be remembered how perplexed we should be, had we found that vice, instead of virtue, possessed *essentially* the advantage in this world; and whilst revelation declared that God would eventually give the triumph to the good, nature asserted that present appearances were all the other way.

Thus,



Thus, therefore, a future state—a future state of rewards and punishments—a future state of rewards and punishments dispensed according to a moral rule, or, in other words, according to the virtue or vice of the parties concerned,—is written in the volume of the book of nature itself, in characters legible enough when they have been brought to the light, though it may be that revelation was wanted to hold up the candle. But our parallel does not end here; for if these rewards and punishments are to be measured out hereafter according to merit here, then must this world be a state of probation, in which such merit is expected to develop itself. Accordingly, revelation so represents it. And again, the constitution of things, when unfolded, tallies with the representation. For man is an unformed, unfinished creature, when he begins his being, though we refer him only to the character he has by and by to support *upon earth*. His *early years* are but a season, wherein he has to shape himself for the portion of his *riper age*—he is not born qualified for the part *in this life* he has to play; he must fit himself for it by much patient previous discipline—*multa tulit fecitque puer*. If we look upon an infant in its cradle, how much, must we think, is to be done, before it can become the judge, or the statesman, or the great captain of the next generation! What a drilling must Barrow have gone through, when, from a child who delighted in fighting and setting his play-fellows to fight, regardless of his book—of such uncomfortable promise, as to make his father devoutly wish that if it should please God to take any of his children, it might be Isaac—he grew up in temper fit to win all hearts; in science, fit to fill with honour the mathematical chair in which Newton succeeded him; in learning, fit to stand in the very foremost rank amongst the most profound and universal scholars of his country! Such are the subsequent effects of early discipline in this life—of that scheme of probation, which requires opportunities to be seized, as they occur; gratifications to be foregone in the hope of approaching recompense; miscarriages to be risked as well through the fault of others as of ourselves. Thus *nature* represents the years of the boy ministering to the condition of his manhood, just as *revelation* represents his whole threescore and ten years as ministering to his condition in eternity. The former scheme is in miniature, just what the latter is, in large; and if the one be certain, surely the other may be probable.

Nor is this all: one feature there is in the plan of revelation more prominent than the rest,—that mankind are to be saved not directly but through a mediator. Now, nothing can be more strictly analogous to the constitution of nature than such a provision as this. For is it not through the mediation of others, that we

we live, and move, and enjoy our being? Are we not thus brought into the world, and for many years sustained in it? Is there a blessing imparted to us, which others have not, in some measure, contributed to procure? Nay, more, (for even the details of this dispensation are singularly coincident with our actual experience,) when punishment follows vice as a natural consequence, is not a way opened for escape very commonly by the instrumentality of others? Is not a shield thus mercifully interposed, more or less, between the transgression and the extreme curse which would have otherwise alighted upon it? For instance, a drunkard is on the point of falling down a precipice and breaking his bones;—had he done so, it would have been a very natural consequence of his wilful folly, in ‘putting an enemy into his mouth to steal away his brains.’ But a sober man steps in and rescues him from his peril. Here, then, is a case of a mediator mitigating the just severity of the ordinary wages of intemperance. Or, nobody happens to be at hand to interpose for the protection of the delinquent, and, accordingly, down he goes and fractures a limb. But now, in his turn, comes the surgeon, and once more snatches him from the ulterior ill effects of the righteous accident. Here, again, is the case of a mediator again lightening the curse. But the man is lame and incapable of earning his daily bread, and if abandoned, must, after all, perish of hunger. And now in comes his parish, or his benefactor, with present food and promise of more, and once again is a part of his heavy sentence remitted. The mediator is still upon the alert. Nor, indeed, can the universal practice of vicarious sacrifice be easily explained, unless it be allowed, that (howsoever originating) there was something in the constitution of nature, which unobtrusively, perhaps, and in secret, cherished its continuance,—so that nations who retained little else of God in their thoughts, retained this.

Such are some of the bolder features of the two schemes of Nature and Revelation, which answer as face to face; and the argument once opened, it is easy to pursue it (as Mr. Hampden has actually done, and often with great success) ‘into a thousand similes;’—for wisdom will be crying out in the streets. It is easy, for instance, to see physical and moral events playing into one another’s hands, as it were, in a marvellous manner, in the administration of *this world*;—rain or drought working out famine, and famine working out national demoralization;—and thus the virtue or vice of mankind greatly determined by vapours, precipitated, or held in solution. Why then should it be thought a thing incredible that the fall of man should be connected with the tasting of an apple; or, that *physical* causes, of various kinds, operating

operating the dispersion or temporary migration of the Israelites through almost every part of the known world—Egypt, Arabia, Assyria, Persia, Greece, Rome,—should have been the appointed means, whereby a nation of priests, a host of reluctant missionaries, were sent forth to spread far and wide a knowledge of the true God, and to promote the *religious* welfare of mankind.

Again, it is easy to see, in the administration of this world, a beautiful *uniformity* throughout—a thousand things, great and small, influenced by one common cause, and tending to one common centre;—the meanest individuals thus linked to the universe itself,—‘the chicken roosting upon its perch to the spheres revolving in the firmament.’ And in the scheme of revelation, it is obvious to remark, that the construction is the same. There it would be found (so we persuade ourselves, and were we at liberty to pursue the subject, we think we could persuade others), that the great principle of the redemption pervades scripture no less thoroughly, in all its parts, than the principle of gravity pervades our system;—that, either in prospect or retrospect, it is hinted, shadowed out, prophesied, typified, commemorated, in the entire scheme of Old Testament and New. So that, withdraw it, and we can discover little but a series of incidents, some nugatory, some offensive, all disjointed;—trifles, light as air, detailed with a circumstantial pomp altogether foreign from them;—historical transactions of the last importance (according to man’s judgment) overlooked in a most unaccountable and contemptuous disregard;—in a word, a rude and indigested mass of heterogeneous materials. Bear this principle in sight, and all these jarring elements subside into their proper places, so as to compose one harmonious whole; and the domestic detail, however trivial, the mere household word, has still its weighty and appropriate meaning; and the light-hearted mockery of an aged woman, for instance,\* becomes as real an instrument for telling forth the Almighty’s plan, and bears upon it as effectually, as the tongue of the seer itself, which was touched with living coal from the altar.

It is easy to see again, in the administration of this world, causes and effects, running up into one another with a most evasive intricacy,—nobody venturing to say where the regular confusion ends. The building of a church at Rome, for example, is coupled with the sale of indulgences—the sale of indulgences with the exasperation of a Luther—the exasperation of a Luther, with the immediate downfall of much, and, perhaps, the ultimate downfall of all

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\* Gen. xxi. 6. *Vide* Allix’s *Reflections upon Genesis* and the *four last Books of Moses*,—where this subject is pursued in a manner not more ingenious than satisfactory.



spiritual tyranny throughout the world—A soldier has his leg broken at the siege of Pampeluna, and, till the limb is healed, he occupies himself with establishing a religious order, and this eventually governs the destinies of a great part of mankind;—these cases may suffice of a million. Still is the mechanism of precisely the same character in the scheme which revelation exhibits :—the daughter of Pharaoh goes to the Nile to bathe; on this hangs the preservation of the infant lawgiver; on this, again, the release of Israel, the overthrow of the Egyptians, the promulgation of the Levitical law, the preparation of the gospel of peace. Or, to take a more mysterious case, which we will do in the words of a much better philosopher than ourselves, who is speculating, however, upon quite another subject :—

‘It is not difficult to show that the miraculous conception of our Lord evidently implies some higher purpose in his coming than the mere business of a teacher. The business of a teacher might have been performed by a mere man, enlightened by a prophetic spirit; for, whatever instruction men have the capacity to receive, a man might have been made the instrument to convey. Had teaching, therefore, been the sole purpose of our Saviour’s coming, a mere man might have done the whole business, and the supernatural conception had been an unnecessary miracle. He, therefore, who came in this miraculous way, came upon some higher business, to which a mere man was unequal. He came to be made a sin-offering for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.’

So remarkably do the doctrines of scripture (even where they are apparently least practical) lock into one another,—reciprocally giving and receiving support.

There would be no difficulty, as we have observed, in pursuing this parallel to almost any extent; and though we doubt not that persons who have been unused to this peculiar method of argument, will look upon much that we have said, or may have to say, as fanciful, yet we have no fear of the result, if they will make the subject of analogy a vade-mecum in their ordinary walks through life, and note the wide compass within which it is capable of application. If we know ourselves, we are not apt to be betrayed into visionary views of religion; but this question is one that has lain in *soak* in our minds (so to speak) these many years, and has acquired fresh authority in every one that has passed over our heads. At the same time, it must be remarked, that we have not been contending for the analogy of the constitution and course of nature, as a *proof* of the truth of revelation; the *proof* must be supplied by those many and various matters of fact to which scripture appeals for a testimony, and which retire from the most inquisitorial scrutiny (as we took occasion to remark in a late article on the

Works of Paley) without a reproach or a suspicion. To these, revelation fearlessly refers us. But of the argument of the analogy, this, at least, may be said, that it is a very singular and strange circumstance, how a few Galilean peasants (unlearned men, as their own writings demonstrate) should have struck out a scheme professing to come from God, which, when tried by the test of 'the course and constitution of nature,' (a scheme indisputably from God) should be found to harmonize with it so remarkably. It is the more singular, when it is remembered, that these rustic contrivers evidently contemplated no such principle of investigation, so that they might square their work accordingly. On the contrary, that they do not even propound their instructions as a *system* at all, but rather throw out certain loose facts and doctrines, fragments rather than forms, which have to be actually arrayed, disposed, reduced into order, before they fall into what divines call a *system* of theology. Surely this is a problem worthy of a solution; and such as ought to make an unbeliever pause at least, and lead him to examine the positive evidence for that, of which the presumptive evidence is not at any rate despicable. It may be said, indeed, that the evidence, furnished by analogy, would have been little, had not revelation told us where to look for it. And this is true; but it is a truth not at all affecting the value of that evidence when we once have it. A Harvey was wanted, to apply the anatomical fact of the different directions in which the valves of the arteries and veins open, to the development of the theory of the circulation of the blood; yet the circulation of the blood would have been just as real, if no Harvey had lived to make it known. The Newtonian System, as it is called, might have been hidden to this day, if Newton had never been born; but it would not have been, on that account, the less certain that the system existed. The 'Constitution and Course of Nature' has been dug up,—revelation telling us where to dig, in order to find it; but, on coming to the light, its testimony to the truth of revelation is not, on that account, the less worthy of all acceptation. In the Acts of the Apostles, we read, 'A certain woman named Lydia, a seller of purple of the city of Thyatira, which worshipped God, heard us,' (ch. xvi. 14.) Now, suppose this passage had induced a search to be made into the ruins of Thyatira; and that, in consequence, a stone had been brought up, bearing a mutilated inscription to a worthy of that city, from a company of *dyers*, (οἱ βαφεισ,\*)—the discovery of the stone would help to corroborate the assertion of the writer of the Acts,—not at all the less effectually, because it happened to be some hundred years after the Acts were written that the discovery was made,—

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\* *Vide* Wheeler's Journey into Greece, iii., p. 233.

and that it was only made then, because the mention of the place had stimulated curiosity, and suggested the search.

On the whole, if we pass the several particulars of this argument rapidly in review, and reckon their cumulative value, that which answers to what in architecture is called the *effect*, cannot be inconsiderable in the judgment of any sober and dispassionate inquirer after truth.

But whatever may be the importance of the argument from analogy, when regarded under this aspect, it is not that under which Bishop Butler contemplated it with the most satisfaction. Whether he was first put upon his inquiry by the remark of Origen, which he quotes as though it had struck his mind with the force of a new thought, that ‘he who believes the scripture to have proceeded from Him who is the author of nature, may well expect to find the same sort of difficulties in it as are found in the constitution of nature;’ whether, we say, this was the text from which he set out, and which gave a complexion to his subsequent thoughts throughout, the obvious tendency of it being to lead him to consider the argument chiefly as an *answer to objections* against revelation; or whether he thought that to silence objections was in itself to add to the positive evidence in the most effectual of all ways, by making it carry (to use a profane phrase) less weight; or whether, in wielding his two-edged weapon he was naturally disposed to strike on the side that cut keenest,—for, as a smiter down of the high imaginations of the infidel touching the *scheme* of Christianity, it is not only powerful, but altogether resistless; or whether, in an age like his own, so ‘*very reasonable*’ in its religious notions, he felt a righteous zeal to foil the wise with their own weapons, and to suggest to them, with all becoming humility, that there might be, after all,—and even on admission of their difficulties,—more things between heaven and earth than their philosophy dreamed of: however this might be, certain it is, that it is as an *answer to objections* against revelation, that Butler regards the Analogy, rather than as a witness of its truth;—that he does not so often speak in the spirit of St. Paul, when that apostle urges ‘The invisible things of God from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made,’ as when he retorts upon the deistical antagonist, ‘Thou fool! that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die;’—that he sometimes employs it in conjunction with revelation, but much more often in opposition to unbelief.

Here, indeed, the argument of analogy is the golden branch, before which obstacles fall and phantoms vanish. Thus: there is a presumption against miracles. So there may be, but is there  
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not also a presumption against such a combination of circumstances as go to make up the history of Cæsar, meeting in any one individual, prior to the event? Yet the presumption (however great) yields before a very small matter of evidence. We have an impression on our minds, that it was the avowed intention, a few years ago, of a great living poet to write a Life of Napoleon; not on the plan he adopted, but on one in which not a single incident should be probable, yet all strictly true; and no doubt the thing might have been achieved. The presumption must have been great against the phenomena of electricity, galvanism, or many other arcana of nature, yet they were soon established on evidence not to be gainsaid. We suppose, that had Palinurus been told, when he was beating about in the Mediterranean three days and three nights, neither sun nor star appearing, that the time would come when a little needle's point would 'prate of his whereabouts' with most miraculous organs, and to the merest nicety, he would have been hard to be persuaded.—Yet so it was. And though we think the presumption at present strong against the existence of future flying philosophers, yet only a certain degree of testimony would be wanted to work our conviction that, having been long volatile, they were become volant. The course of nature, therefore, very easily disposes of the question of presumption. But it does more. To those who believe in a *particular* Providence ever actively superintending the affairs of this world, great and small, miracles can present no cause of offence; for then, perpetual interposition being the order of things, it is credible enough that it should sometimes manifest itself in striking and unusual effects.

But the administration of this world, it may be said, is carried on according to *general laws*. Still there is much on foot to which those laws do not seem to apply—*faults*, as it were (to use a miner's phrase), in the constitution of things. What are the laws, for instance, by which a hurricane, or a pestilence, or a famine, pounces upon mankind (σκηψας ελαυνει), scourging one place and sparing another: so hard to be reduced to any principle, as to be called (what is another name for our utter ignorance of their nature)—accidents? May it not be that times and seasons proceed by rules prescribed, till some accumulation of inconvenience requires the interposition of a hurricane, or a pestilence, or a famine, and still that the interposition itself occurs according to a general law too, not to be considered as an item in a system of expedients, implying defect or effort, unworthy of the contriver, since to change implies no more of this than to create,—for if there was a defect before the change, so must there have been before the creation, creation itself being a change; and if an effort

effort is required to alter, so it must have been to produce,—but rather as the natural effect of *causes* set at work from the beginning. And in like manner the *moral* world may proceed, according to general laws, till an accumulation of inconvenience demands the interference of a miracle; this, too, according to a general law, a law by which it was appointed when the foundations of the world were laid, that, under such and such circumstances, miracles there should be,—a law which we might, very probably, trace out and determine, if we had but other moral systems wherewith to make a comparison. And if it be objected that this is to deprive miracles of their value as tokens of a commission from God, as credentials of his ambassadors, we answer that no such consequence would ensue; for that as a mere man could never calculate upon such an interposition occurring in his favour, unless he had been in communication with the Deity, so its actual occurrence would be thought enough to prove such communication, or, in other words, to certify the authority by which he spake. Moses, for instance, could not be supposed to have lifted up his rod by a happy coincidence at the very moment when the ‘universal plan’ required that the waters of the Red Sea should be divided before the Israelites; but the phenomenon happening as he waved his wand, it would be at once concluded that the Deity had been with him, and let him into the secret. And, after all, what is a miracle, but an apparent deviation from the established course of nature, with a view to a *moral* effect? But (as we have had frequent occasion to remark, in the progress of this argument) nothing is more usual than to see events in the natural world made subservient to moral ends; indeed so usual, that it may be doubted whether every individual event is not intended to produce finally some moral purpose. There may be difficulties in either case, both in the peculiarities of nature and of revelation—that we dispute not; but our argument is this—that whilst we see in God’s natural government apparent interruptions of general laws; or phenomena, which, if assignable to general laws, are not assignable to such as we can discover, and are, therefore, classed under the head *accidents* (which, like *sundries*, mean just what we can give no account of); we have no need to be staggered at the same or similar mechanism in God’s moral government, the presumption being rather the other way, that irregularities were to be expected in the scheme of revelation, there being actually such in the physical scheme.

But is it not strange that mankind should have been suffered to live so long in the dark—that the world should have been left to drag on four thousand years, before Christianity was revealed? Here, again, analogy steps in, exclaiming, Not at all strange:

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on the contrary, it is the most common case in nature. How is it, for example, that herbs have been allowed to run to waste for centuries upon centuries, of which the virtues, when they were once discovered,

————— ‘sae fortified the part,  
That when death looked to his dart,  
It was so blunt,  
Fient haet o’t wad hae pierced the heart  
Of a kail-runt.’

Indeed it is not till within these very few years that a whole class of medicines, and a class, now, we believe, considered the most efficient,—minerals, have been transferred from the bowels of the earth to the bowels of the patient, to the great advantage of human life. How is it, to revert to what we have already touched upon, that mankind were left to blunder about upon the ocean, in perils of waters, for so long a period, without the knowledge of the compass? Or to live in gross ignorance of many most essential truths, during a number of generations, for want of the simple art of printing? There is no end to this—the world, like Prospero’s island, is full of strange sounds.

But revelation has been communicated *partially*; if it was really from God, and of the importance alleged, would it not have been *universal*? Yet which of God’s gifts is not imparted thus? Health, and strength, and intellect, and property, are all distributed in unequal proportions—one man has his lot cast among the snows, and seals, and *tripe de la roche* of a polar sky; another on the vine-clad banks of the Loire. It is not for us to reconcile these things; but it is idle to raise an objection against revelation upon a ground which would equally deprive the Almighty of any hand in the government of the universe.

But the *evidence* for the truth of revelation is not *demonstrative*;—was it not to be expected, that principles which were not for speculation, but use, and for *such* use too, should have been set forth with a perspicuity which could not be misinterpreted, and supported by testimony which could not be refused? Yet what reason was there for expecting this? None, certainly, from the condition of man in this world. He has been left to shape his course through things temporal, not with *demonstration* for his guide, but with *probability* only. For can he do more, even in the most critical step that he takes, than sit down first, endeavour to count the cost, and then plant his foot where there seems *most* cause to think he can plant it safely?—musing, like the suitors of Portia, on which of the caskets contains his treasure, and often, like them, greatly perplexed. Practically speaking, it is *probability*, in a degree very much lower than that which  
pleads



pleads for the truth of revelation, that supplies the rule of human actions, even where life itself is involved. What else launched the boat of Columbus? He sought a new heaven and a new earth, under much doubt, and discouragement, and danger—the very existence of his object never clearly revealed to him, till it actually rose upon him from the deep, his weary voyage done. Up to that hour, he could only read it in the direction of a current, in the casual floating past of a spar, in the sea-weed, in the land-bird, in the breeze; yet these signs he laid up in his heart, and following them in faith, found the world he longed for: which things are an allegory. Why, then, should a rule, which thus obtains for the present, be abandoned for the future? more especially as the very *uncertainty* (whatever may be the amount of it) *may* constitute an essential part of the trial of all, and the most essential part of the trial of many. But, in truth that uncertainty is very much less than many persons suppose. People are apt to see the force of evidence or of argument only as it makes for their own prejudices—‘The wish is father to the thought.’ The wolf, when he was learning to read, could make nothing out of the letters, whatever they might be, that were set before him, but ‘lamb.’ Cudworth suggests that even geometrical theorems, (that the three angles of a triangle, for instance, are equal to two right angles,) if connected with offensive moral truths, might possibly become the subject of doubt and controversy. And Mr. Le Bas, who adopts this sentiment in his valuable Essay on Miracles, adds in a note, somewhat after the manner of Warburton’s illustrations, ‘if the Pythagorean proposition (Eucl. i. 47) were to impose on mathematicians the *Pythagorean* maxim of a strict vegetable diet, what *carnivorous* student of geometry would ever get to the end of the First Book in Euclid? Or if we could conceive the doctrine of *Fluxions* had, somehow or other, been combined with an obligation to abstain from the use of wine; does any one believe that it would have gained its present undisputed establishment throughout the scientific world?—Should we not at this very day have many a thirsty analyst protesting that he was under an absolute inability to comprehend or to credit the system?’

\* But what, if miracles, the foundation of the Christian scheme, should not always be found agreeable to the commands of God?—What, if the power of working them should have sometimes fallen into bad hands, and have been used for evil purposes?—What, if a wonder could be worked in confirmation of the duty of Idolatry?—Or in defiance of a message of the Most High?†—Or in establishing the pretensions of a false Christ?‡—What, if those

\* Deut. xiii. 1, 2, 3.

† Exod. vii. 11.

‡ Matt. xxiv. 24.

who were outcasts themselves, should have prophesied and ejected evil spirits? — Would not this render the worth of miracles themselves in evidence of revelation equivocal? Many of our divines would here deny the premises; would not allow that any confusion of this kind was permitted, and explain, accordingly, the texts which may seem to imply the contrary. If, however, we admit this objection of the Deists to be well-founded—if we admit that such abuse of supernatural gifts was sometimes allowed, and that, being allowed, it caused many to doubt; still are not *great abilities* very often suffered in these days to do the same? Such a prophet, or worker of miracles, as we speak of, would but have been playing a part similar to that which a Tindal, or a Bolingbroke, or a Paine, has played since, and lived. They would but have been applying high talents to base ends. The truth is, the possessor of rare endowments, of whatever kind, if he prostitutes them to the object of making ‘one of the little ones’ to offend, will have to answer for it; but then the little ones themselves, upon this as upon other occasions, are expected to exercise their own understanding (‘that *candle* of *the Lord* within them,’†) upon the tendency of the conflicting evidence, which, no doubt, Providence will always take care shall *preponderate* on the side of the truth; and the perplexity *may* constitute a part of their trial,—it *may* be the Master’s pleasure that the ‘*wise servant*’ shall have his discretion subjected to this very test.

But the *severity* with which the Deity is made to act in scripture is another lion in the way; a nation is to be cut off, not in its guilty members only, but in all that belongs to it,—ox and sheep, infant and suckling, camel and ass. Is not this a hard saying? Yet, hard as it is, it is just what the course of nature confirms. A flood, for instance, now acts under precisely the same orders, as a Joshua or a Saul did heretofore,—making no greater distinction of persons or things. When Catania, or Lima, or Lisbon was destroyed, no reservation was observed in favour of women, or children, or cattle. The earth opened her mouth and swallowed them up, whatever was their innocence. Yet

‘Plagues and earthquakes shake not heaven’s design.’

Or, again,—must not vast numbers miscarry under a dispensation like that of Christianity, where so much is exacted of beings so frail? Can that be a faithful representation of the Author of the universe, which portrays him under the character of an austere man,—or, can that scheme belong to the merciful God which describes the gate of his kingdom as strait, the way nar-

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\* Matt. vii. 22, 23.

† Prov. xx. 27.

row, and the incomers few? Are there so many beings to be born only to perish? Here we feel that we are entering on 'thoughts abstruse,' which warn us, with Eve, to withdraw. But still, appalling as the consideration may be, it is nevertheless very true, that in the actual constitution of things, there does seem to be a prodigious waste both of animal and vegetable life—that of the seeds sown, few grow into plants—that of the animals which see the light, few are born to enjoy it—that we give a corporal pang to many a poor beetle as we walk across the field—that we boil water for our food, and destroy myriads of animated atoms. The objection thus viewed ought, indeed, to stimulate our exertion, but certainly ought not to shake our faith. Or, further still, that punishment, having *no end*, or next to none, should be assigned to sins committed during the brief span of three-score years and ten, seems to be hard measure, difficult for flesh and blood to believe. Yet the constitution of nature appears to uphold the dismal doctrine; for how often does a single act of folly or guilt entail upon the offender a whole life of suffering, sorrow, or shame!—the chastisement out of all proportion (as might be supposed) to the sin. It was the unwise or unjust exaction (call it which you will) of a sum, not exceeding thirty shillings, from one of his subjects, that inflicted upon a king of England the downfall of his throne, the loss of his head, and the exile of his children. It was a single act of carelessness (if we are to believe Shakspeare) in putting into another king's hand, by mistake, a schedule of effects, that excited the monarch's cupidity, and wrought the plunder, the disgrace, and, eventually, the death of a Wolsey.

But the method by which revelation represents the Deity to effect the recovery and salvation of man is very *roundabout*. From a Being whom nothing can let or hinder, a more direct and expeditious course was to be expected. Yet why so? Certainly the system on which this world proceeds argues no such precipitation of plan—quite the 'contrary. You may say, God might command the stones to be made bread, or the clouds to rain it; but this he does not. He chooses rather to leave mankind to till, to sow, to reap, to gather into barns, to grind, to bake, and then to eat—a process not only very long, but in some respects, *à priori*, very unpromising, very unlikely to answer its end. But, as one of our old divines quaintly remarks, the Almighty 'not unusually looks the contrary way to that he moves; and while men love to go the nearest way, and often fail, God commonly goes about, and in his own time comes safe home.'

But the whole apparatus of Christianity is *mean*, unworthy its magnificent pretensions;—its seat, the bosom of God—its voice,  
the



the harmony of the world. Be it so: join, if you will, in the querulous cry of that mighty man, the captain of the host of the King of Syria,—still the argument of analogy demolishes the objection, whatever may be its force; for what is more common in the constitution of nature than for prodigious consequences to flow from apparently mean beginnings? Lady Mary Wortley Montagu rambles into a Turkish village, and what comes of it?—She sends to England the secret of inoculation, thereby, perhaps, contributing more to the welfare of her countrymen, than all the conquerors of the East. Dr. Jenner observes, that the milk-maids of Gloucestershire escape the small-pox altogether; and what is the result?—that vaccination is discovered, and the uncleanly flux of a cow mitigates still further that noisome disease, and economises life more successfully than a whole college of physicians.

But the scheme of the atonement, as developed in revelation, seems to exhibit the Deity as regardless whether the innocent or the guilty suffer, provided suffering there be: is this credible? It may be a difficulty (for all the objections we have touched are real difficulties), but it is a difficulty of precisely the same kind, as that which the scheme of nature presents, and neither greater nor less. ‘*I have done wickedly, but these sheep what have they done?*’ is not an exclamation fitted for David only. Napoleon determines upon an invasion of Russia,—the unjust act is not immediately visited upon himself; he *coolly* puts on his fur-cloak, gets into his traineau, and flies to his faithful city; but his innocent followers (innocent of planning the enterprise, we mean) are called to pay the price of his iniquity, by being frozen to death round the ashes of their own watch-fires. *Delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi*, is an adage of very old standing. As a matter of fact, therefore, the arrangement is not at all incredible.

But why an atonement at all?—Why should not *repentance* alone suffice to reconcile us to the Deity? We are not bound to tell why; but this we can tell, that in the world in which we live, sorrow for offences does not in general remove the evil they entail upon the offender—it does not ‘trammel up the consequence;’ it does not, for instance, acquit the deceiver of his contempt, or the libertine of his disease, or the rogue of his halter.—Affliction there may be, but there must be fine too; and the natural feelings of mankind bear witness to this, for (as we have already hinted), if sorrow had been thought enough by the heathens, why should they have added sacrifice? There is one consideration, however, suggested by analogy, which is an answer to this, and to almost all objections both against natural religion and revealed—*our very imperfect knowledge of either*. We erect ourselves into judges whilst we are not in possession of nearly the whole case;—we decide  
upon

upon a piece of very intricate mechanism, whilst we are acquainted with very few of its parts ;—we pronounce dogmatically upon a move at chess, whilst we do not see all the positions of the men. The constitution of nature is evidently a *scheme*. Thus the relation of the different parts of a watch to one another is not more certain than that of the several parts of the animal frame. The spring, the barrel, the chain, the wheels, are all proportionate and adapted each to each, but with no greater care than the bones are articulated ; the hinges of the joints made double or single ; the vitals protected, the head by a strong box, the heart by a basket of ribs ; no one member being able to say to another, ‘ I have no need of thee.’ Here, then, is relation of parts in the *individual*—indicating that the constitution of nature is a *scheme*. Let us extend our circle, and we may observe that the lungs of animals are made with a reference to the air they have to breathe, their eyes to the light whereby they are to see ; for the former could not play in such an element as water, nor the latter be useful for vision, if the rays of light impinged with the momentum of a hail-storm. Indeed, nothing can be more obvious than the *symmetry* with which all things are constructed ; quadrupeds and birds bearing some proportion to man and to one another in size ; vegetables only suffered to attain a height suitable to those who have to live among them or upon them. With what alarm should we contemplate the growth of grass, if there was no assignable limit to its elevation—if it threatened to bury us alive, like Gulliver in the corn of the Brobdignags ; or how should we be dismayed on observing the advance of a blight, when the insects composing it might severally assume (no law forbidding) the size of a behemoth ? Here, then, we have the relation of the *individual* to the *place* he lives in—still a *scheme*. Once more let us extend our circle, and we find the air standing in due relation, not only to the lungs of animals on the earth, but to the sun in the heavens, receiving his rays, not as upon a bed of wool, but upon a transparent, subtile, elastic substance, through which they may be readily drawn by ‘ a team of little atomies ’ to the place of their destination. Here we have the relation of *neurer* to more *remote* parts—still a *scheme*. Yet more : the sun to which we have thus traced up, stands in his turn related to other planets besides ours ; the law by which he attracts them, and the quantity of matter he contains, being no less nicely adjusted than the minutest of the subordinate elements which we have been examining ; and if we could explore the abyss beyond, we should probably perceive that this system itself, of which the sun is thus the centre, holds a relationship no less complete to other systems as great and glorious as our own ; and thus, that the mutual dependencies of things are  
unbroken

unbroken throughout the entire universe, and that all conspire to one vast and incomprehensible *scheme*. Then again, the several parts of such a system are not to be regarded under one relation only (as we have been hitherto chiefly considering them), but under *many* relations, involved and interwoven in a manner the most complicated—one principle answering many ends. Thus, the construction of the body is, in its essential features, the same, whether the animal is to be adapted to the earth, the ocean, or the sky. So again, the air which supplies the lungs is equally fitted for the propagation of sounds, the conveyance of scents, the mitigation of heat, the aliment of vegetables, or the impulse of vessels—the constitution of nature hereby exhibiting itself, not merely as a *scheme*, but as a *scheme* of extreme complexity, full of wheels within wheels,—if touched in one place, trembling under the touch in a thousand other places. Now, this being the natural constitution of things, would it not be idle in any professor in the world to get up and say, ‘such a particular in this mechanism is defective; it would have been better thus: the air, for instance, would have been far less objectionable, if it had not been of a density sufficient to blow down my castles.’ It might be an advantage to you that your castles should have stood (would be the obvious answer); but supposing the change, how would the system at large be affected by it,—the lungs of animals, the passage of light, the aliment of plants, and numberless other matters, of which we know nothing? It is possible that this alteration for which you plead would have involved the derangement of the universe. Your suggestion (saving your Professorship) might be, after all (as Horsley would have said), only ‘a rude jog from the clumsy fist of a clown, who knew nothing of the component parts of the machine.’

The *natural* government of God, then, being evidently a *scheme*, and a very elaborate one, it is probable from analogy that his *moral* government is a *scheme* too; indeed, there is further cause for believing this, in the circumstance that the physical world seems to be itself in relation to the moral, just as the vegetable is subordinate to the animal, and the animal to the intellectual kingdom; but if a *scheme* at all, then one having a multitude of bearings, very few of which come within our cognizance. To raise objections, therefore, against what we may fancy irregularities in it, whether we look to the *general* plan of Providence, or to Christianity as a *particular* scheme under that plan, is to charge God foolishly, because it is to charge him ignorantly. ‘Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth?’—it may still be justly replied, as it heretofore was, to such puny assailants,—‘Hast thou entered into the springs of the sea? hast thou



thou walked in the search of the depths? Have the gates of death been opened to thee, or knowest thou the ordinances of heaven?' It may not, therefore, be more unphilosophical to find fault with the physical order of things, on the score that where there is such air as ours there may be hurricanes, than to reproach the moral order of things with the existence of evil, the partial diffusion of good, the imperfect evidence for the truth of revelation, or the extraordinary nature of it; the true answer in both cases being one and the same—that we are quarrelling, not with independent matters, standing alone or on their own merits, but with parts of a very intricate scheme, subservient to it in how many ways, and with what propriety, he only who can survey the *whole* can tell. This is a portion of his great theme on which Bishop Butler delights to dwell; his Sermons, as well as his Essay, are full of it. Nor can we picture to ourselves a more instructive lesson, than that which is afforded by the grave example of such a man; that he, so acute, so patient, so profound, so fruitful in anticipating objections, so candid in estimating, so triumphant in repelling them, so gifted with powers of combining and developing the hints of God's secret counsels, which lie scattered over the face of things,—that he, a man thus endowed, a giant even in days when giants there were, should ever be reminded, and should ever be reminding us, of his ignorance; that the Incomprehensible, the Eternal, the Infinite, sets all the pride of our understandings at nought, and by intricacies which He gives us to unravel, and contrarieties which He gives us to reconcile, and depths which He gives us to fathom, and shades which He gives us to illumine, forces from us a confession unfeigned, that the wisest are but as fools when measuring themselves against Him, whose ways are past finding out, and who oft, amidst

‘Thick clouds and dark  
Chooses to dwell, his glory unobscured,  
And with the majesty of darkness round  
Circles his throne.’

Such an example cannot be lost upon an age in which any modesty is left—rebuking the superficial scoffer, as it does, after the manner of Newton to Halley, ‘Mund, Mund, talk not of this question; you have not considered it, I have.’

Such is the argument from analogy; the most effectual, perhaps, that can be urged against the unbeliever; for many of his objections, being indisputable difficulties, do not always admit of a ready answer, and an abortive attempt at one would only strengthen his prejudice and harden his heart. But, to retort his own objections upon himself, to drive him (if he would be true to his principles) from unbelief to atheism—from a philosophy which  
stumbles,

stumbles, to be sure, at the foolishness of a confession of the faith, to a philosophy that reposes in the wisdom of a confession, that there may be contrivance without a contriver, and governance without a guide,—this is to take him in his own toils, and to goad him into the necessity of reconsidering a verdict which saddles him with conclusions so monstrous.

We cannot close our paper without adverting to a dissertation by the Rev. Daniel Wilson, prefixed to his cheap edition of the *Analogy*. We do it with the most entire good-will to its author (however we may differ from him), whose desire to give increased circulation to such a work, at such a period, can be viewed with no other feelings than those of unmingled respect. And here we may observe in passing, that this revival of a taste for the writings of Bishop Butler, indicated by the several publications of which the titles stand at the head of this article, is one of the best signs of the times; for, whether the demand for those writings originated with the laity themselves, who would satisfy their own scruples, or with the clergy, who would supply them with the best means of doing so, no better choice could have been made—none more candid, more discreet, more according to knowledge. It is only justice to Mr. Wilson to say, that he shows every disposition to pay suitable homage to one of the greatest men of our church; and that his epitome of the *Analogy* is faithful and luminous. Still he has some fault to find with the bishop of Durham. The learned prelate is not sufficiently scriptural in his language, nor elevated in his views of Christianity:—

‘It is impossible (says Mr. Wilson) to calculate the additional good which the *Analogy* would have effected, if its unnumbered readers had been instructed more adequately by it in the spiritual death and ruin of man in all his powers by the fall; in the inestimable constitution of special grace established by the Gospel; in the gratuitous justification of the sincere believer in the sacrifice of Christ; in the divine nature and properties of true faith; in the mighty operations of the Holy Ghost in illuminating and sanctifying man; and in the consolation and universal obedience which are the fruits of faith.’—p. 143.

Now, to the opinion here expressed we cannot altogether subscribe; for to whom was the *Analogy* chiefly addressed? Not to believers, though to them it does indirectly minister, confirming them in their acceptance of that religion which the constitution of nature bespeaks to be a twin-sister of its own; but it was for sceptics, or unbelievers, that it was principally meant; and it is probable that, had not such abounded in the days of Bishop Butler, the *Analogy* would never have been heard of. For he lived at a time, as we learn from himself, when ‘the licentiousness of the  
upper

upper classes, combined with the irreligion industriously propagated amongst the lower,' was tending to produce 'total profligacy;' when a 'levelling spirit, upon atheistical principles,' was to be apprehended, as it had before been actually experienced on principles of enthusiasm;\* when 'religion was become so very reasonable, as to have nothing to do with the heart and affections, if such words signify any thing but the faculty by which we discern speculative truth;† when it was thought needful to propitiate the hearers of a sermon on the 'Love of God,' by protesting at the outset that the 'subject was a real one, nothing in it enthusiastic or unreasonable;‡ when, 'in every view of things, and upon all accounts, irreligion was the chief danger;§ when to preach the love of our enemies was called '*rant*;'|| when 'there was a general decay of religion in the nation, observed by every one, for some time the complaint of all serious persons—the influence of it more and more wearing out of the minds of men, even of those who did not pretend to enter into speculations on the subject, whilst the numbers of those who did, and who professed themselves unbelievers, increased—and with their numbers their zeal, *zeal FOR nothing, but AGAINST every thing that was good and sacred amongst men*;'¶ when 'the signs of God's coming' were believed to be 'but too apparent;' for that, 'as different ages had been distinguished by different sorts of particular errors and vices, so the deplorable distinction of that was, an avowed scorn of religion in some, and a growing disregard of it in the generality.'\*\*\*

These were the times for which Butler had to provide; and we cannot but think that he acted like a wise master-builder, when he laid the foundation, and left others to build thereon. Besides, it was not Butler's object to expound the doctrines of Scripture, but to prove its credibility: he was not its interpreter, but its advocate. With the doctrines, in their full extent, the constitution of nature (which was his concern) had, comparatively little to do. It was applicable indeed to the gross features of Christianity, and to these he applied it, but to the nicer details it was not. The element was of a quality fit for injection into the main trunks and arteries, but was not subtle enough to insinuate itself into all the minuter parts of the vascular system. It was applicable, for instance, to the great dispensation of a Mediator, but not to his metaphysical nature, or to the degree of ruin (whether total or partial) from which He restored mankind; and, indeed, nothing can be more remarkable than the pains Butler takes to avoid all questions which might immediately or remotely minister to strife—

\* Sermons, vol. i. p. 347, Oxford.

|| p. 146.

† p. 227.

¶ p. 426.

‡ p. 228.

\*\* p. 422.

§ p. 300.



all questions which might narrow the sphere within which his book would be suffered to walk with effect. He does not wish to speak to Calvinist or Arminian, to philosophers of this school or of that, but he wishes to speak to men in general—to plead the credibility of Scripture in general; and, for that purpose, to use (as the algebraists would say) *general expressions*. Hence such terms as ‘faculties of perception and action,’ ‘living powers,’ ‘living agents,’ ‘the living being each man calls himself,’ which, to be justly estimated, (as Mr. Hampden properly observes,) must be regarded as exclusions of any particular theory concerning the soul. In like manner, he speaks of ‘the unknown event, death;’ and, what is perhaps even more remarkable still, he will not shackle himself (logical as he is) with a definition of the sense in which he uses the word ‘miracle,’ contenting himself with saying, that ‘the notion of it, considered as a proof of a divine mission, has been stated with great exactness by divines, and is,’ he thinks, ‘sufficiently understood by every one.’ Moreover, the *obscurity* of Bishop Butler, which has been sometimes complained of, arises, as far as it exists, chiefly out of this very mode of treating his subject; for he was hereby sometimes ‘obliged to express himself in a manner which might seem strange to such as *did not observe the reason for it* ;’ and the secret operation of the same principle probably caused him to be so very sparing of his examples—his mind still delighting to read nature with a broad eye, and ‘scarce bringing itself to set down instances.’ Persons not familiar with the analytical nomenclature are often puzzled with a proposition, where the numbers are expressed in letters, who would readily understand it if a particular case were taken, and figures substituted for them.

Nor is this all: so determined is Butler to cast his net as wide as possible, ‘to gather of every kind,’ that he frequently argues upon the principles of others and not his own; proving his point, to be sure, not *from* those principles, but *notwithstanding* them, ‘omitting what he thinks true’ (and we beg attention to this, as bearing very closely on the question in debate) ‘and of the utmost importance, merely because by others thought unintelligible or not true.’\* Now, Mr. Wilson will not deny, that some of the propositions which he would willingly have seen adopted into the work of Bishop Butler, were, at least, matters of much debate in Bishop Butler’s time. Mr. Wilson believes them to their full extent: he finds them (so he expressly says†) perfectly compatible with the plan of ‘the Analogy;’ then can he still profit by ‘the Analogy,’ and add to it that which he thinks lacking. Another man may believe them only to ‘a more limited extent: he also

\* p. 408.

† Dissert., p. 145.

finds his opinions compatible with 'the Analogy'—he therefore can profit by it too. A third may not as yet believe them at all (and amongst the motley multitude for which Butler had to cater, this was a very common character): he, therefore, is to be won, not by overwhelming him at once with the whole mystery of the gospel, but by submitting to him that the gospel is not a thing *incredible*, and leaving him to draw his own conclusions. 'A narrow-necked bottle,' says Quintilian somewhere, 'must be humoured: pour gently, or you spill instead of fill.' 'Reculer pour mieux sauter' is not the worst of French proverbs.

But, indeed, 'the *entire* corruption,' or 'the *total* moral ruin' of man, or the 'alienation of his *whole* moral nature from God,'\* which Mr. Wilson would have had introduced by Butler, is a doctrine which that profound inquirer did not hold; and, moreover, is a doctrine, which, if established, would, in our opinion, shake his argument to its foundations. In his Sermons, which abound in elements of his greater work, and in some cases may serve as a commentary upon it, he is chiefly occupied in determining the inward frame of man; and his own search and experience lead him to think that his form had not yet lost *all* her original brightness; that in addition to those passions which he shares in common with brutes, there is another principle peculiar to him, even a conscience, a moral sense, a something,—call it by what name we please, whereby we respectively assign to right and wrong, approbation or blame; that this principle is felt to speak like one having authority—*authority* as distinguished from mere *power*, for this any baser principle may possess; that it seats itself above the other constituent parts of our nature,—inspects them, pronounces on them, nothing within us meanwhile denouncing this as an act of unbecoming usurpation; that however the rabble-rout of disorderly passions may attempt to set it at nought, it is still acknowledged as a sovereign (in this instance at least) by *divine right*; that the Author of Nature, by planting such a monitor within us, answering to virtue or vice by a corresponding pleasure or pang, after the manner of a gratified or violated sense, now recognising, as with the feelings of the enchanter,

' the pace

• Of some chaste footing near about this ground,'  
and now again perceiving, as with those of the witch,  
' By the pricking of the thumbs,  
Something wicked this way comes'— •

that the Author of Nature, by endowing us with such a faculty, declares himself for virtue and against vice; declares, therefore,

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\* Dissert., pp. 131, 144.

his present government not to be arbitrary but *moral*, and thereby declares (as Butler argues) that a future state of rewards and punishments, dispensed according to a *moral* rule, shall be the final consummation of all things. It is therefore, ultimately, upon this basis of a sense of right and wrong implanted to a certain degree in the heart of man, that Butler builds his high argument: deny it, that is, assert the *total* corruption of man's nature, and his foundations sink under him. Nor does Mr. Wilson himself, in some places, fail of being aware of this. It seems to us, indeed, to be a source of embarrassment to him; for he elsewhere expressly asserts, that 'all the evidences of revealed religion appeal to our *moral nature*, and meet precisely the faculty of judging which we still possess; and would have no medium of proof, and therefore no authority to convince, if this *moral sense* should be denied.\* Now this is just what Butler would contend; but how is it consistent with that doctrine of a '*total moral ruin*,' which it is made a matter of charge against him that he did not sufficiently inculcate? To allow a '*moral sense*,' and yet to insist on a '*total moral ruin*,' appears to us as incongruous as to allow some sense of hearing, and yet to insist on a total deafness. Let us not be misunderstood. We are not undertaking to draw human nature into lime, but only to draw it out of coal-dust—to shelter it under those principles which a Hooker or a Barrow has delivered to us, who, whilst they maintained the existence of a law of reason, 'a law comprehending all those things which men, by the light of their natural understanding, evidently know, or at least may know, to be becoming or unbecoming, virtuous or vicious, good or evil for them to do,'† were at the same time ready to confess that it would be in vain 'to search all the generations of men, sithence the fall of our father, Adam, to find one man that hath done one action which hath passed from him pure, without one stayne or blemish at all.‡' No man can be farther than Bishop Butler from advocating, with the Schoolmen of old, the integrity of our nature. The supposition, that the 'world is in a *state of ruin*' seems to him the very ground of the Christian dispensation, and if not provable by reason, at least not contrary to it.§ No man can vindicate more nobly or more thankfully the merciful scheme of the atonement, (if there be any one part of his book more satisfactory than another, it is where he handles this vital question;) but that does not entail upon him the necessity of *effacing*|| the image of its Creator altogether from

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\* p. 110.

† Eccles. Pol., B. 1, § 8.

‡ Hooker's 'Discourse of Justification.' See, also, Barrow, vol. i., fol., Ser. xxvi.; vol. ii., Ser. vii.; as compared with vol. ii., Ser. i.

§ Analogy, p. 287.

|| Dissert. p. 107.



the soul of the unregenerate man, as a preliminary step—thereby confounding the nature of virtue and vice, the charity of a Titus with the cruelty of a Nero, and making such appeals as these, of which Scripture contains many, unintelligible. ‘The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handy-work: there is neither speech nor language, but their voice is heard among them.’ The creation, therefore, was qualified to preach, and man (the natural man) had a certain corresponding capacity to receive what was taught. ‘The gentiles which have not the law do by nature the things written in the law.’ The gentiles, therefore, were not wholly lawless: ‘nature’ was in some sense a guide to them in morals. God, even in the times of the gentiles, ‘left not himself without witness in that he did good.’ Man, therefore, must have been in some measure fitted to approve the good, to apply it to its Author, or where was the witness? ‘If ye love them which love you, what thanks have ye? for sinners (*i. e.* heathens) love those that love them’—a very low degree of benevolence this assuredly, but something nevertheless. ‘If a man provide not for his own, he is worse than an infidel.’ Infidels, therefore, were capable of this act which is enjoined Christians as commendable. ‘Yea, and why even of yourselves judge ye not what is *right*?’ asks our Lord. In themselves, therefore, was lodged some capacity of doing this, or why the question? And the instinctive aversion which is felt to accept, in the literal meaning, such a text as ‘he who *hateth* not father and mother cannot be my disciple,’ does not surely arise from its being directly in contradiction to other texts, (for if there were no others to qualify it, there would still be no doubt about the matter,) but simply from that sense of right and wrong in a man’s heart, which tells him at once that the Almighty cannot intend what the words in their strict acceptation imply.

Possibly some ambiguity may have arisen in the notions entertained by religious persons of the *nature* of man, from the different senses in which that term is used in scripture: for when the apostle says that the gentiles ‘were by *nature* the children of wrath,’ it is plain that he could not employ the word in the same sense as when he says that the ‘gentiles do by *nature* the things contained in the law.’ In the one case, man is spoken of as the creature of his natural appetites; in the other, as the disciple of his natural conscience. And perhaps this distinction would be found the key to other seeming discrepancies in the language of holy writ. Suffice it, however, to say, that St. Paul leaves the question of the *degree* of human corruption undetermined; and that we, therefore, may safely do the same. That it is very great no man who knows his own heart can doubt. But it is the practice

tice of that apostle, when he would humble his disciples, to make his appeal rather to their sense of the evil they have done, than to their sense of the evil they have inherited—the former they feel to be their *fault*, the latter their *misfortune*. It never can be well to exalt one part of a system, at the expense of another; to magnify the mercies of redemption, in themselves too great and glorious to need exaggeration, by sinking the subject of that redemption below the brutes, and holding up to him as a reflection of himself a monster from which he instinctively recoils as a hideous caricature. ‘Let God have his own,’ says Bishop Hall, (whose authority is often abused on this point,) ‘*in the worst creature*;<sup>\*</sup> yea, let the worst creature have that praise which God would put upon it.’\* The covenant of mercy Bishop Butler founds in this, even in the incarnation, sacrifice, and intercession of Christ, together with promised assistance of the Holy Ghost, not to supersede our own endeavours, but to render them effectual.† But having thus ‘assigned to the two latter persons of the blessed Trinity their respective shares in the salvation of man, he is unwilling to rob the Father himself of the honour due in turn to Him also; and accordingly, he cautions us ‘not to charge God foolishly, by ascribing that to Him or the nature He has given us, which is owing wholly to our own abuse of it:’ adding, ‘men may speak of the degeneracy and corruption of the world, according to the experience they have had of it, but *human nature*, considered as the divine workmanship, should, methinks, be treated as sacred, for in the image of God made He man.’‡ And this image, he might have continued, must in some degree have survived the fall, for the murder of a man, of a *fallen* man is forbid, expressly on the ground of its being an outrage against that image.—Gen. ix. 6.

This is the creed of Bishop Butler; and before we condemn it, we shall do well to bear in mind that the Socinians of the present day are in many cases the lineal descendants of the Puritans of the days of Cromwell; that not ‘high imaginations’ only, but ‘voluntary humility’ also, may put true religion in jeopardy; its history in this country, from the Reformation downwards, bearing ample testimony to both positions; and that whilst it has alternately suffered under a dead calm or an euroclydon, according as extravagant notions of human perfection or human depravity have prevailed for the season, the church of England, holding that middle way, which, in most cases, is the safest, content to leave some ground still debatable, and laying herself out, in her Articles and Liturgy,§

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\* Contempl., B. ix. 5.

† v. ii. p. 444. Oxf.

‡ v. ii. p. 134. Oxf.

§ We refer our readers, on this subject, to Archbishop Lawrence's Bampton Lectures,

over a broad and comprehensive basis, as it becomes a national church to do, has exercised the most wholesome influence over the rationalist and fanatic in their turns, bringing both back to a better mind, by 'making her own moderation known unto all men.'

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ART. VII.—*De la Nécessité d'une Dictature.* Par M. Cottu, Conseiller à la Cour Royale de Paris. Paris. 1830.

**O**UT of the troubled ocean of French politics, we consider ourselves fortunate in being able to fish up a pamphlet, not only masculine in its style, but judicious in many of the views which it takes of a question in itself exceedingly complicated, and at this moment overlaid with so much passion, that he must be a very skilful as well as a very bold man who steps forward in that country to tell so many honest truths. M. Cottu divides his book into three heads:—in the first, he describes the anarchy already produced by the law of elections established by the existing Charter; in the next, he points out the only modifications in those laws which, in his opinion, are compatible with the state of society in France; and, lastly, he expatiates on the danger which the crown runs in deferring to assume what he calls the dictatorship—a measure, as he conceives, rendered indisputably necessary for the salvation of the country.

He begins his argument by pointing out what were the unanimous wishes of the three orders in the state at the beginning of the Revolution—and, as every one of these objects has actually been attained by the country, it may be worth while to mention them. The French, at this moment, have, in point of fact, few or no grievances to complain of,—the whole of the outcry now raised being about matters of moonshine. The States-general, assembled in 1789, required—

'that, in future, their consent should be required for passing laws, and for imposing taxes—that ministers should be held responsible—that the public burdens should be equally shared by all his Majesty's subjects—that all citizens should be equal in the eye of the law, and eligible to all situations—that the unfair privileges of the provinces, and various other remnants of feudal servitude, should be abolished—that no citizen should be arrested unless by the warrant of a competent authority—that the judges should be irremovable, and the jurisdiction of the parliaments defined—that the reasons for every imprisonment should be stated, and all trials be in open court—that punishments

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tures, particularly Ser. iiii., and Notes 10. 18; and to Bishop Sumner, 'Apostolic Preaching considered,' p. 108 et seq.

should



should be in future softened, and the civil and criminal laws revised—that property should be held sacred—and, finally, that a law should be passed, declaring the exact number of members of each order in the States-general, their mode of election, and the manner in which they were to do business.’—pp. 3, 4.

Such were the reasonable wishes of France, ‘when,’ according to the *Résumé Général*\* quoted by M. Cottu, ‘the nation thought less of renewing, or completely changing the constitution, than of weeding out those abuses which were silently undermining it; and when they were less occupied in fomenting mischievous innovations by the promulgation of unheard of principles, than in respecting and sustaining those ancient establishments, which long experience had proved to be good, and to which, indeed, the state owed its glory and prosperity ever since its commencement.’—p. 5.

M. Cottu proceeds to show, and we think with great success, how the indiscreet measure of uniting the three Estates, and making them debate in common and not separately, gave the preponderance to the most numerous class, who, being, without property, titles, or other privileges, themselves, never rested till they had stripped the others of all such distinctions. In order to accomplish this purpose, however, they were obliged to call in the assistance of the populace, who, being once initiated into the mystery of their own strength, naturally wished to share in the spoil, and accordingly overturned the throne, pounced upon the rich, robbed them of their property, and, by every species of bloodshed and injustice, gave fearful expression to that inbred hatred which they felt for all who were more gifted by fortune than themselves.—(p. 8.) M. Cottu says nothing of the treatment which the church experienced at the hands of the revolutionists; and it affords, by the way, a striking instance of the force of certain feelings which, unfortunately, prevail too generally in France, that this writer, though treating expressly of the different orders of the state, and their relative bearings on one another, never alludes to a church establishment, and only once in his whole work even mentions the subject of religion. In fact, such is the general detestation of religion in France, not to call it by so mild a name as neglect, that we presume M. Cottu, whatever he may think himself, dared not risk the ridicule, or the contempt, which would inevitably have attached to his book, had he spoken respectfully of Christianity, or its institutions.

He goes on to state, however, that as there was nothing very extraordinary—at least, according to the nature of his own countrymen—in the horrors of the revolution, so no one need be in

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\* *Résumé Général et exact des cahiers et pouvoirs remis par les Bailliages et Sénéchaussées du Royaume à leurs députés aux États Généraux.* Tome ii. p. 27.

the least surprised, should the same scenes be re-enacted upon the first fitting opportunity.

‘All these excesses, spoliations, and massacres,’ he observes, ‘surprised nobody but the simple and ignorant, for they were strictly in the current order of things, and true to the passions of mankind. (“Ils étaient dans l’ordre naturel des choses, parce qu’ils étaient dans l’ordre des passions humaines.”) In all times, the like transfer of power to improper hands must produce exactly the same evils. In place of Messrs. La Borde, and Magon Labalue, it will be Messrs. Lafitte, Casimir Perrier, and Ternaux, who will be made the victims of the popular fury; this will be the only difference. The wealthy, merely because they are so, will always be made to expiate in the eyes of those who are without riches, the crime of being exempt from those privations to which the poor are subjected. But, eventually, however systematic the reign of terror and destruction may be made, the spilling of blood must have an end—for our very senses refuse to minister for ever to our hatred, and become wearied with endless proscriptions. We then drive back the brutal assassins who have disturbed the public peace, and cast about for some form of government which shall place the authority in the hands of persons who know how to use it.’—p. 9.

In following up this principle, we think nothing can be more conclusive than the manner in which M. Cottu shows that in a limited or constitutional monarchy, there ought to be, and, indeed, must be great distinctions of rank and property recognised by law; and if so, that a preponderating share of power ought to be placed in the hands of the wealthy orders, otherwise the less wealthy classes will inevitably gain the upper hand, and utterly destroy those valuable distinctions which are essential characteristics of such a monarchy.

‘It is an undoubted truth,’ he says, ‘because it is founded in the nature of our being, that in every society, where there are rich and poor, the power *must* be vested in the rich, if the poor are to be prevented from swallowing up the wealthy.

‘For the same reason,’ he adds, ‘in every community where we find privileges which are established and recognised by the laws, the government of the country *must* belong essentially to the privileged orders in question, provided those privileges are not to be overturned.

‘These truths cannot be denied by any one, except by those speculative reasoners, who delight in cooking up a human nature of their own, altogether different from that which Providence has set in action here.’—p. 19.

He points out, also, with great neatness and force (p. 37) how completely Montesquieu was in error with respect to the British constitution, when he supposed the House of Commons to be essentially a representative of the democratical branch of the state, instead of being, as it is, and ought to be, a representative of all the

the different orders, the great preponderance being, of course, given to that class which has the greatest wealth, and, consequently, the greatest influence, out of doors. These principles, however, upon which the stability and prosperity of this country mainly depend, have, according to M. Cottu, been quite misunderstood in France, not only now, but upon every occasion when England has been taken as their model. The following confession shows a wonderful degree of candour in a Frenchman:—

‘It must be acknowledged, with sorrow, that in all Europe there is no country so ignorant of politics as France. You may find there, it is true, profound enough financiers and skilful agents, as well as sprightly writers and graceful speakers; but you will search in vain for a single statesman. At all events, we have not yet seen any one answering to this description, who has come to the surface, out of the crowd of ambitious rivals who have been struggling for power during these fifteen years on the steps of the throne.’

‘We are so reduced, by the laxity of our manners,’ he continues, ‘to a passive obedience,—which can hardly be said to be interrupted by a few sparks of independence—that we can strike no middle course between slavery and revolt. Such, indeed, is the perverse levity of our political nature, that we are never more flexible and submissive than at the very moment after committing such furious acts of rebellion, that it might have been thought we could never again hold terms at all with the authorities which we had just been opposing with such rancour.’—p. 29.

‘Is it, then, wonderful,’ he asks in the next page, ‘that the Charter, falling suddenly into the hands of a people so little ripe for freedom, (*si peu mûr encore pour la liberté,*) should have been understood by no one, and that its consequences should not have been perceived by our statesmen?’—p. 31.

He then describes the manner in which his countrymen, while endeavouring to copy the English House of Commons, formed a body, representing almost exclusively the democratical branch of the state, and leaving the others almost entirely without influence. To show how little this is conformable to the system in England, he gives a table, by which it is made to appear that of the 658 members of the House of Commons, 298 are returned by the influence of the peers; 171 by wealthy commoners; and 18 by the crown; while only 171 are freely elected by the other interests of the state. His table, in which the details of this statement are given, is not, indeed, correct, but it is sufficiently near the mark to establish his position ten times over.

‘Were the House not thus organized,’ he adds, ‘and were it purely democratic in its formation, you would have anarchy in a moment, instead of the most perfect order; and in place of complete harmony, you would presently see a civil war.’—p. 39.

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We think it would afford the subject of a most interesting and useful inquiry, to trace the practical operation of the above principles in forming the decisions of parliament. We see, for example, measures of great apparent expediency brought forward, which are recommended, as it would seem, by the general voice of the nation; and yet, though carried in the House of Commons, they are lost in the House of Lords. If, however, the measures in question be good, or such as the existing state of society requires, they are sure to come into notice again, and they now pass the Commons with a larger majority than at first—thus marking the progress of public opinion, by its effects upon the representatives of the nation. The Lords, however, in spite of all this, may still resist these measures, and it is not until the majority of the House of Commons reaches to a certain amount that their success is finally attained. Now, we conceive, that in all these different stages of the proceeding, the votes of the House of Commons will be found to bear a pretty exact ratio to the amount of aristocratical influence which enters, as an essential principle, into its composition. Accordingly, if this theory be sound, it is not until the majority of those persons out of the House possessed essentially of the power, either through rank or wealth, are convinced that any given measure is good, or at all events safe, that the House of Commons will indicate, by its votes, that the time has arrived when the Upper House is prepared to approve likewise.

This, if we understand it right, is neither more nor less than M. Cottu's idea of giving the preponderance in the scale of power as to public affairs virtually to those members in the state, who, in private matters, have the greatest share of influence, and who, both in a public and a private point of view, having most to lose by a revolution, are the most likely to interest themselves in maintaining order and justice; in other words, in supporting a steady and constitutional government.

It would not be difficult to show, that all the other members of the body politic, including, of course, the democratical part of it, are benefited fully as much by the operation of this cautious, anti-innovation principle, as the aristocracy themselves, who are the indirect agents, but who, in spite of all their power, can never defeat, though they may often modify or retard, a measure that is salutary. Our limits, however, forbid us to enter upon such tempting speculations at length, though this hasty glance at them may be useful in clearing up a class of political phenomena, but too much mystified by vulgar prejudices, and a set of cant phrases in ridicule of that sagacity which, having stood the wear and tear of so many ages, is worth the whole march of modern intellect put together!

• After

After sketching, with considerable spirit, the attempts which have been made, by the various ministers of France, since the Restoration, to cobble their constitution, and to leave that of England far behind (see p. 44), our author proceeds to show, but too clearly, that under the present law there is little or no chance of obtaining a Chamber which shall pass enactments conformable to what he thinks essential to the existence of the monarchy, and, consequently, to the general well-being of the state—which he considers, throughout his argument, as one and the same thing.

The following remarks of M. Cottu are worthy of much attention, as pointing out one of the most inevitable of all the evils which threaten his country:—

‘ There is no political notion, however false, which will not in its turn be enthusiastically received in France. It was believed, at one time, for instance, that the evils complained of in the elective system, arose from the great proprietors not having sufficient influence on the returns; and it was conceived, that the desired harmony would be restored by giving a higher degree of influence to those persons who paid the most direct taxes. This reliance, however, which still subsists amongst the lovers of good order, and most remarkably so in those who possess the king’s confidence, is one of the most fatal errors that ever entered into a statesman’s head, and may, ere long, lead to measures fraught with every mischief.

‘ The fallacious hope alluded to rests upon a state of things, which may, perhaps, exist at this moment, but which our law of succession is rapidly destroying. Very possibly, the majority of the greatest direct contributors to the revenue, in each department, are now composed of families closely allied to the crown by their habits, their old recollections, and their rank and station; and, perhaps, there is some reason to hope that this majority would send to the Chamber of Deputies only persons well disposed, like themselves, to the cause of royalty. But by our ruinous process of subdividing property, these very families must soon inevitably dwindle into the class of minor contributors, and have the mortification of seeing their places occupied by new comers, whose riches have been derived from commerce. When this unavoidable change shall have come about, the crown can no longer reckon upon the attachment of the persons in possession of the greatest properties, and will have nothing to hope from that quarter, except such support as the selfish interest of those proprietors may induce them to lend to government. But let us examine for an instant what the amount of that interest is likely to be.

‘ It may be urged that the interest of a wealthy man of the description alluded to, is merely that there should be public tranquillity and security of property, and that he cares about nothing else. But this is not a correct view. He cannot but wish that things should be so arranged in the state that fortune, and fortune alone, should be at the top of the tree. Consequently he will become a secret enemy to  
privileges

privileges established in favour of any other order, and be animated by a restless desire to destroy them. 'A revolution will have nothing terrible in it to his eyes, if he can only persuade himself that it may be effected without shocks, without resistance, and that it can be managed without stirring up the populace to take a share therein.'—p. 44. . . . 'This is a fallacy,' adds Mr. Cottu, in a note to page 47, 'by which the upper classes from the city (*les hautes classes de la bourgeoisie*) are perniciously influenced. Deceived by the apparent placidity of the lower orders—whom the existing revolutionists have not yet thought it their interest to rouse—they are persuaded that a new revolution may be effected nowadays without the smallest derangement of the public peace. What infatuation! What nonsense to talk of the lessons of experience! Men profit nothing by experience, and will continue to the end of the chapter the mere playthings of the same passions, and the victims of the same errors.'

On the other hand, it is obviously impossible, as our author distinctly shows, that the present aristocracy could be invested, as that of England is, with the nomination of a preponderating proportion of the Chamber of Deputies. They are neither numerous enough, nor are they possessed of sufficient wealth and consequence in other respects, to entitle them to this privilege, or, if it were placed in their hands, to enable them to exercise it beneficially for the country at large.

'The distinction arising from titles, of which such lavish abuse has recently been made,' says M. Cottu, 'is absolutely nothing, unless it be sustained by wealth or by opinion. But when titles rest upon worth, or upon birth, it is quite another affair. It is all very well to talk of escaping from this sort of influence,—we cannot do so in practice. Can it be expected, then, that these upstarts, these "*nouveaux riches*," who, from enjoying every other advantage in society are become so jealous of their dignity, should willingly consent to the existence of a standing evidence of their own inferiority in the scale? Time can do nothing towards effecting a cure, for the wounds of vanity only rankle the more—the longer they are kept open.'—p. 48.

Before giving his own scheme for remodelling the constitution, M. Cottu winds up his argument by the following three positions, which he thinks he has fully established.

• '1st. That in every representative government, possessed of a chamber of deputies, named or supposed to be named by the nation, all political power must reside, in fact, essentially in that chamber,—whatever arrangement to the contrary may have been inserted in the written instrument establishing the constitution. 2dly. That in every representative government where there exist privileges established by law, these privileges cannot subsist unless the chamber of deputies has an interest in maintaining them; and this degree of interest the chamber cannot have, unless it spring from electors having themselves



selves these very privileges. 3dly. That the present law of election in France, having invested the democracy exclusively with the nomination of the members to the Chamber of Deputies, this law stands in direct opposition to the object which it ought to support.

‘The conclusion is, that the present law of elections, in place of uniting the different powers of the state into one compact mass, which might constitute a single force, competent to produce a steady and uniform motion in the political machine, has, on the contrary, actually planted the various classes which compose the society, in hostile array against one another. And as these are now all armed, pretty nearly, with equal means of obtaining the exclusive possession of power, this fatal law, if it has not produced absolute anarchy, has at least sown the seeds of the most frightful disorder.’—p. 52. . . . . ‘Thus, then,’ continues our plain-spoken author, ‘when I declare that we must lose no time in abolishing the existing law of elections, I speak not at all in favour of absolute power, but of the very existence of the Charter itself, in defence of which alone I have entered into this controversy.’—p. 55.

After M. Cottu has thus pointed out how impossible it is for France to go on with things as they are, he proceeds to describe his plan for changing them, prefacing his observations on this subject with a remarkable account of the happiness now enjoyed by his countrymen, generally, in spite of the multitude of changes that have taken place in the government since the restoration,—(we believe that there have been between four and five dozen ministers in France within the last fifteen years.)

‘I shall conclude this chapter,’ he says, ‘with a reflection which all the world will understand. In no former times have the laws been better executed, or the people more happy,—the taxes more readily paid,—provisions more abundant,—commerce more free; and yet, notwithstanding these advantages, men’s minds have rarely been more disquieted, nor government more surrounded by difficulties. How are we to explain these anomalies? Are we not forced to conclude that our political machine involves within it some gross contradiction,—some secret evil? That fatal symptom is assuredly the electoral law, and until it be abolished nothing can possibly be fixed on a permanent foundation in France. Neither municipal regulations, nor the responsibility of the public servants, nor even the freedom of the press can be established,—in short, we shall drag on between life and death.’—p. 61.

At the close of this article we shall give a sketch of M. Cottu’s plan for remodelling the law of elections, for the amusement of the curious in such matters; but, in the meantime, as we conceive the evil of which he complains to have a far deeper source, we shall perhaps be doing a better service to the cause of good government, by carrying our probe further into these subjects, than

than any Frenchman could be expected to extend his practice. It is quite clear, in the first place, that the experiment of giving a constitutional form of government to France has not succeeded; and we are sorry to say, that almost everything which has taken place there of late years affords a practical illustration of the absurdity of putting, as it is called, the cart before the horse. That country, politically speaking, is, accordingly, not upon the advance; and we think it highly useful, that the true grounds of the failure alluded to should be pointed out, for it is impossible to view the present state of France without the most intense interest, or to anticipate her future fortunes without anxiety. It will not do to say that she ought to be allowed to take her course, and that we should follow ours, without troubling one another. This is impossible. Our proximity, and the rapidly improving means of communication, together with the innumerable mutual interests, and rivalries, which are daily springing up between us, backed by the experience of all history, put it altogether out of the question that we should remain indifferent spectators of what is passing amongst our flexible neighbours.

The effect which political institutions produce upon a nation, is a topic upon which, perhaps, more unsound notions have been set afloat than upon almost any other in the complicated science of political philosophy; and some of these opinions are calculated to do so much mischief, that we conceive their exposure, side by side with actual facts, may do good,—by narrowing the circle of prejudice and error,—even if, practically, the application of the remedy be, in the case before us, well nigh impossible. The leading fallacy of the present times, we should say, is the supposition that free institutions,—that is, the mere forms of a free government,—will of themselves engender a love of freedom,—and the knowledge how freedom is to be enjoyed. It is our conviction, on the contrary, that if these forms be not adapted to the degree of knowledge in a country, and, what is still more important, if they be not suited to the habits of the people, to their manners, to their tastes, and to the degree of public and private virtue in the community, they become anything but symbols of genuine freedom; and hold out little or no prospect of its permanent establishment: and we think it will be evident to every attentive observer, that the French, taken both individually, and as a nation, are deficient in many of those qualities, upon which alone a constitutional government can hope to stand firm. Genuine freedom,—that freedom which admits of the greatest latitude of thought and action of which our nature is capable, consistently with virtue,—involves in its very essence a multitude of restraints,  
universally,

universally, or at least very generally, acknowledged throughout the society to be necessary to happiness. Of these restraints, an extensive system of habitual self-denials, and of private sacrifices for the public good, form essential parts. In England, where the distinctions of rank are strongly marked, these restraints are seen at every turn, and the individual who endeavours to escape from them, soon discovers that, by his fancied independence, he adds nothing to his own true liberty, while he loses most of the advantages he might enjoy by conforming to the established system. To be generally useful, indeed, such a system of restraints must be well understood by the whole community, and every man must have a certain degree of confidence that his neighbours, whether above, below, or on a level with him, will co-operate with him in keeping matters right:—so that, after a time, the usages of such a society come to resemble not a little the laws of nature, and, in practice, are calculated upon with a reliance not much less implicit. But to bring any country to this state, requires long periods of trial, and a varied train of experience, to which France is as yet a stranger. In fact, after all, experimenting in government anywhere is the excess of folly: unless the inhabitants have already attained a certain point of knowledge of the subject, and have gradually learned to think and feel, respecting their rights, so clearly as to insist upon the fitting privileges being granted to them, they will not, in their hearts, thank the government for supposing them wiser or better than they really are. They will be practically as unhappy in their unprepared state of power, as the clown who got the ten thousand pounds prize in the lottery; and their boasted institutions will merely contribute to macadamise the road to tyranny, by breaking down the established usages of the country, and leaving it open for any despot to ride over it at what rate he pleases.

There are three principal forms, and perhaps only three, under which every country must fall, sooner or later—an absolute monarchy, which may or may not be tyrannical;—a pure democracy, which is merely a wider variety of despotism, because it consults the wishes of one class, to the exclusion of all the rest;—and lastly, a constitutional or limited monarchy, under which form, if the state of society be suitable, the greatest amount of liberty and virtue will be found. The absolute monarchy may exist anywhere—the democracy only where there is plenty of room for the discontented spirits to roam in, beyond the restraints of society. In a thickly peopled country, just as in a crowded ship, there must be discipline, otherwise there can be no order, and liberty straightway becomes licence and anarchy. The instance of the United States disproves no part of this position; on



on the contrary, strengthens it, for we can already perceive the symptoms of discord in the midst of their vaunted union. The liberty which they enjoy is of the lowest and least intellectual order in the scale of civilised humanity; and it must continue to be so, we fear, till the period arises, when their increasing numbers shall bring them more together, and oblige them to arrange themselves into classes, in order to maintain, by means of subordinations in rank, that civil discipline, without which, as we have already observed, anarchy must ensue. Under a despotism, as under a pure democracy, there can be no such thing as a real distinction of ranks;—by which term we mean that sort of classification of society in which the rights and privileges of every order, from the highest to the lowest, shall be fully recognised by all the rest—and not only recognised but guaranteed to them, as long as the members respectively conduct themselves in a manner suitable to their particular station in the scale. Under such a state of things, the duties of each class come to be well performed, because they are thoroughly understood, not only by each order, but by all the others respectively; and in this way the whole machinery hangs together, and its movements contribute to the grand general end—the public good. In this state of society alone, we are persuaded, can a constitutional or limited monarchy have any chance for permanent or useful existence—useful, we mean, either in the establishment or in the continuance of genuine freedom; and it is because we see hardly any of these indispensable requisites in the structure of French society, that we are constrained almost to despair of the political regeneration of that great country.

People may probably differ as to which of the component elements of a constitutional monarchy is essentially the most important; but we imagine all parties will agree that, in practice, the most obviously useful is the representative chamber. Unless, however, this enormous power be, in its turn, checked on every side, by what, in mechanics, are termed antagonist forces, it ceases to be an engine of good, and becomes either a mere mockery, or, more probably, a source of tyranny. If its members be elected by universal suffrage, it is quite clear that only one interest will, in fact, be represented—that of the most numerous or lowest class; and the government must speedily merge in a democracy; while if its members be nominated by the commands of the sovereign, like the senate of Buonaparte, it becomes a mere tool in a despot's hand. To prevent the occurrence of either of these bitter evils, or both of them in succession, it is absolutely necessary to have, in the constitution of the country, something more than the mere nominal checks which we see in America, and which, though they look pretty

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enough on paper, are, in practice, all trodden under hoof by the class which there assumes the government of everything. The checks or counteractors above alluded to, as essential in a free country, to correct the natural tendency of mankind to accumulate and to abuse absolute authority, in order to be effectual, must, of course, be powerful; and, under certain well understood limitations, their power, like that of gunpowder or steam, may be rendered not only safe, but in the highest degree advantageous to the country. Our readers will, no doubt, anticipate that we allude chiefly to a church establishment, and to a hereditary aristocracy—neither of which, unfortunately, France now possesses, or, we fear, is likely to acquire in our time.

In order to render an aristocracy useful as a safeguard to freedom,—as a bulwark alike for the crown against the people, and for the people against the crown, it must contain in its essence something which shall command the solid and lasting respect of both. It must be respected by the crown, from its independence, and its wide-spread influence amongst the people; and it must be looked up to by the people, from its antiquity, its wealth, its permanency, as derived from the law of primogeniture, the practice of entails, and the descent of hereditary honours. An aristocracy, however, to be useful in preserving the liberties of the country, must not be a separate order, having no common interests and feelings with the democratical branch of the state, like that of France before the revolution; but, like the nobility of England, they must be taught, by matrimonial alliances, by connexions in public and private affairs, as well as by numberless professional relations, to sympathise cordially with all the other orders of society. It is not necessary, indeed, that the heads of families should intermarry with classes with which they have little companionship; though this, as we might easily prove, has often its great advantages; but that the younger sons and daughters of the aristocracy should frequently ally themselves, sometimes from interest, and sometimes from a purer sentiment, with the more democratical classes is, unquestionably, in the highest degree salutary to the state. It interlaces all the different members of the body politic together; and while the intimate connexion between the crown and the aristocracy is in no respect weakened by such alliances, the former influence is necessarily tempered by them to its proper pitch of authority; for the monarch—his circle, too, being thus widened,—is, as it were, made personally acquainted with every class of his subjects, and learns to estimate their true value, and to respect their wishes. If, therefore, there be observed amongst the aristocracy of England, on most occasions, a considerable bias towards the crown, this happens only because  
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the crown, in the long run, finds its best interests in conforming to the views and sentiments which are dictated to it by the aristocracy, who, both directly and indirectly, have more at stake than any other members of the community—and who, it is most important to observe, are so connected with those below them by a countless variety of ties, that there is no risk of their ever having the folly to oppose themselves, as a body, to what has really come to be the sentiment of the middle class, on any question of national interest. But, indeed, at no period of the history of modern times has there been any deficiency of genuine public spirit in our aristocracy, or any lack of men amongst its members avowedly, and heartily friendly to popular rights. In this way so powerful a source of equilibrium is established in the very heart of the country, that almost any amount of libtatory motion may be given to the machine without danger, though, it must be confessed, not always without inconvenience.

But of this great and eminently important branch of a constitutional monarchy, France is not only entirely destitute;—by her laws relating to succession, and still more fatally, by the sentiments of the mass of the population, she is absolutely shut out from all near prospect of enjoying an aristocracy worthy of the name. It is even worse, in some respects, in France than it is in America, where the laws leave men to appropriate their estates as they please—a privilege of which, it is true, very few avail themselves, or, indeed, can well avail themselves, seeing that the tide of public opinion is decidedly adverse to unequal distributions. But in France the laws dictate, despotically, the distribution, and, by obliging men to divide their property, not only contribute to split the whole country into potato-fields, but essentially diminish one of the highest motives to action, and, at all events, effectually prevent the growth of an aristocracy of wealth. Such an aristocracy would probably be a great deal better than none at all, though it would be infinitely less useful than one combining the weight of property with ancient associations and present reputation.

Here we beg, once for all, to state that, although we are naturally led, by the nature of our subject, to dwell more particularly upon those branches of the state which take the most influential and prominent part in the regulation of public affairs, we have the sincerest respect for the democratical portion of the community,—we consider its existence as equally important with the others—and therefore, in the whole course of this argument, we never for an instant forget that the interests of the democracy,—their rights and privileges, nay, their feelings and prejudices,—are deserving of as much consideration as those of the orders above them. We are aware that, in many quarters, we



shall get little credit for sincerity in this declaration ; but we are well convinced, from what we have seen of the practice of governments, in more quarters of the world than one, that it is only in England that the democratical part of the community really do enjoy their full portion of rights ; and this fact, in spite of what is sometimes said for them by declaimers and agitators, they know full well themselves, and are not slow to teach to others at the proper moments—at the period of a general election, for instance.

Some people talk of an aristocracy of mere talent, but we are sure there can be none such,—unless an able set of military officers, well commanded, be entitled to that appellation. Such an aristocracy of talent has been more than once seen among the French, but probably neither they nor the rest of Europe have any great wish to see such again.

The mere nominal establishment of a House of Peers does nothing for this cause. To produce a real aristocracy in France, suddenly, is impossible ; it would not be more easy to make old wine in a country where every cellar has been exhausted—every plant cut over by the roots. Time—and we suspect a very long time—must elapse before either the attribute of adequate wealth, or that of adequate popular veneration, can be found in any French body of this description ; yet, we fear, until that period arrives, we shall vainly hope to see in France anything like what we in England consider genuine freedom.

There is a second grand desideratum towards the construction of a firm and thoroughly free constitution, which the French seem to be as little in the way of providing for themselves, as they are in the case of an aristocracy. We allude to a wealthy, powerful, highly educated, and virtuous church establishment, in joint alliance with the state and with the people. Where the church establishment, however wealthy or however virtuous it be, is connected exclusively with the government, and has no common sentiments with the people, we need no seer to inform us that its operation cannot have any tendency to advance the liberties of the country, or to check the encroachments of the crown. A church establishment, we apprehend, can have no practical efficacy in maintaining things in their right places, when all its sympathies and interests are on one side. This, however, is the case in France, and it must always be so, wherever the ministers of religion, in addition to many other sources of repulsion in doctrine and in discipline, being condemned to celibacy, are effectually prevented from forming any of those social ties by which alone their affections and their interests of every kind might be engaged heartily in common cause with the mass of the nation. Persons are very apt to forget, in England, when they talk of the  
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alliance between church and king, that the alliance between church and people is incomparably more powerful; and that it is, in fact, to this intimate, popular union, that the alliance between the church and the state owes nearly all its utility. The action and re-action, indeed, between the church and the community, and thence between the community at large and the government, are the parts of the system, in England, the best worthy of attentive study. They lie at the very roots of the tree of our liberty; and while they give, by their native strength, by the wide extent of their spread, and the tenacity of their grasp on men's minds and feelings, the amplest degree of stability to the state, they likewise collect, and send up to the highest branches of the constitution, the true spirit of Christianity, the wholesome sap—the very life-blood of its existence.

Of all this, however, there is not the slightest vestige remaining—if, indeed, there ever was much—in France. The Roman Catholic church and the French people have no common sympathies, and they can have none, until the nature of one or the other be greatly changed. In Spain, it is quite another story: there, the church, government, and people, are all agreed, and the despotism is not only complete but popular,—it is exactly what the mass of the nation like, and nothing, we are persuaded, would be more annoying to them than any change in this matter. In France, however, there is not only very little religion of any kind, but there prevails, generally speaking, a sort of fanatical hatred of all religion, and a thorough contempt for its ministers. In Paris, which has at all times given the tone to the nation, and which does so more now than ever, there is no question as to this or that form of religion, or sect—it is to any sentiment of the kind at all that they object, as utterly useless—or worse than useless—mischievous! All those doctrines which inculcate upon man the necessity of depending upon something beyond himself, and teach him to feel, that even his best actions require some further assistance to give them efficacy, are held in the deepest scorn. Thus, a gross selfishness and egotism are made to usurp the place of those generous feelings, by which, in England, religion is made at once a duty and a pleasure,—a motive to honest action, and a source of confidence and hope. These principles, which are universally diffused over this country, and kept alive by a numerous resident clergy, intimately allied by the domestic affections, as well as other worldly interests, to the community, contribute, perhaps, more than anything else, to the prevalence of that hearty good faith in one another, which, after all, forms the cement of English society, and enables this country, in moments of trial, to take the lead, and to keep it, amongst all the nations of the world,

These important and striking distinctions between our neighbours and ourselves are fully sufficient, we should think, to satisfy reflecting minds that there is little chance of the forms of government which suit us, being found also to suit them. But there are other differences between us, besides those relating to the church, the aristocracy, and the laws of succession.—It is universally admitted, that a nation must possess a certain amount of intelligence before she can enjoy freedom; and then it is triumphantly asked, whether any but a bigot dares deny that France has reached that point of intelligence? As we do not know the exact amount of knowledge pointed at in this very common question, we shall not answer it,—but shall content ourselves by observing, that France, most certainly, during the last forty years, though she has had more opportunities than, perhaps, any other nation ever had, has shown no symptoms from which we can infer that she yet understands even the rudiments of the difficult science of government. Unquestionably, she has had no great experience as yet of practical freedom; and perhaps it would be enough to ask whether a nation, destitute of such experience, can, with any hope of success, be put in possession of that amount of liberty which requires for its safe existence *here* so many attendant circumstances of which the French are totally deficient? If, however, we were to admit—which we do not—that the French possess the required degree of intelligence for self-government, as it is quaintly called, we should still fear that, circumstanced as they are, the form selected, however ingeniously modelled, must take one of two courses,—either lapse into a despotism, (which is, probably, that which the nation really likes best,) or fall again into a democracy, and having run the old round of injustice and bloodshed, re-settle, at last, into a military tyranny.

We have no notion, indeed, that in any country, or under any form of government which human ingenuity can devise, genuine freedom is to be looked for, unless, in addition to the intelligence so much harped upon, there be a good solid substratum of morals, and, above all, of that domestic fidelity, or fireside honour and loyalty which are true to all changes of fortune. Now, there is too much evidence to show that the French people at the present time hold these things nearly as cheap as they notoriously do religion; and if so, how can we expect to find that probity and truth in other matters, upon which alone can be built any solid superstructure entitled to the name of a constitutional government?

The reason why a free government ‘works well’ in a country where the constitution gives to property its full share of that influence



fluence which the nature of things points out that it ought to possess,—where good sense, long experience, and sound religious, as well as moral, principles prevail,—and where the great mass of every kind of business is regulated, as a matter of habit, by good faith, and judicious reflection—is simply this. In a state of society such as that of England, any man may, without much danger to the rest of the community, propose any absurdity he pleases, either in political quackery, or in moral, or even religious speculation; for there is no chance of its finding hasty favour with that mass of sober-minded persons who form the immeasurably preponderating influence in the country. The reflecting portion of the nation, in short, have had too much experience of the substantial advantage of the existing order of things to admit of alterations lightly. Even when perfectly wise and virtuous plans are proposed in this country, they are cautiously received, almost always stoutly resisted, and are sure to be thoroughly sifted by the persons best qualified to appreciate their merits before they have any chance of being generally received. On the other hand, dishonesty or folly, together with all kinds of enthusiasm, in every walk of life, and on every topic, may here have their full swing without doing much mischief. Unless their advocates can enlist the judicious on their side, the projects soon fall to the ground and are forgotten; while their authors must rest satisfied with merely having made themselves heard. The consequence is, that improvements are introduced amongst us, little by little, and in such a way that if the changes be not found in practice for the better, a return is always possible to the old state of things. Accordingly, the minimum amount of deviation from the established order of affairs, that will serve to fit them for the altered state of circumstances and opinions, is the rule of its adoption with us. In this way, violent revulsions are guarded against, while individuals are left as free as air to bring forward whatever they please, and the exertions of all classes are turned to the very best account. The insane follies of an enthusiast who wishes to remodel society so as to leave us without religion, money, or distinctions in property, only make us more satisfied with things as they are—precisely as the ridiculous attempts to introduce the culture of tropical grains among us only teach our farmers to lay more store by their own native husbandry.

The truth is,—and we are surprised that so clever a man as Mr. Mackinnon should have written a whole volume on the subject without adverting to it,—that public opinion in France has no sort of resemblance to public opinion in this country, and is influenced by machinery almost exactly the reverse. In Great Britain, the influential men are not confined to one spot. The habits

habits of judging, speaking, and writing of all matters which concern us, are diffused generally over the country; and the provinces do not, in any respect, take their tone from that of London, excepting in as far as the capital, being the seat of government, is generally the first to gain information, and becomes, from this and other causes, the head-quarters of knowledge and of talent during a certain portion of each year. But there is no deference paid to London in other respects; and, indeed, for six months out of twelve the elements of influence are scattered more widely over the British Islands, than, perhaps, in any other empire of the same extent. All over this country, also, it may be truly said, that the newspapers are merely the organs or mouth-pieces of the general will, out of which no observant person can fail to deduce what is, essentially, the real state of public opinion. He may be wrong, perhaps, in his conclusion at any given moment; but, in the long run, he will be sure to arrive at the right sense of the reflecting part of the community. Our newspapers do not dictate to the nation—they are merely the servants, not the masters or leaders, of the public. They take their cue from the opinions of those persons in society who, from superior talents, knowledge, or station, not only possess the best means of judging, but are, practically, most in the habit of influencing the thoughts and conduct of those about them. The newspapers, therefore, (and we might say the same thing of the other periodical publications,) do no more than give more general currency to these opinions, and thus help to extend the operation of the influences alluded to; and as there are papers suited to every party, nay, to every conceivable shade of opinion, there comes to be put abroad, daily, a just expression of what is thought and felt over the whole country, from whence an average judgment may easily be deduced. The consequence is, that with us, nothing that is either vicious or absurd, whether in high or in low station, can stand, for any length of time, against this most searching of all scrutinies; and there is rarely, very rarely, the slightest real danger—whatever some people may say or feel—that any measure, seriously detrimental, can be long persevered in by any British government.

Among our neighbours, the press has a totally different office to perform. In that country, the journalists *direct* the public opinion. The leaders in political life in France are sometimes the actual editors of the Parisian papers, and they almost all write in them. This will, in some measure, account for the good style of the composition, generally speaking, of the principal articles to be found in those columns, as well as for their intolerable length. The mass of the people, both in Paris and in the country, take their tone from these metropolitan journals: a very few active men lead

lead the whole nation, and have, in fact, a monopoly of the manufacture of public sentiment. They are the virtual despots of the country for the time being; and what is now going on in France differs in degree, not in kind, from what has occurred there at any given period during the last forty years. A small number of busy persons—whether Gentlemen of the Guillotine, Gentlemen of the Drum-head, or Gentlemen of the Press—have contrived to manage *la belle France*, and to dictate to *la grande nation* how it should feel, think, and act. In England, no mortal ever looks at a newspaper to learn what its editor thinks on any given question,—indeed, no one ever knows or cares who or what the editor is. The print is read solely to learn what is thought by the best informed men of that particular party, of which it happens, for the time being, to be considered as the organ. It is the express business of the editor to find out what are generally held to be the soundest opinions of the sensible men of that party to which his subscribers are attached, and to put *their* actual views in a distinct and forcible shape before the public. This is the whole task of an English newspaper. But, in France, it assumes a far different office; and, as we have said, dictates opinion, instead of echoing it.

Such are a few of the highly characteristic, and certainly essential, differences between the two countries. It would not be difficult to add to the catalogue; but we think we have said enough to substantiate our position, that the institutions of England are not *ex facie* likely to be found suitable to France. And what, it may well be asked, are we to hope for in a country where, although the form of government be monarchical, and representative in its legislature, there is absolutely no aristocracy either of birth or of wealth—no effective church establishment—little or no religion—no very commendable state of domestic manners—and no spontaneous public opinion—where the general will of the nation is not only concentrated in one city, but is there placed at the disposal of some dozen of newspapers? Were the French people sober-minded by nature, and so educated as to know the value of good government; were they taught to respect and cherish ancient prejudices and customs, merely because they were venerable,—had they been long tried and not found so utterly wanting in political sagacity, we might have some hopes that, by-and-by, things would settle into their places. But of all this training there is, alas! no trace in France. The present generation, indeed, may be said to have been suckled with blood, to have had loaded muskets and fixed bayonets for their toys, with the whole continent of Europe blazing and screaming round them, for their play-ground!

No one moment, that we can recall, of the revolution, properly so called—of the empire—or even of the restoration; has exhibited  
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the people as knowing how to profit by their opportunities, in a business-like, practical manner. The existence of privileged orders exempt from taxation, and of various other abuses in the old system, were unquestionably deserving of remedy; but the curative process applied, was like burning down a house to get rid of a few sparrows' nests under the eaves, or like curing a man of the toothache by removing the jaw. And as to what followed the burst of Jacobin ferocity, can the advocates of the doctrine, that free institutions inspire a love for freedom, and teach men how to make a proper use of it—can they hesitate, in fairness, to admit that, *vice versâ*, the exercise of despotism, if its concomitants happen to fall in with the tastes of the country, teaches a love for political servitude? Let us but consider what has been the education of the men who form the chamber of deputies, and who, as our readers know, must be of the age of forty or upwards. The members who are now sixty years old were just of age when the revolution broke out; so that they have had ten years of anarchy, fifteen of military tyranny, and fifteen of political experimenting, without even a hope of stability. Those of fifty years of age, were at their prime, as soldiers, when Buonaparte was made emperor; those who are now only forty, may have fought in Spain and Russia, as well as at Waterloo. We must be pardoned for asking what is to be expected out of such a course of experience—especially when there is good reason for supposing that Napoleon, with all his imperfections on his head, acted fully as much the part of a follower as that of a leader, and was, in fact, egged on to most of his least excusable enterprises, by the hearty cheers of the nation over which he ruled—enjoying unbounded popularity so long as his career of blood was crowned with success, and losing their sympathy only when his injustice ceased to be lucrative? If this picture be a correct one, it becomes a matter of the most serious importance to investigate what is likely to happen in a country composed of such loose materials, and acted upon by impulses of such gigantic force as those of a free press and a representative legislature,—impelling powers, which, even in England, with all her experience, and all her numberless checks against any undue velocity, do all but threaten to tear us to pieces—a fate, indeed, which would probably soon befall us, if we should ever be deprived of any one of those great supports, or buttresses, already so often alluded to; the whole of which France, in her rage for reform, has cast to the earth, and not even one of which can, from the nature of things, be speedily reproduced on any such scene of desolation.

One of two things must happen:—Charles X. will obtain a much greater share of power—or the people will usurp the sovereignty,

verignty, and either overturn the throne by sheer force, as they did before, or reduce the wearer of the crown to a sort of president of their democracy. There is no longer any intermediate class between these two estates; and one or the other, it seems manifest, must, ere long, gain the clear ascendancy. ♦

It may seem paradoxical, and, no doubt, will sound very startling, to assert that the French, in our opinion, will have a much better chance of eventual freedom, if, in the present struggle, the king shall gain the day. So far, indeed, from grieving to see the censorship on the press restored, or auguring ill of the cause of liberty, from such an event, we should hail it as the commencement of a happier era for the country. In England, any such restraints on the free expression of opinion are so utterly repugnant to our feelings, and so contrary to all that we have been accustomed to, that it is scarcely possible to argue the question of restrictions on the press, as applicable to another country, without incurring the charge of rank bigotry, or what is vulgarly called ultraism. But we shall not be deterred on that account; for it must be recollected that France has, in truth, hardly any sort of resemblance to England in the structure of society, or in her political habits and experience; and therefore, those things which are a blessing to us may well prove a curse to her. The English, by introducing their trial by jury into Ireland before that country was at all fitted for such an instrument, inflicted on the sister island evils which no sensible man among ourselves can now disguise from himself; and why may not the press be made equally an engine of injustice, amongst a people who know nothing of freedom from their own experience, and who are but very imperfectly acquainted with it by report? These remarks apply with equal force, perhaps, to the case of a representative legislature, respecting the real duties and advantages of which the French appear to us about as ignorant, as they notoriously are of the common forms and courtesies of debating. Let the chamber be elected by any possible form that human ingenuity can contrive, still the result cannot be useful, unless the nation be really ripe for this enormous and sudden change. People forget that a very few years ago the French were unanimously the willing slaves of a fierce despot; and yet we are to expect that in the brief interval which has elapsed, the French—the volatile French!—have acquired the requisite degree of knowledge of this most intricate subject, to enable them to enjoy in safety, and with advantage, an institution of this most perilous nature! If it be so, the age of miracles is revived, and the experience of all history goes for nothing.

But we need not go back to the experience of history; let us look to what is passing in the world before our eyes at this very moment.

moment. What, for example, is doing in South America? and who is bold enough to bring forward any one instance from that multifarious list of political experiments, in which a tittle of what we have set forth in this article is disproved in practice? The South Americans have had all the fair play they could possibly desire; they have had every variety of climate, and of other circumstances to give their operations a good chance; and yet we know that in every instance, without exception, from the gulf of California to the river Plate, the results have shown the utter inefficiency of free forms, and mere paper constitutions, to teach freedom. Captain Basil Hall and other hasty writers on those countries, misled by the enthusiasm of the moment, have contributed to the dissemination of much error on this point, by assuming that the inhabitants, on being released from their connexion with the mother country, would gradually acquire a knowledge of civil liberty, and along with that knowledge the institutions, the habits, and the manners requisite to secure its enjoyment. Nay, it is impossible not to admit that even so great a statesman as Mr. Canning suffered his English prejudices to carry him far too much into similar views—and, what was worse, to act upon them. But these dreams, for they were no more, are passed away, and something very like anarchy has ensued throughout the whole of the ‘new world’ which that generous spirit was rash enough to boast of having ‘called into existence.’

But, we hear it triumphantly asked, if all this be granted of South America, where liberty has certainly gone backwards, what do you say to North America—to the United States? Has not the experiment of self-government succeeded there? With due deference and “with all tenderness to our transatlantic brethren, as they are miscalled, we beg leave to remark, that the rest of the world are pretty well agreed that in almost everything material, they have been *progressing* stern foremost ever since they took the helm into their own hands; and that their velocity in this wrong direction is likely to increase, just in proportion as their exclusively democratical system shall be brought into more intense operation. Many reasoners on these subjects are apt to forget, that under a system of universal suffrage, such as obtains in the United States, only one class in the community are represented—that which is the most numerous. This class, of course, takes all the power into its hands, to the disregard of the feelings as well as true interests of all the other orders of the community. And it would be the most wonderful political phenomenon which the world has yet seen, if the United States, or any other state, should advance in anything but population and the cultivation of the soil, under the absolute government of the democratical branch, exclusive of



of all the others. Like their southern neighbours, however, they have as yet plenty of room, and consequently the anarchy which would beset them in a moment, were they crowded together under their present form of government, is not yet apparent to a distant eye, though sufficiently obvious, we are afraid, when viewed closely.

Even in the United States, however, the people, when they set up for themselves, did not adopt the monstrous absurdity of supposing that they could, all at once, pass from one state of government and political habits, into another totally opposite, as the French are now vainly attempting to do. On the contrary, the judicious men in America, at the establishment of their new government, endeavoured, as much as they could, to preserve the ancient political fabric unbroken, and to place their country in a situation as little dissimilar to what it had previously been in as possible. They had not the wild ambition to cast aside, in all things, the lessons of their ancestors and the mother country; but even they did so to a perilous extent. In the first tumult of excitement, they wantonly dispossessed themselves of certain primary advantages, without which free institutions are comparatively of little value. From the hour that, in an access of passion, they chose to fling themselves away from their king, and to relinquish the immense benefits arising from a government checked by a powerful aristocracy, and allied with a church-establishment, and trusted exclusively to the democratical branch of the community, they have been doing nothing but propagating the species, and chopping down forests, without advancing the cause of good government, or of any branch of human knowledge, science, or art, one jot. We are firmly persuaded, indeed, that the original framers of the constitution, could they return to the earth, would be the first to acknowledge that this presumptuous experiment, made in the very teeth of all experience, has failed. They would admit that the principles we have advanced in this Article, on the utter inefficiency of mere forms to teach freedom, are applicable to all times and to all countries. They would turn their eyes with a mixture of envy and sorrow towards the British provinces in their neighbourhood, which are enjoying advantages so greatly superior to those of the United States, though their inhabitants have the good taste to say less about the benefits they possess, and the good sense to know when they are well off. Those colonies have now all the advantages which any of the United States possess, superadded to that of being English subjects, while they are free from most of the burthens which rest upon their brethren at home. But it is foreign to our present purpose, to press this comparative view of the subject further, however fertile it be in illustrations of the maxims we have

have laid down ; and we shall, therefore, briefly state our conclusions, as to the future prospects of France, which, we grieve to say, are not very cheering.

Rome was not built in a day,—and we have heard the British constitution well compared to the Eddystone light-house, wherein the fixing of every stone cost a series of hard contests with the elements, and which owes its matchless stability to these protracted trials of patience and skill, working in a good cause. It is altogether presumptuous, therefore, in the French, to hope that, without running in some degree the same course, they can gain the same ends. They must begin, as we did, by digging the foundation ; and we are not so prejudiced as to doubt that they have solidity enough at bottom, on which to rest a stable superstructure. But they must go much deeper than they have yet done, before they can reach the living rock on which alone the temple of true liberty can stand fast. At present, they are building, or attempting to build, their constitution upon sand—upon very quicksands. If Louis XVIII. had not, in an evil hour, as we must ever think it, given the French a Charter, and pledged his faith to the maintenance of a form of government totally unsuited to the country, he and his successors, not being entangled by this crude and ill-advised engagement, might in process of time have gradually adjusted matters, so that the people should have come, step by step, and almost imperceptibly, to a knowledge, not only of civil rights, but of those civil restraints and political self-denials, without which nominally free institutions, it cannot be too often repeated, are a mere farce. For a nation to make a hop, a skip, and a jump from a wild, sanguinary revolution, to a military despotism, and thence to the tip-top of constitutional freedom, is an exploit worthy of the harlequin of the stage, which cannot, by any moral possibility, succeed in the real business of life. We dwell thus earnestly and repeatedly upon the dire necessity of this case, in order to prepare the minds of our readers to view without being shocked the only alternative which holds out to France the smallest chance, as we conceive, of anything like good government, or to Europe at large any hope of future peace and quietness. It is mere cant to talk of human nature being the same in all countries and climates. It is very different in different circumstances ; to use a vulgar phrase, there are in political as well as in physical life many things which though meat to one may be poison to another. Freedom to us is meat and drink, only because in the course of some half dozen centuries we have habituated ourselves to it, and, through proper exercise and strict regimen, can profit fully by such strong diet.

‘ Nothing

‘ Nothing so foreign but the athletic hind  
Can labour into blood. The hungry meal  
Alone he fears ; but ye of softer clay !  
Avoid the stubborn aliment, avoid  
The full repast.’

What we should like to see in France, as being most conducive to the advancement of its best interests, would be the restoration of the ancient authority of the crown, without its old attendant abuses. The days of privileged orders, unequal taxation, arbitrary imprisonments, forced services, and so on, are gone by, we hope for ever, and we have no reason to suppose that the Bourbons, or their friends, can possibly have the smallest wish to restore such manifest evils. But we are quite certain that any other military chief whom the French might call in to take the place of their legitimate monarch, would, as a matter of course, in imitation of Buonaparte, re-establish, with tenfold rigour, all those privileges and unjust exemptions—of which we hear so much when the ‘ancien régime’ is referred to, and so little when the iron period of the Empire is the subject of discussion. The French nation, we suspect, especially considering their history during the last half century, will require to be governed with what is called a tight hand, for many years to come. And we are decidedly of opinion, that, under all the circumstances of the case, the Bourbons,—supposing them to succeed in regaining, for a time, the power which they ought never to have relinquished,—will be compelled, as a matter of necessity, if not of choice, to relax gradually their authority, so as to allow the nation quite as much freedom of action as they can profit by. Freedom—genuine liberty, as we understand the term—can only grow up by very slow degrees ; and when the institutions of any country are decidedly in advance of the knowledge of the subject possessed by the mass of the people, their establishment, instead of advancing the cause, will assuredly retard it. We therefore hope and trust that the king and his present ministers may succeed, if such be their object, in establishing a censorship on the press, and likewise in acquiring so decided a preponderance in the Chamber of Deputies, that its existence as an independent body capable of bearding the monarchy, as it has recently done, shall be no longer recognised. This, we own, will be a virtual abolition of the Charter, but the question is obviously reduced to this :—shall the Monarchy, which is suitable to the country, be overthrown, or shall the Charter, which, in every possible view, is unsuitable to it, be abrogated ?

It will be asked, why need we care what France does ? Why not let her do as she pleases ? What have we to do with her institutions, as a nation, more than we have with the domestic arrangements



rangements of our next-door neighbour in the street? The answer to this, unfortunately, is but too ready. If our neighbour merely beats his wife and children, and regulates his personal concerns in the worst way possible, we have no right to complain; but if he gets intoxicated, and flings about firebrands, so as not only to set his own house on fire, but to threaten the destruction of the whole parish, we are compelled, in spite of our love of quiet, to take a lively interest in his proceedings.

If the French could be circumscribed by a great Chinese wall, within which they might cut one another's throats, and experiment to their hearts' content on irreligion and democracy, it would signify less to the neighbouring countries. But when the amplest experience proves that no commotion of any extent in France ever fails to embroil the rest of the world, and when we know that there are innumerable objects of ambition, of aggrandisement, and of national revenge, all at this hour conspiring to stimulate a large portion of the French population to fresh wars, we cannot possibly view their present unsettled state without the deepest anxiety. We trust we have said enough to show that there is only one course of measures by which good order can be preserved; and however repugnant it may be to our English tastes, the necessity of the case requires that we should not shrink from the trial, but be prepared to witness, as the less grievous of two evils, the temporary re-establishment of a tolerably absolute authority on the part of the crown of France. If this be impossible, or if the attempt be bungled in the execution, we may bid adieu to repose, and buckle on our armour for another quarter of a century of wars,—wars which, in the end, will only leave things worse than they now are, and, if possible, carry the French still further off from the grand goal of true liberty, of which, as yet, they have hardly had a glimpse.

If it be asked what our object is in giving this melancholy picture of French affairs, we answer, that we do so on two accounts:—first, we think there is always more good likely to arise from meeting an evil fairly in the face, and resolutely preparing ourselves for the worst, than in laying those flattering unctions to our souls which palliate the mischief for the time, but bring its sorrows and dangers back upon us at moments when we are less able to bear them. And our second and most material reason is, that we wish to make our countrymen feel the full importance of the political and moral advantages which they possess over their neighbours. We doubt not they are willing enough already to think well of themselves and their institutions, in the abstract, as it is called; but we wish to make them take a sturdier view of the details of their constitution, and of their bearing upon one another,

ther, than too many among us are in the habit of doing. By looking at what is passing in France, where similar objects are aimed at, but in the absence of similar means, we may perhaps learn to appreciate more fully those advantages which have so long given us the ascendancy, and thence be taught how they can most effectually be preserved in future times.

We promised, near the beginning of this article, to give a sketch of M. Cottu's plan of French parliamentary reform, and we shall do so in a very few words. He conceives it necessary to create a new body of electors (*un nouveau corps de privilégiés*). These are intended to take the place of the present nominal and powerless aristocracy in appointing members to the Chamber of Deputies, (p. 68.) The Chamber, he proposes, shall consist of six hundred and fifty members, instead of four hundred and thirty. The deputies are to be named by the different members of the new privileged orders, in the following proportions :—

By the landed interest	550
By the magistracy	29
By the university	26
By commerce	45
Total	650

It is not our intention to consider the details of this project, which, however, are given with a degree of ingenuity that will amuse persons who take pleasure in such fanciful speculations. The whole affair, or any possible modification of it, we look upon as quite a vision.

But although we think thus lightly of Mr. Cottu's specific plan, we take a far different view of his closing advice to the government, to act with promptitude at the present crisis.

'Nothing,' he says with perfect reason, 'need have prevented Louis XVIII. from resuming the full measure of the ancient royal authority when he returned to France. Neither the army, worn out by its disasters, nor the senate, fallen into utter contempt, were in a situation to resist or even to modify his authority. He did, however, of his own accord, choose to limit his power, by recognizing the rights of the people.'—p. 104.

But in doing this, Louis XVIII., according to M. Cottu, and according to the plain sense of the thing, did not intend to abrogate the rights of the crown ; and

'If the forms of government, authorized by the charter, so far from establishing the rights of the king and of the nation, have been found, on the contrary, absolutely detrimental to those rights respectively,

ively, the king has, unquestionably, the power of remodelling those forms which are producing the mischief.'—p. 104.

We think it is hardly possible to doubt that, unless the existing government adopts, and succeeds in carrying into effect, some very decisive measure in the course of the present year—there will ensue another burst of convulsion;—and Napoleon has left no saying of more indisputable truth behind him, than that 'a revolution in France is a revolution in Europe.'

**ART. VIII.—1.** *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on that part of the Poor-Laws relating to the employment or relief of able-bodied persons, from the Poor-Rate.* July 3, 1828.

**2.** *Letter to the Agriculturists of England on the Necessity of extending the Poor-Law to Ireland.* London. 1850.

**3.** *An Inquiry into the Causes and Remedies of Pauperism.* By the Right Honourable J. Wilmot Horton, M.P. 1st, 2d, and 3d Series. London. 1830.

**4.** *Statement of the Objects of a Society for effecting Systematic Colonization.* London. 1830.

**I**N every country the great majority of its inhabitants is composed of the labouring class, the hewers of wood and the drawers of water, of the men whose daily bread is earned by the sweat of their brow, and whose condition, be it good or bad, happy or miserable, must always form the first and most important consideration in every estimate that may be drawn of that country's social position. Tried by this test, how stands the British empire at present? We may be admired and respected as a state by other powers; we may cover the ocean with our vessels of commerce, and our spacious harbours with those of war; we may be acknowledged as at the head of civilization in science, in literature, in the arts; the produce of our industry, and the aggregate of our wealth, may exceed all that imagination yet conceived as possible; but if that wealth is so ill distributed that the mass of our population receive but an inadequate share of what their labour has produced; if *they* are condemned to toil, ill-requited, in hopeless indigence, or are barely preserved from famishing by a surly and extorted charity, there is more matter, in such a condition, for regret than pride—for dismay than exultation.

Nor is such a condition a source only of grief to those who have at heart the well-being of their poorer fellow-countrymen, but



but a subject of serious and alarming contemplation to all who are interested in the maintenance of order and security. The mass of a community cannot be, in this age and country at least, long depressed with impunity. It cannot be a safe state of things, where large bodies of men, in the extreme of poverty and want, have constantly before their eyes the spectacle of bloated and overgrown wealth; more particularly where their increasing intelligence, and the universal diffusion of political discussions, have taught even the lowest classes to think and reason on the subject, to know that this enormous difference of condition is neither natural nor necessary, and to ask themselves how it is to be remedied. In this picture, we cannot allow that there is any exaggeration. True it is, and to this circumstance is chiefly to be attributed the security as yet enjoyed by society, in the midst of the elements of disorder, that this country possesses, in a degree perhaps equalled by no other that ever existed, a large and respectable middle class, owning a very considerable share in the wealth of the community, and hence deeply interested in the preservation of tranquillity. But still with the extreme of riches in the higher classes,—the fortunes of many private individuals surpassing the average revenues of continental sovereigns—it is certain that the great bulk of the people—the operative classes, manufacturing as well as agricultural—receive but a very small share of the produce of their industry, are constantly in a precarious, often in a most miserable, condition, scarcely able to maintain themselves on their scanty wages when in employment, and frequently driven, for want of this, to the lamentable resources of pauperism, mendicancy or crime. Witness the distresses of the manufacturing districts in 1825, in 1827, and again in the crisis of the past dreadful winter—witness the harrowing statements detailed in the parliamentary reports of the committees on emigration, on the state of Ireland, and on the poor-laws;—witness the general increase of crime—the offspring of poverty; and, in Ireland, the struggle that millions are even now maintaining for their potato-grounds, that is, *for existence*, with landlords and policemen.

It is not our present intention, for our limits would be inadequate, to go into the separate proofs of what we assert, in which, however, the documents we have referred to will fully bear us out; but this much will be disputed by few, that while improvements, without number, in the useful arts, and the opening of new avenues for the disposal of the products of our industry, have, within the last half century, multiplied enormously the aggregate wealth of the nation; yet the class to whose labour and skill we are indebted for these improvements and this wealth has had no share in the extraordinary profits, but has, in the meantime, rather

retrograded than advanced in happiness and comfort. This depressed condition of the lower orders of the three kingdoms affords matter for deep and serious consideration; and we earnestly entreat the attention of the public to the following views, as to the causes that have brought about so unjust as well as dangerous a state of things, and the remedies that are, in our opinion, alone applicable to it.

The first feature that engages attention, is the universally-acknowledged redundancy of labour throughout the country, and in every branch of industry. But here a marked distinction must be kept up between the three kingdoms, one of which is constantly pouring its multitudes into the two others, without any reciprocal return. We do not believe that a redundancy would be sensibly and permanently felt in England or Scotland, were it not for the hordes of Irish who flock to either country for employment, and obtain it by underselling the inhabitants of both in their own markets for labour. In England and Scotland, measures have been long since taken by the legislature tending to control the over-increase of population, by enactments which throw the unemployed poor for support on the owners and occupiers of land. In Ireland no such law exists; and the same circumstance which has contributed to the unmeasured increase of the lower class in Ireland, has driven them to resort to the sister island for the support which they are denied at home. Here, in the outset, is a most unequal and unfair relative position of the two islands: so long as this exists, not only are the measures which England and Scotland have taken for keeping their own population within bounds, wholly nullified by the anomalous condition of Ireland, but it is even impossible to ascertain whether the indigenous inhabitants are or are not in greater numbers than is required by the demand for their labour; and still less practicable is it to devise means for the equalization of the supply to the demand. The evil has been felt so heavily of late, as to attract, at length, the attention of the legislature; and there are hopes that, in the course of the next session, some modified system of poor-laws will be applied to Ireland. The absolute necessity of such a measure of protection to both English property and English labour is manifest,—the latter being driven out of the market by the competition of the starving Irish, while the former is taxed without other limit than absolute exhaustion, for the support of an unemployed native population. In the words of one of the pamphlets at the head of this article—

‘ The absence in Ireland of the poor-law, to which, in England, landed property contributes so largely, affects the holders of that property in two ways :—

‘ 1.<sup>st</sup> In

‘ 1. In the first place, the poor of Ireland are, through want, compelled to migrate to this country in hordes ; and being willing to work for the lowest pittance rather than starve, their only alternative, they drive out of employment, in the towns and manufacturing districts of England, thousands of native labourers, who fall back upon their parishes for support, and are maintained by them in idleness, or something like it, at an enormous expense. It is evidently the same thing to the English rate-payers, whether they maintain the Irish paupers themselves, or an equal number of their own parishioners turned into paupers by the immigration of the Irish, and who, but for this, would find work enough to maintain them independent of parochial relief. It is clear, therefore, that, owing to the absence of a poor-law in Ireland, English property is virtually rated to maintain a great part of the Irish pauper population. . . . .

‘ 2. The second mode in which this anomaly injures us, results from the unequal circumstances under which the growers of farm-produce in each country bring their goods to the common market. The English agriculturist pays a heavy poor-rate out of the produce of his land—(we have even seen that he pays it in great part towards the support of the Irish poor ;) the Irish agriculturist pays no poor-rate at all ! The English farmer has to pay his labourers wages at the rate of from a shilling to half-a-crown per day. The Irish farmer hires *his* labourers at 4*d.* or 5*d.* per day, *because* even this cruelly low rate of wages is better than starving, the only alternative for a labourer in a country *where there is no poor-law ! . . . . .* No farmer can avoid ruin if he cannot obtain in the market a remunerating price for the produce of his farm ; that is, a price which will cover its cost, and pay him a profit into the bargain. The cost of production, exclusive of rent, consists in the expenses of cultivation, of which labour forms by far the largest item, and the public burthens on land. Now how is it possible for the English farmer to get a price in the market sufficient to repay all this outlay, when he is met there by the Irish cultivator, whose expenditure in labour is not one-fourth of his own, *and who pays no poor-rate*, generally the very heaviest of all the public burthens on the English producer ? The Irishman, under these circumstances, can sell his corn, his cattle, his hogs, and his butter, with a profit, at prices which will not keep the English farmer out of jail, or English farms in cultivation. Is this practically the case ? Let those who attend the markets of London, of Liverpool, of Bristol, nay, any of the principal markets of England, answer, if they are not undersold in every quarter, and in almost every article, by Irish produce. . . . . No rational person complains of natural or unavoidable disadvantages. If the soil or the climate of England were so inferior to those of Ireland, that farm produce could not be grown here except at double the cost of raising it there, the landowners of England would resign themselves to their comparative poverty, and be content to see the supply of their markets principally in the hands of Irish growers. But the  
superiority



superiority which we complain that the agriculturists of Ireland possess in the market over those of England, is owing to no superior *natural* advantages whatever. It is purely artificial and factitious. It is caused by a difference in the public burthens imposed on the land of each country by the common Legislature. The effect is precisely the same, and the equity of the matter as perfect, as if Parliament were to lay very heavy taxes upon land and labour in Yorkshire, from which all other counties were exempted. The value of farms and farming-stock in Yorkshire would fall in exact proportion to the disadvantage under which this measure placed them in comparison with their competitors in the markets. Land, which bore wheat before, could only now bear oats and rye; and that which bore the latter crops before, would now be altogether thrown out of tillage. It is exactly as if a high duty were imposed by Government on all English-grown corn, cattle, butter, and bacon, from which Irish produce of the same kind was free.'—*Letter to the Agriculturists of England*, p. 4—9.

We trust that the agriculturists of Britain will listen to this appeal, and seeing how immediately their interests are involved in the question, will no longer tolerate so unequal a distribution of public burdens, by which alone Irish landlords are enabled to screw extortionate rents from the miserable tenantry, whom they thrust upon England for maintenance. We have not spoken of the cost of re-conveying Irish vagrants to their country. This, though known to be a burden of great severity on those counties which lie in the most frequented routes, is a trifle compared to the enormous injury inflicted on the operative classes of Britain, by the competition of Irish labourers who have no alternative but starvation—on the payers of rates, from the necessity of maintaining the British labourers thus thrown out of employment—and on the cultivators of land, from the competition of Irish produce, brought to market without any deduction for poor-rate, and raised at one-fourth of their expense in labour.

Equally cogent reasons for assimilating the law of Ireland, in this respect, to that of Great Britain, are to be found, in its being the only means of making the church of Ireland contribute its quota, as that of England does, to the support of the poor. It is also the only mode open to us of forcing or persuading the landholders of Ireland, absentee as well as resident, to set seriously to work in the regeneration of that country, by the employment of its poor, the introduction of work, capital, manufactures, and a middle class. Above all, it will force a compulsory charity from the *foreign* absentee, who, exacting the last farthing from his pauper tenants, escapes the sight of the misery he inflicts, and the tax which that sight cannot fail to extort from all that reside within its influence.

The cry that has been raised already by the Irish landlords is, that

that the English poor-law, applied to Ireland, would be equivalent to a confiscation of landed property—to an agrarian law. The answer might be, that the absence of a poor-law in Ireland acts at present as an agrarian law upon English land. But it has been shown that, for a proportion of their rents, they are indebted to the English poor-law, which gives their degraded tenantry an advantage in the English markets both for labour and farm produce over the natives; therefore, of a reduction in rents to this extent they will have no right to complain, since it is so far really, though indirectly, paid out of the English landowner's pocket. That the expense of maintaining the remainder of the Irish surplus population—that part which does not migrate annually for support to England—will not occasion any new and extraordinary burden upon Irish property, is clear, from the simple consideration that this surplus, whatever it be, is at present wholly maintained, in some way or other, out of the produce of the land; and, therefore, whatever support the law may enforce for them, it cannot, if kept within reasonable limits, materially increase the weight with which they even now press upon the property of the kingdom.

Nay, we are inclined to think that there would be a considerable economy on the whole; for as, of course, mendicancy and petty robbery are at present the main support of the redundant poor, much is no doubt wasted, much finds its way to the undeserving, the clamorous, and the impostor, which a systematic and organized scheme of relief would save, and thus, probably, prove the lighter burden of the two. The occupiers, not the owners, of land, should, of course, as in England, be liable immediately to the assessment for this purpose, since they are the persons upon whom at present the burden chiefly falls. With regard to what has been objected on the difficulty of finding proper machinery in Ireland for administering a poor-law, we can have no reason to fear that the persons on the spot, liable to the rate, will not take sufficient care to protect *their* interests, while the poor will soon learn to know and demand the extent of the right conferred upon them; and as to the authorities who should administer the law judicially, surely whatever persons are fit to be entrusted, from their knowledge and impartiality, with the execution of our complicated statute-law, will be competent rightly to enforce the provisions of a single and simple act of parliament.

Those who object to the introduction of poor-laws into Ireland, point to the working of these laws in English parishes for an exemplification of the mischief they are fitted to produce; and this is an argument which weighs, we believe, with many who do not distinguish the effects of the simple poor-law of Elizabeth—

beth—the law of Cecil and of Bacon!—from those which are owing to its abuse and maladministration. The condition of the agricultural poor in the greater number of parishes in the south and west of England is certainly most deplorable: every labourer is, as a thing of course, on the poor-books; all spirit of independence, all desire to support themselves by their own exertions, is fast disappearing. The poor-rate has there come to be considered the patrimony of the English labourer, to which, instead of to the earnings of his industry, he looks for his maintenance and that of his family. But this moral as well as physical degradation of the agricultural peasantry is by no means a necessary result of a legal provision for the poor; as may be proved from the condition of Scotland and the north of England, where such provision exists, unaccompanied by these evils. It is, indeed, easy to show that they flow directly from a fatal error, which has been of late years gradually introduced into the practical administration of the poor-law, particularly in the western and southern counties; an error, of which we believe it difficult to exaggerate the evil consequences, unless it meet with speedy correction.

We allude to the common, though notoriously illegal, custom of making up wages out of the poor-rate: in other words, of supporting, at the expense of the parish, the families of labourers who continue to work for farmers. It is so easy to fall into this practice—it seems at first sight so humane, so consonant to the spirit of the poor-law, that, when a labourer has too large a family to be maintained out of his wages, assistance should be given him from the parish funds—that we do not wonder at magistrates having been incautiously led to tolerate the practice. When we consider it further; and observe that the farmer who employs this labourer is thus relieved from the necessity of increasing his wages, if he wish to keep him, it becomes evident that he will, on his side, press the vestry to make the allowance. The practice is thus introduced; and, the ice once broken, it becomes the custom for the fathers of all large families to receive an allowance from the parish in aid of their wages, which remain far below the minimum on which their families can be supported. But here we begin to perceive the tendency of the system, and naturally ask when it is to stop—what determines a *large* family? Are all the children in a family beyond six to be supported by the parish—or all beyond four, or two, or one? Is it answered that the current rate of wages will determine the limit up to which the labourer is expected to maintain his family? But what determines the rate of wages? or, rather, when the supply of labour exceeds the actual demand, as it universally does throughout Britain, is it not evident that the rate of wages is itself lowered by the influence of this system?



system? and what limits can be placed to its depression, under that influence, other than the very lowest sum which will support a man alone; the wives and families being altogether thrown for maintenance on the parish?

In the Malthusian axiom, that population will everywhere press upon the limits of subsistence, and that wages will, wherever there is a sufficiency of hands, naturally reduce themselves to the minimum; the words 'limit of subsistence,' and 'minimum of wages,' must be understood as relative solely to the *largest families*, or the propositions are evidently untrue. There cannot be two rates of wages in the same place. In a natural state of things, wages cannot sink for a permanence below the sum sufficient to keep *a labourer with a large family* from starving. If they were to fall below this for a time, the large families must be thinned by famine or disease, and the increase of the population checked till it had adapted itself to the demand; and wages must rise again at least up to that level, most likely for a time above it. But the wages which afford only the minimum of subsistence to a large family, will supply comforts to one of a moderate or average size, and luxuries to those labourers who have none. Thus, the great bulk of the labouring population, probably at least nine-tenths of the whole, must, in a natural state of things, by the action of this general law, live *in comfort*, notwithstanding that their numbers are trenching on the limits of subsistence. The evil falls upon the largest families, and upon them alone: and this is as it should be, since the only remedy for a really redundant population lies in the hands of the labouring classes themselves. They must keep down their own numbers by abstaining from imprudent marriages; and this they will alone, or at least most readily, be led to do, from seeing the sufferings endured by those who have large families. The redundancy will in this way be checked by a moral restraint, self-imposed by the lower orders on their own appetites, and the occurrence obviated of that direr species of check which consists, as we have shown, in the thinning of the large families by want and misery. This is the natural way in which both wages and population, unaffected by artificial restraints or encouragements, will regulate themselves; but, should a mistaken law, or interpretation of the law, interfere with this state of things, the greatest mischiefs may be the consequence. The poor-law system, as practised in the south of England, has done this. It has established as many rates of wages in every parish as there are different-sized families. John, with a wife and seven children, gets, as he would under a natural system, wages barely sufficient to keep them all from starving; but William, with a small family, instead of receiving the same amount of wages, and being, therefore, much better

better off than John, gets likewise a starvation allowance, according to his family ; and Richard, a single man, receives for his labour just enough to keep himself, and no more.\* Thus the aggregate wages of labour, or the gross sum paid, whether in the shape of wages or rates, to the whole labouring population of a parish, is reduced very far below what it would be without this unjust and cruel contrivance ; the difference going, of course, into the pockets of the farmers, and eventually of the landlords, while it is abstracted, under pretence of charity and benevolence, from those of the labourers themselves—the prime producers of all the wealth and luxury enjoyed by the higher classes, who profit for a time by the abuse. The evil, however, by that retributive justice which seems, as a necessary law, to pervade all Nature's works, reacts most strongly upon its authors ; for the natural check to the multiplication of labourers, which consists, as we have seen, in the difficulty of maintaining a large family, being removed, none other remains ; or, rather, a premium is offered to early marriages and the increase of families, every man's money-wages advancing with every additional child. The rate of increase of population is thus rapidly accelerated, till the burden of supporting the surplus hands, added to the evils produced by the increase of misery, and of crime consequent on misery, far more than overbalances, even with a view only to the interests of the farmers and proprietors, all they may have previously gained by their miscalculating rapacity. The practice is from the first most unjust and cruel towards the labouring class, whom it robs of the fair remuneration for their toil. It interdicts them from bettering their condition by prudence, industry, skill, economy—virtue. It depresses them to one level of uniform, hopeless, objectless servitude, very little different, as is remarked in a pamphlet we lately noticed upon this subject, from slavery—starvation being substituted for the whip as the engine of compulsion : with this difference, however, *in favour of the slave*, that his master is deeply interested in maintaining *him well*, in order to make the most of his powers ; while the labour of the English serf is so valueless, that he owes his very life to the law, which says he shall not starve. In the end, the destruction of all energy, morality, and happiness, in this large class, together with the unlimited increase of their numbers, which, in this reckless and desperate condition goes on far faster than it would under a better system, must soon bring down a severe retribution on those proprietors of land who have fostered or permitted the growth of so vile a practice. That this ruinous prospect does not merely exist

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\* See the evidence of the Rev. Joseph Bosworth and Mr. Brickwell before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on this subject—*Report*, July 1829.

in theory is proved by parliamentary returns, which show that, in the districts where this abuse of the poor-law has been connived at, the concomitant increase of population, the poor-rate, *and crime*, has been for some years past more than double that of the other unaffected agricultural counties of England.\* In Cumberland, for instance, at this moment, the poor-rate averages 3*s.* 6*d.* per head—in Sussex, 20*s.*: in the former county it is a tax of 1*s.* 6*d.* in the pound on the rack-rent—in the latter of 7*s.* 6*d.*; while in many parishes, peculiarly tainted with this practice, it reaches to 30*s.* and upwards.

We have said nothing yet of the injustice perpetrated by this practice on those occupiers of houses and small farms who employ no labourers, while they are forced to contribute to the rate out of which the chief families of the chief farmers' labourers are supported, and their wages in part paid. This, though alone it would be an evil of magnitude, is but a trifle, compared to the injury inflicted on the labouring class at large.

The abuse, we would fain hope, needs only to be fully exposed to meet with immediate correction. It is extortion, under the mask of charity—robbery and fraud, in the disguise of legal authority—an organized scheme for enslaving the whole labouring class, under pretence of relieving and employing them. It overthrows the fundamental principle of all society; viz., that a father shall support his own children till they are of age to maintain themselves. It is unchristian; illegal; ruinous in its consequences to high and low, rich and poor, morally as well as physically;—and if these are not reasons for the prompt interference of the legislature, there never were nor ever will be any. The select committee of the House of Commons, appointed, in 1828, to inquire into the subject, were unanimous in recommending that a speedy stop should be put to the practice; and a bill for this purpose was brought in by Mr. Slaney, and read a second time during the last session: but, whether owing to a want of due information on the subject in the house, or the urgent pressure of other business on the king's ministers, it was withdrawn at that stage; only, however, as we trust, to be re-introduced and carried at no distant date. Though no words can be too strong to express our abhorrence of this system, we must not be understood, in what we have said, as stigmatizing the intentions of those who have supported or connived at it, whom, on the contrary, we believe to have been led by degrees into the error, and to have been unconscious of the mischief they were producing.

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\* See Mr. Slaney's speech in the House of Commons in moving for a Committee on this subject, 1828, and the Report of that Select Committee already referred to.



The measures we have ventured to recommend above, namely, the introduction of a legal provision for the poor in Ireland, and the immediate reform of the abuses partially prevailing in the administration of the poor-laws in England, are necessary for the purpose of checking that rapid increase of an unemployed population, which, occasioning in both countries an accumulated mass of misery and crime, disturbs the well-being, and threatens the very organization of society. These measures, however, can have no *immediate* effect in remedying the existing redundancy—other means must be resorted to for this purpose, and not a few have been proposed to public notice. These means divide themselves into two classes ;—the first consisting of endeavours to increase the effective demand for labour in this country, by the removal of all unnecessary impediments to its employment, by opening, if possible, new avenues for productive occupation, and enlarging those that are narrowed at present by the pressure of artificial circumstances ;—the second embracing schemes for the direct removal of whatever part of the population may then still remain in excess.

I. Firstly as to the means open to us of increasing the effective demand for labour in this country. And here we shall probably be met by the trite but shallow argument of the economists, that deficiency in the demand for labour is a proof that it cannot be profitably employed ; and that, consequently, to force or encourage its employment in any way, will be only a misdirection of capital from those channels in which it can be most, to those in which it can only be less, advantageously invested ; and this reasoning would be perfectly just, if the employment of industry and capital were at present wholly free, and unfettered by any restrictions or impediments. How far we are from so desirable a condition, let the economist himself say, after considering the complicated burdens that taxation, in a thousand varied shapes, throws upon industry, and the shackles with which erroneous legislation has cramped and confined her efforts. It is not the imposition of restraints or bounties that we are going to advocate, but their removal where they press unfairly against the employment of labour, or give a factitious encouragement to the substitution of other powers and contrivances for human exertion.

As one of the existing impediments to the employment of labour, we cannot avoid considering the system of taking tithes in kind. This, it is impossible to doubt, prevents the tillage of a very great quantity of land, now lying waste, owing to its not being of sufficient staple to return the tithe in addition to the other expenses, though it would repay these alone with the usual profit. There is doubtless also much land at present imperfectly cultivated,

cultivated, upon which additional capital would be profitably expended in the employment of additional labour, and the growth of more corn, were the tithe restrained, for a certain number of years at least, from increasing in proportion to the increased produce. On its present footing tithe certainly operates as a tax upon capital laid out in improvements on land, that is, in agricultural labour; and, therefore, to a certain extent, must narrow that avenue for the employment of capital and labour, to the injury of capitalists in the first place; of the labourers and landowners in the second; of the consumers, who, through an increased cultivation, would buy farm-produce somewhat cheaper, in the third; and last, not least, of the tithe-owners themselves, to whom the permanent improvements that would be made in the soil, under a composition for tithe for a fair term of years, could not fail of proving a source of great ultimate advantage. We are sure that, by consenting to such a measure, which would remove all that is obnoxious to the public prejudices in tithes, the church in particular would take the most effectual step in its power for securing the attachment of all classes of the people, and the permanence of its possessions.\* It is not very easy to calculate the degree to which a general tithe-composition act would increase the demand for labour, in the inclosure and cultivation of lands now waste, and the improvement of those already in tillage; but it is evident, that a great stimulus would be given to the investment of capital on land, and the employment of that overgrown agricultural population, which now presses as an additional burden on the occupiers of the soil.

We believe, likewise, that the desirable object of making the most of the land and labour existing in the country is impeded very materially by the state of the law relating to the inclosure of wastes and common lands; or rather, by the absence of any general law on the subject, and the necessity of incurring the great expense of an act of parliament in every particular instance of inclosure. It is well known that, since the beginning of the last century, nearly four thousand bills for the inclosure of wastes, in as many parishes, have been passed; proving, to demonstration, the extraordinary want of a general and permanent law on the subject; while, in the whole of that time, not a step has been taken towards enacting such a law, and so saving to the community the prodigious waste of private funds and public time consumed in the passing of

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\* As this sheet is passing through the press, we have perused, we need not say with what feelings of satisfaction, a speech of the Archbishop of Canterbury, on this subject, in the House of Lords. Happy, indeed, is it for the church of England that at this crisis of her history she has such a primate at her head!

so many local expedients. Those who know anything of the way in which acts of this kind are passed through the legislature, will not defend the system by maintaining that parliament is the fittest court that could be instituted for the purpose of deciding how far, in any instance, the rights of private property should be made to give way to the public interests. There is no species of commission or other machinery, that could be appointed under a general law, for the determination of these questions, that would not answer the ends of justice better than the present tribunal. We think it would be easy to devise measures which would enable waste lands to be brought into the market with greater facility than at present, to the benefit as well of the public as of all who possess any interest in them: such, for instance, would be the appointment of local or ambulatory commissions, for the survey, valuation, and allotment of the wastes in any lordship or parish, or a portion of them, when demanded by a certain proportion of the persons interested. It might then be expedient to allow the overseers of parishes troubled with a superfluity of able-bodied labourers, to purchase a part of the waste in that or any neighbouring parish, for the purpose of reducing it to cultivation, by means of these labourers, employed under a paid superintendent. When it happens that no waste land fitted for this purpose is to be conveniently met with at an easy distance from the homes of the labourers, parishes might be allowed to send their gang of surplus labourers to execute contract work at a distance, under similar superintendence, for parties who were engaged in inclosing and cultivating waste land. Upon proof before a magistrate that such paupers neglected the work they were capable of performing, the overseer should be empowered to discharge them, and refuse relief. In this way the labour of those who are now demoralized and maintained in idleness would be rendered highly productive.

A plan in its essence similar to this was proposed by Mr. John Hall, late overseer of a populous parish in London, in a pamphlet published in 1824. It is also the same which we have recently more than once brought forward, while urging the adoption in Britain of the system of *Poor Colonies*, which has been, and is still, pursued with such complete success in Holland at Frederick's-Oord and other establishments. Those, indeed, who are desirous of correcting the enormous evils which we have shown to be preying upon the lower classes of this country, and reacting severely upon all others, cannot do better than follow the method which, in a country similarly circumstanced with our own, has been found so entirely to answer the end proposed; nay, much more, to produce both a pecuniary profit,



profit, and a moral and physical improvement in the population, far beyond what was calculated on by the most sanguine.

The law of parochial settlement may be mentioned as another check to the most advantageous employment of labour. It tends to prevent farmers and tradesmen from employing those who might, by such service, or by residence, acquire a settlement, and ultimately become chargeable on them; and in this way checks the migration of labour from districts where it is redundant to those where there is a deficiency. Birth is the most rational ground for settling a pauper on any parish: it is the easiest of all to be ascertained; and by restricting the question within these narrow limits, an immense mass of expensive litigation would be at once annihilated.

But the greatest of all impediments to the employment of labour, owing to which we are, especially at the present moment, suffering all the evils of a redundancy, is the misdirection of taxation. The degree to which labour is taxed in this country is seldom, perhaps, considered, or there would be less surprise excited at the difficulties it has to contend with. All writers seem to allow that population is, and has been for some time past, so much in excess, that the price of labour must continue at the minimum at which the labourer can be supported. Hence it is clear, that if this minimum were reduced, a proportionate addition would be made to the means of employment; and, consequently, that the taxes which go to augment the necessary wages of labour, act directly to diminish the demand for it. Now all taxes upon necessaries consumed by the labouring classes are of this nature. Such (without reckoning the duty on imported corn) are the duties on sugar, tea, coffee, tobacco, malt, hops, beer, spirits, licenses, leather, printed goods, soap, tallow, candles, butter, cheese, and coals. These are all evidently, for the most part, taxes on labour. Mr. Pitt, in one of his speeches, strongly expresses this fact—  
 ‘The high price of labour in England arises chiefly from the excise; and three-fifths of the price of labour are said to come into the exchequer.’ But it will be urged that these taxes are the staple of our revenue; that it is dangerous to meddle with them; that government could not go on or keep faith with the national creditor without them. We believe this to be a mere fallacy. We believe that an equal amount of revenue might be raised, with far more economy, and less injury to the resources of the country, by a direct tax upon property. But, if we give way to the prevalent objections, which we allow to have considerable weight, against the imposition of what has been considered hitherto peculiarly a *war-tax*; and if, from the fear of disturbing what are now such productive sources of revenue,

venue, ministers refuse to contemplate the removal or diminution of any of these taxes on labour; what we are anxious to contend for is, the propriety of taxing, in at least an equal if not a higher degree, those instruments of production which are substituted for human labour, in consequence of their *comparative cheapness*, this cheapness being in great part owing to their not being taxed at all, or in the same degree as their human competitors.

Let us take, for instance, the horses and oxen used in agriculture. Since the removal of the agricultural horse-tax, these animals, consuming no articles on which excise duties or customs are paid, are in no degree taxed. Here, then, is an enormous *premium* given by the legislature to the employment of brute over human labour! The man is taxed up to three-fifths, or 60 per cent., on his value; the animal, not at all! It will not do to say, that by taxing horses you would diminish the productiveness of capital, by forcing it out of the most into the least profitable channels. The argument is equally good against taxing labour, which is only rendered less profitable by being subject to the tax from which horses are exempt. If, at the same time that you impose a tax on horses, you take off any of the numerous burdens that augment the price of human labour, you do not in any way diminish the productiveness of capital; but, on the contrary, by giving a stimulus to the employment of the surplus labourers of the country, you render productive *that capital which is now wasted in supporting them in idleness*.

It is the same with machinery. Great has been the outcry raised, whenever our starving weavers have dared to hint at a tax on machinery; and, on *abstract principles*, they have been correctly, and to their own conviction, answered. But the error is, that general arguments on abstract principles are not applicable to our present most complicated and artificial condition. We should be glad to know what reasoning can be advanced against taxing machinery, that is not equally cogent against taxing *men*; and, if this is the case, who will deny that, on every ground of justice and common sense, both should be *equally* taxed, if taxes on either are necessary; that human beings, citizens of the state, component members of the community for whose benefit alone all taxes ought to be imposed, all governments exist, that *they* should, *at least* be put upon an equal footing with brutes and machines, in the competition for employment, which is to them the *sine quâ non* of existence? It has been said that spades and ploughs, knives and hatchets, are machines; and since it would be clearly absurd to tax these, it has been inferred to be equally unwise to impose any impediment to the use of the more complicated instruments

struments of production. But here, as in so many other questions of moral propriety or national policy, the line must be drawn somewhere; and we think the following view of the advantages of machinery will enable us to determine that there is a limit to the encouragement that should be given to it.

Where labour is deficient, compared to the demand for it, any invention for making it go further than before—for doing that by means of one hand, for which ten were previously required, is an immense benefit; though even this improvement should be left to work its own way, and neither encouraged by premiums, nor, what is the same thing, exemption from taxation. But, when the reverse is the case, and labour itself is in excess; when there are already no means of employment for the hands, the stomachs connected with which we must at all events feed, how can it be supposed politic to encourage, by bounties, the substitution of other instruments for manual labour? Production, it may be said, is encouraged; but the fundamental axiom of political economy is, that to give factitious encouragement to one mode of production over another is faulty, and, instead of increasing, must diminish, the aggregate productiveness of the country. Where, too, is the use of increasing the powers of production, if at the same time you diminish the powers of consumption? The distress under which the trade of the country has laboured lately has been, by not a few writers and speakers, attributed to over-production. We are not among those who consider this distress as the product of any one, or two, or three causes,—but neither can we have the smallest doubt that it has been, in a very considerable degree, the effect of the artificial encouragement given, by exemption from taxation, to inventions for superseding labour, while we cannot get rid of the hands whom we no longer employ. The notion, that it can be nationally profitable to save the employment of labour by improvements in machinery, when those whose labour is thus supplanted must be supported in idleness at the public expense, is as irrational as it would be for the owner of a pair of carriage-horses, who is obliged by law or the will under which he inherits, to keep them on good provender in his stable, to attempt to save money by setting up a steam-coach. And yet it is in obedience to this idea that the legislature has hitherto scouted the proposal of making machinery liable to any tax, while the human machine pays a tax perhaps of 60 per cent. *ad valorem*. The natural consequence is, that the labourer is driven out of the market by steam power; and his maintenance in inactivity becomes a dead loss to the community; far more than out-balancing whatever



advantage is derived from the diminished price of the articles which the steam and iron workmen fabricate in an abundance, that increases as the means of purchasing them, in this country at least, diminish. For it must be remembered, the advantage of increased production is spread over the whole world—the sacrifice falls upon us alone! The benefit of every improvement in machinery is shared by all our customers for the goods which machinery enables us to supply at a cheaper rate than before. But while the Russians, Danes, Turks, North and South Americans, and so on, are getting our manufactures at half the price they formerly paid, we barely get the cost price, with the current profit on capital; while we lose from having to support all the British labourers whom the machinery has turned adrift. Nay more, the very costs of production, the wages of the manufacturing population, are in part paid out of the poor-rate; so that our foreign customers are actually getting our manufactures at much less than the price their production costs this country at large, even when, what does not always happen, the manufacturer and exporter realise a profit. As the poor-rate is chiefly paid by the owners of *real* property, this portion of it operates as a tax levied upon that class, and expended in giving a *bounty* to the exportation of manufactures without an adequate return; in other words, *in paying for* the clothing of the Americans, Russians, Danes, &c. Much has been talked of a redundancy of labourers, and for years it has been the stalking-horse of our alarmists. Can there not be a redundancy of inanimate as well as of animated machines? If it be wrong to encourage the multiplication of labourers, when an increase of misery can only follow an increase of numbers, is it not equally wrong to *encourage* the multiplication of machinery, when it must produce the same result? Indeed, it seems extraordinary that attention should not yet have been strongly attracted to this anomalous feature in our domestic policy. We maintain that, at a time when neither employment can be found for our manufacturing population, nor a market for our manufactured goods, we are offering (in a comparative exemption from tax) a high legislative bounty to the production of the **GREATEST** quantity of manufactures, by application of the **LEAST** quantity of human labour.

We anticipate that to all we have advanced it will be answered, that machinery is only an improved method of employing labour; that a machine is itself the product of labour, and, therefore, taxed indirectly in the elements of its production; and that to tax it a second time would be equally unwise and unjust. Now, if it were true that machinery consisted *wholly* of labour worked up

up in it, the argument would stand; but this is not the case. Of the sum laid out in any improved machinery, besides the cost of labour employed in making and in working it, a large portion goes into the pockets of the proprietors of iron and coal mines, of brick fields, quarries, and timber, from the increased demand for these articles, of which, to a certain extent, they enjoy a monopoly. Another large portion goes to swell the profits of the patentee and maker of the machine, also monopolists in their way. These items, besides the additional profit to the manufacturer employing the machine, and which is his inducement for doing so, all come out of the fund which *before* was solely laid out upon labour, and are deductions from the general fund for its employment, consequent on every improvement on machinery. These items *pay no tax*; and it is this difference which constitutes the unfairness of taxing labour, and not taxing machinery to the same extent.

Let us not be misunderstood.—We do not desire to see machinery or agricultural horses taxed in the same proportion to their gross cost as the human machine—that is, to three-fifths of their value. The above remarks show that machinery (and the same argument applies to horses) is already in part taxed in the labour that is worked up in it. It is the remaining portion only that is in equity liable to be directly taxed; and it is precisely the non-taxation of this portion which gives the legislative *bounty* to machinery and horses. If we are told of the difficulty or impossibility of calculating the proportion of these elements in the cost of machinery, we answer that this is no argument against the attempt; and, moreover, that there exists an obvious and easy standard by which to measure the *minimum* of tax, that should be imposed, in the actual redundancy or full employment of labour. Let us suppose a tax of five per cent. *ad valorem* imposed on machinery and horses; if, in consequence of this stimulus to the employment of human labour, the surplus labour of the country is not wholly absorbed, it will, we think, prove the tax to be insufficient to protect the working class against the unfair competition of animal and mechanical power; if it be fully absorbed, it may then be advisable to reduce the tax gradually, preserving it always at such a point as will suffice to maintain in full employment all the effective labour of the country, without impeding the utmost productiveness of the national capital, by preventing machinery from coming in aid of labour, when a real saving would result from its use. Such a tax will only check the introduction of improved machinery, when, though it may answer the ends of the manufacturer by increasing his profits, it would occasion a

loss to the community by throwing and keeping out of employment numerous families, whose maintenance in idleness is a heavier burden than can be compensated by the increase of profits to a few individuals. It may be urged that to ascertain the redundancy or non-redundancy of labour at any time throughout the country, is a difficult if not an impossible task. It certainly supposes the adoption of some more organized system for registering paupers than at present exists; but if our hopes are realized, of shortly seeing a legal recognition of the rights of the poor of Ireland to be preserved from famishing by their landlords, there will then be no obstacle to the introduction of such a registration throughout the kingdom, as will enable government or the public to command at any time a knowledge of the degree to which the labouring population of the three kingdoms exceeds or falls under the demand for it. It is needless for us to show how serviceable such a knowledge would be with a view to many other purposes besides that of regulating the tax, which, in justice to our unemployed and industriously disposed fellow-citizens, as well as to prevent a positive waste of the national resources, it seems expedient to place on their competitors for employment—brutes and machinery.

That a tax on machinery and agricultural horses would be highly productive, we think cannot be doubted; and that ministers would be enabled by it to remit a considerable portion of those taxes which at present weigh upon human labour. Thus, whatever is added to the cost of one element of production will be taken off another; and we doubt whether even any manufactured goods would be increased in cost by the tax, which will only occasion more of labour and less of machinery to be employed in their fabrication. Thus, for instance, it is known that by the aid of the poor-rate, and a great sacrifice of their wages and comforts, the cotton weavers have lately been able in some places to maintain a successful competition with the steam-looms. Now, whenever the respective powers of machinery and hand labour are so nearly balanced, it is very evident that a reduction in the taxes on the necessities of life, and the imposition of a trifling tax on machinery, would give the weavers a decided advantage in the contest, bettering their condition, and enabling them to retain the work in their own hands, *without adding anything to its cost.*

We have no fears, therefore, that a tax on machinery would drive our manufactures out of the foreign markets, since, properly regulated, it would not increase their price. But even should it in some degree produce this effect, we are still justified in calling for the destruction of the *monopoly* of employment now given to machinery,



machinery, by its exemption from tax, to the prejudice of our unemployed population, and of those who have to support them in idleness,—a monopoly by which the country gains a penny at the cost of a pound. If any branch of our export trade can be preserved only by what is virtually a bounty on exportation, this proves it to be carried on at a loss to the country, and the sooner we get rid of it and turn our labour and capital to some other purpose the better. Where is the national advantage of an extension of foreign trade, which fills our workhouses with idle paupers, for the sake of clothing the continental peasantry in cheap calicoes?—which occasions poverty and misery at home, in order to increase the comforts of the South American peon? For, it must be repeated, a trade may be individually profitable, but nationally injurious; and the contrary is an evident fallacy, which more than one political economist has inadvertently adopted. In the advantage of the freest competition among all the branches of industry, we are the firmest believers; but this absolute freedom is wholly unattainable in our burdened condition. The next and nearest approach it is in our power to make to perfect freedom of industry, is the *equalization* of those burdens which we cannot remove; the taking care that they do not weigh exclusively on one branch, leaving any other free; that one instrument or mode of production is not, by the awkward application of taxation, artificially restricted in a greater degree than another. It is the accepted doctrine of our legislature, that the factitious encouragement of any mode of production beyond another can only lead to a waste of the national wealth; and we should conceive it a necessary corollary, that if industry must bear a certain weight of shackles, she will suffer least from them, her motions will be least impeded, when they are equally distributed over all her members. All we ask, then, is, that men heavily taxed shall no longer be placed in competition with untaxed brutes and machines; that they should be placed on the footing of equality at least; and it is for this reason we have not dwelt on what would otherwise admit of some discussion, namely, the expediency of encouraging the growth of men and citizens, rather than of brutes and steam-engines; nor on the obvious arguments that flow from consideration of the *right* of our working classes to *more* than an equalization of burdens, to *protection* against machinery, so long as our landlords are protected against the competition of foreign corn-growers, or our manufacturers against that of foreign producers.

II. We come now to the second division of the subject, namely the means which may be adopted for diminishing the pressure of  
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over-population by the direct removal of whatever part of the labouring class may still be in excess, after every reasonable encouragement has been given to their profitable employment at home, by the measures we have ventured to recommend for that purpose.

And here in the outset we are, perhaps, going to startle our readers by contending, that a *real* redundancy of labour, in the present state of the world, cannot exist—cannot, that is, except through the carelessness or mismanagement of the government that permits it; and that it is only by confining our views to a spot of limited extent, and neglecting to take those obvious measures in our national, which every prudent person does take in his individual, capacity, either to produce no more of any article than he consumes, or to dispose of all he does produce beyond his own consumption, that we find ourselves at all in the predicament of being overburdened with population: that is, with the power and capacity of producing: embarrassed by the abundance of that which, properly used, is as emphatically *wealth*, as mines of precious metal, or lands of unexampled fertility. It is true, that for years past the cry has been echoed from all sides, that the country is overpeopled. Mr. Malthus has ‘frighted the isle from her propriety,’ with tales of dire distress which the ‘principle of population’ has produced, is producing, and cannot fail, for all time to come, to produce. We have been taught to think the time near at hand when, like rats, we shall be driven by excess of numbers to eat one another. Mothers have been long looked upon as the great pests of society—Dr. Jenner as the prime enemy to humanity, for having cut off one of the ancient natural ‘checks to population.’ A regiment of chubby urchins excites a shudder in the humane political economist, who, in their actual health sees only the promise of their future misery. Proposals have seriously been made for applying the ‘check direct’ to the procreative faculty; and the honours of immortality largely promised to him who shall invent some less disagreeable but equally effective mode of stopping the increase of mankind. Fortunately, Nature laughs at these, as at all our mad and fruitless efforts to defeat her provisions. She moves majestically forward in her great purpose of producing the largest possible amount of happiness, regardless of our vain struggles to mar her projects, or lessen the number of those by whom her bounties are enjoyed. Fortunately, we repeat, for we venture to declare ourselves supporters of the exploded theory, that the wealth of a nation consists as much in its numbers of able hands and arms, as in its capital, its soil, or its minerals. But for the melancholy results of the mistake, we  
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should be tempted to laugh at the population-panic of the times, maintaining, as we cannot but do, that a redundancy of able labourers *ought* to be no more injurious to a country than a redundancy of corn to a farmer, or a redundancy of shoes to a cobbler. If a farmer grows more corn than he can himself eat, or a shoemaker persists in making more shoes than his family can wear, what do they with the surplus of their respective stocks? They dispose of it to those who are in want of the articles, and receive an equivalent in return. If a capitalist has more gold than he requires for present use, does he complain of its redundancy?—No; he places it out with those who are in want of it, and who will pay him interest for its employment. Now are there no means of placing out to profit the surplus of that part of our national capital which consists of muscles and sinews, of skill, strength, and industry? The economist will, perhaps, answer No;—he will point to the unemployed thousands of Ireland; to the English paupers, that are shut up all the day like cattle in pounds, fed at the cost of their parishes, but purposely prevented by this ingenious contrivance from doing anything that might pay for their subsistence. These facts, however, prove, at the very utmost, no more than that there is not a sufficiency of actual demand for labour *in England and Ireland*, compared to the actual supply. They tell the most resolute disbeliever in the possible productiveness of the hitherto waste acres of Britain and Ireland, only that there *are* in these islands more hands than can be profitably employed *there*. But there are also more cotton-stuffs, and more knives and scissors, in these countries, than can be profitably disposed of there. The remedy, in the one case, as in the other, would seem to be to export the article from a country where, owing to particular circumstances, its production exceeds its consumption, to one where the reverse is the case, and it is, consequently, of higher value than in its native place. Are there no good markets for labour left in the world?—is the whole globe overstocked with this article? So far from it, there are many countries where labour would produce a return ten-fold its value here. There are soils that only ask to be fertilized by this British ‘drug,’ to enable them to repay ten times the cost of keeping it uselessly at home. While in Britain thousands are supported in absolute idleness, and other thousands are, in Ireland, murdering each other for the possession of some miserable plot of barren soil, on which, by hard labour, they may raise a coarse and scanty subsistence, there exist millions upon millions of fertile acres belonging to the British empire, unoccupied, wholly useless, but needing only to be scratched by a hasty ploughshare to throw up abundant



dant crops of corn, and wine, and oil, upon which our redundant labouring population could not only, by their now profitless and undemanded labour, maintain themselves in comfort and plenty, instead of rags and indigence, but raise, into the bargain, an amount of surplus produce which would enable them to become profitable customers to those who remain at home; to take off, in time, our cottons and cloths, even though we should produce them twice as quickly as we do now.

It is a maxim of political economy, that demand and supply will in the long run find their level—that there cannot be a permanent demand without soon occasioning a proportionate supply. Why is it, then, that the great demand for labour, which is well known to exist at the antipodes, is not supplied out of our abundance here? Is it the distance that prevents the establishment of the equilibrium? Not so; for it is not greater than that which does *not* prevent our receiving tea from China, or sending hardware to India. The difference between the value of a labourer here and in Australia will far more than pay his freight. But you cannot sell him when you get him there! This then, after all, is the only reason that can be given why labour is not exported for the profit it ought to yield; why our stout and able workmen remain at home, a drug and a burden upon Britain, while they are worth their weight in silver at the other side of the globe. So true is this, that more than one colonist has seriously expressed an opinion that no other measure than the importation of *slaves* can develop the real resources of our Australian colonies. But let us look more closely at this mighty difficulty.—True, we cannot purchase a labourer like a horse, carry him out to Port Jackson, and sell him with a profit on the whole outlay; but if he is willing to go, this will relieve our delicacy from scruples about purchasing or stealing him. If he is likewise willing and able, upon arriving there, to pay the cost of his passage with a profit, or if any one is willing to pay it for him, under certain conditions on his part, what more is wanting to make him as valuable an article for exportation as cloth or cutlery? Ay, but there's the rub!—how to *secure* the repayment of this outlay with the profit? Labourers who are out of work, and starving here, may promise largely in order to get ferried over to their Eldorado: they may be, and thousands are, willing to subscribe any reasonable articles of indenture, binding themselves to serve the person who pays their passage, or his nominee, for a term of years, until the debt they have incurred is fully paid. But when they arrive, they find the current wages of free labourers so extremely high, that they are tempted to resort to every imaginable trick and knavery to break  
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their engagement. Abundant difficulties, in fact, of this kind have been practically experienced, or the exportation of labourers, on these terms, would have been long since in general use. One cause of the difficulty is, that the English law of indenture, and that by which all disputes between masters and servants are settled here, does not prevail in the colony; where a servant, neglecting his work or breaking his indenture, is liable to a pecuniary penalty only, not a personal one; and the exaction of that pecuniary penalty, which, in fact, then becomes a simple debt, is in practice found next to impossible. The extension of the English law to Australia, by an order in council, would no doubt be of considerable service in facilitating the emigration of labourers under indenture.

But this is at best but a faulty mode of supplying the article. Constant bickerings will always be taking place between master and man, where it is so much the interest of the former to over-work his servant, and of the latter to get quit of his contract by inducing his master to discharge him for incapacity, or misbehaviour, or in any way he can contrive. Moreover, the labourer, under this system, will do as little work as he can. In short, there will be an absolute waste of much time, power, skill, and expense, which might be avoided, if the labourer could be left free to hire himself to the highest bidder for his work, and at wages that would increase with the skill and industry he exerted. Now it is by no means impossible to contrive a method of securing the repayment of the cost of conveying labourers, and at the same time allow them to carry their labour in perfect freedom to the best market afforded by the colony. But for this purpose individual efforts are shown by experience to be inadequate; and this, therefore, appears to be precisely one of those conjunctures in which it is desirable for the government to interfere, and direct the collective power and sanction of the state to the accomplishment of an object evidently required in the general interest, but which, from the necessity of an extended and organized system, and the support of *law*, the peculiar department of government, is not attainable by individual exertion.

More than one mode of accomplishing this object presents itself. Government, for instance, might either undertake at once the expense and arrangements for conveying labourers to the colony, or, leaving this to trading importers, only become answerable for the repayment of the passage-money, either at once or by instalments. An office might for this purpose be appointed in the colony, at which every labourer, as he arrived, should be registered,—the cost of his passage, with that of insurance on his living long enough to repay the sum, debited to him; and he might then be  
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allowed to work where and how he chose, on the sole condition of paying a certain sum, weekly or monthly, to government, towards the redemption of the debt incurred by his importation. The collection of these instalments from labourers scattered over the colony could be effected by the same machinery as, and would hardly be more difficult than, the collection of any other tax: and, at all events, would be far more easily effected by government than by individuals, who cannot enforce their claims but by borrowing, in an awkward manner, the aid of government. But should this plan be supposed impracticable or unadvisable, there are other *indirect* ways of levying the same sum, in such a manner that it shall be unfelt, perhaps unsuspected, by the labourer as he pays it.~ It is not now we have to learn, for the first time, this art of legerdemain! The measure, then, which we would propose for the purpose, is a general tax on the employment of labour in the colony, to be levied upon employers.

A tax of this kind would be readily paid by capitalists if they knew that its produce was fairly and economically expended in the introduction of fresh labourers, since the costs of cultivation would be by no means increased—the reduction in the price of labour more than compensating the tax. It would soon be seen that the tax will be paid only in appearance by employers, who will be instantly repaid by their labourers in the shape of a diminution of wages,—for the following reason. In all *new* countries, where fertile land is to be had on easy terms, labour always obtains the *maximum* of payment; that is, it keeps up to the highest point at which, under the circumstances of climate, soil, competition, markets, &c., it is profitable to employ it. A tax on the employment of labour would lower this point by rendering labour unprofitable, except at a rate diminished by exactly the amount of the tax: wages will, therefore, fall to this extent, and the tax will really be paid by the labourers themselves; and this is as it should be. The principle is surely right which makes the labourer himself responsible for the expense of removing him from a country where he can get no work, even at starvation pay, to one where wages are so high as to enable him, by the industry of a few years, to set up as a capitalist and settler himself. The pressure of the tax upon him would be trifling, and being *indirectly* levied, he would never be aware that he was paying it; the wages he would still receive would be affluence compared to his condition before his removal from Britain; and no objections are, therefore, to be anticipated from him. Even this is placing a tax, for such a purpose, in a more unfavourable light than it merits; since in reality it would be a burden on no one, but would be paid out of the profit made by the application of labour, valueless here, to land in  
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*the colony which only requires labour to produce wealth.* The necessary expenses of this application may be taken out of the proceeds, not only without prejudice to any of the parties concerned, but evidently to their common advantage; the remaining profits, which would not otherwise have existed, being shared amongst them. If the produce of this tax were mortgaged in advance—that is, a sum raised upon the security of it—the scheme might be immediately commenced on a large scale, without the expenditure of a single farthing from the national purse: it would wholly pay its own expenses. The prospect it would hold out to settlers of providing a regular supply of labourers, in proportion as they are wanted, so as to prevent wages reaching to an extravagant price, would afford the strongest stimulus to the introduction of capital into the settlement; and the progress of colonization, under such auspices, must be rapid, uniform, and immediate. To Britain the advantage would be double:—1stly, We should dispose of our surplus stock of labourers, not only without the slightest sacrifice, but with the direct and immediate saving of all that they and their families now consume in idleness at home. 2dly, We should acquire a new and thriving market for our manufactures. The very individuals who are a burden and a grievous expense to us here, will be converted in the colony into certain and profitable customers, raising food or raw materials to exchange with the labour of, perhaps, an equal number of those who remain at home. And for these advantages what is to be paid? Positively nothing: a simple exercise of volition by government might to-morrow secure them all, to both country and colony, at no cost whatever. They will flow necessarily from the establishment of an organized system, sanctioned by government, for transporting labourers out of this country to meet the demand for labour in Australia; the expense being defrayed out of the difference between the earnings of the labourers here and in Australia; and being but a small fractional part of that difference, the remainder will be divided between the capitalist and the labourer, and will be net profit to the community.

We repeat that it is because government alone possesses the power of raising funds for the accomplishment of an object of general benefit, in such a manner as shall *ensure* their payment, and that without a murmur; while individuals have to struggle with a thousand difficulties in procuring such payment, even with the aid of government; it is because a labourer is not, like a bale of cotton, impassible, and to be sold in the market to repay his freight, that the importation of labour forms an exception to the general rule, as to the expediency of leaving demand to supply itself by individual competition, and renders it advisable for  
government

government to step in to supply the colony with the labourers it so much needs, out of the abundance with which we are glutted here,—repaying itself, by the simple machinery of a tax, out of the profits that must accrue from the measure to all the parties concerned. Even were other means adequate to the purpose, the security and regularity which would attend the emigration of labourers under government auspices—the certainty of the absence of fraud and imposition—the facility and confidence with which both voluntary emigrants, and parishes burdened with poor, could apply at a government office, instead of to speculating traders—the sanction it would give to what, under the idea of *expatriation*, many well-disposed individuals might otherwise refuse to countenance or engage in—these, and many other advantages, must render a scheme of emigration, conducted by government, incalculably preferable to any other mode of effecting the same object.

We have spoken all along of Australia, because it is the only one of our colonies, with the exception of the Cape, to which this, or indeed any scheme for exporting *labour*, will apply. To the Canadas it is inapplicable by reason of the proximity of the United States; to which labourers, after they have been carried out at the expense either of government or individuals, may, and of course would migrate, in order to avoid the tax, or the repayment, in any shape, of the cost of their passage. Probably Mr. Wilmot Horton foresaw this, and was thus induced to prefer establishing his emigrants as *colonists*, rather than as *labourers*. However this may be, the former plan has, we fear, been proved by experience to be erroneous. The expenses are at least trebled: the cost of passage being all that an emigrant *labourer* requires; while the settler must have advanced to him, in addition, a twelvemonth's rations, land, tools, seed, and stock. Indeed, the result of the experiment already instituted has shown, what might have been anticipated, that this extraordinary expense defeats, in most cases, its own object:—the land, stock, tools, and rations, advanced by government, being frequently converted into spirits, and the settler returning, at the end of the year, to his old and natural condition of a day labourer, but with habits of intemperance and idleness, induced by the mistaken liberality with which he had been treated at the outset.\* We are afraid the instances of another complexion, to which we referred in a late Number, in reviewing Mr. Head's little book, are but the rare exceptions to a very general rule.

Giving Mr. Wilmot Horton the highest credit for the excellence of his intentions, and the undaunted zeal with which he has con-

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\* See a valuable letter from a settler, published in Hall's Travels in America.

tinued to reproduce before the public a subject, which, we scruple not to say, ranks in the first order of national importance, we yet cannot avoid thinking this defect in his plans to be radical, and to have been partly the cause of the coldness with which they have been hitherto regarded by the country at large, and the unwillingness of parliament to make advances for the purpose of prosecuting them any further. 'The feeling of indifference to anything like a government scheme of emigration, which was so generally spread by the faults of that proposed last year, will not, however, we hope, prevent the adoption of an organized system of emigration, such as we are now recommending,—an emigration of *labourers* not *colonists*, to supply the demands for labour of settling capitalists,—*an emigration which, from the first, will pay its own expenses*. Nor do we believe there is a man in England more likely to lend efficient assistance to this plan, than Mr. W. Horton himself, provided he shall be satisfied that it deserves the preference over that which he originally proposed; nor, indeed, whatever specific plan may be ultimately adopted, will the world refuse to his name the highest honours connected with the realization of the general scheme.

To determine what amount of tax will be necessary for the purpose, requires more detailed information on the current rate of wages, and prices of provisions, in the colony, than we at this moment can lay our hands on; but we submit the following as a rough estimate, tending, at least, to show that a very moderate imposition will be sufficient for the purpose. A tax of but sixpence per day on every labourer would provide ample funds for the annual exportation of a large number, without the least risk of sacrifice on the part of this country. For, supposing each labourer to work on an average but seven years before he retires or dies, the produce of this tax upon his employment during that term, would, if mortgaged, yield upwards of 50*l.*, a sum more than sufficient to defray the passage of a man, and his wife to New South Wales. Let us suppose, what we believe is not far from the truth, that the united colonies of the Cape, New South Wales, and Van Diemen's Land, possess at present a population of 10,000 labourers, a tax of sixpence a-head, per day, would, in the first year, produce near 80,000*l.*, which, even without anticipating the produce of future years, would carry over about 2000 young labourers with their wives. But since the number of labourers imported would be immediately liable to the tax, adding twenty per cent. to its amount, and that those already there are rapidly multiplying their numbers, the aggregate annual increase of the tax, from these combined causes, can hardly be less than thirty per cent. Next year, therefore, 2600 couples may be imported; in the third year,



year, 3380 ; in the fourth, 4400 ; in the fifth, near 6000 ; and so on, if they are wanted, in a rapidly increasing ratio. It is the prospect of this great future increase of the returns of the tax, which induces us to propose that they should be mortgaged at the beginning, for the purpose of commencing the exportation at once on a large scale. But an experiment will, perhaps, be advisable at first, to ascertain what quantity of labour can be absorbed and maintained by the present demand. This is clear, that with the increased importation, the demand for labourers there will increase : in the first place, owing to the inducement which *cheapness of labour added to cheapness of land* will hold out to settling capitalists ; in the next, by the rapid accumulation of capital within the colony, from the high profits these advantages will occasion there ; and, lastly, from the labourers themselves, after a few years' service, becoming candidates for grants of land, and employers of labour, out of the savings of their wages.

One of the pamphlets named at the head of this article\* is published for the purpose of bringing forward a plan similar to the above, but substituting for the tax on the employment of labour, a tax on rents, and a high price on all lands granted by government. The latter part of the proposal is a necessary condition to the obtaining any proceeds, from the former ; for where land of the best quality is to be had for nothing, there can be *no* rents. But the effect of this high price must infallibly be to force the employment of capital upon inferior soils already appropriated, instead of the best now lying waste. To determine this waste of capital, for it is nothing less, can hardly be a wise measure. Again, since the tracts of land already appropriated, though not cultivated, are very large, government would not be able to dispose of a single new grant at the high price mentioned, until every acre of these private estates had been sold at the same, or a somewhat lower price, and reduced to cultivation. Many years must elapse before this takes place, if it should ever happen ; and, in the meantime, the owners of these estates would be the only gainers by the measure, while the sale of government lands would produce nothing. Moreover, since it is the extreme cheapness of the most fertile land which forms the main inducement to settlers, we have no doubt, that to insist on a high purchase price for government grants would put an effectual stop to the migration of settlers and capital to that colony in which the experiment was tried, and divert the stream of colonization to North or South America, or wherever land was to be had on more favourable terms. A tax on rent, without, at the same time, raising the price of lands, if proposed as a means for defraying the

\* Statement of the Objects of a National Colonization Society, Ridgway. 1830.  
expense

expense of immediately importing labourers, is perfectly futile, since at present rent does not exist, except in the shape of interest on capital expended on clearing land and erecting buildings. To tax *this*, with a view to stimulate colonization, in other words, the expenditure of more capital in the same way, would be eminently unwise.

For these reasons we cannot approve of the means proposed by Mr. Gouger for raising an emigration fund, but think it more advisable to resort to a tax on labour, which is not open to any such objections, is more simple, and goes more directly to the point; the money paid out of the price of labour in the colony being immediately, or rather previously, employed in providing a fresh supply of the article. So far, therefore, from offering any impediment to the introduction of capital by settlers, the produce of the tax being expended in increasing the supply, and therefore keeping down the price of labour, it would give the utmost encouragement to the cultivation of fresh land, and the employment of more labourers, to the immediate increase of the tax, and, consequently, of the supply. The consumption of food by the new labourers would take off the surplus produce raised by those previously imported, and a beneficial circle of cause and effect would thus be created, tending to advance the cultivation of the colony in an accelerated ratio, and to the ultimate production of a result which almost defies exaggeration.

With regard to what forms a main topic in Mr. Gouger's pamphlet, namely, the necessity of preventing the dispersion of the inhabitants of a new country, we think the tendency to such spreading, and its 'barbarizing effect,' both very much exaggerated, and that whatever degree of 'concentration' is desirable, may be secured by other means than the imposing a high price on grants of land. It is true that the passion for a wild, roving, and savage life is seen to be occasionally powerful in colonists, and may grow by indulgence; but we are not inclined to think it will be found to prevail strongly among those who are transplanted from a country like Britain, where they have been habituated to the division of labour, and made practically acquainted with its advantages. If left to themselves, such persons, we think, will hardly spread further than is necessary to enable them to make the most of their labour and capital, to produce the greatest quantity of wealth to each individual, which must coincide, in the aggregate, with the greatest increase of wealth to the whole. The wants of social intercourse and aid, of protection from the natives, of roads, markets, stores, tradesmen, and occasional labourers, will be felt too strongly by all to allow of their being 'spread,' as Mr. Gouger anticipates, 'over the colonial wastes, and'

and degenerating into half savages.' But if it be to a certain extent desirable to enforce concentration, it may be easily provided for by a guarded disposal of the grants of land, at a price something more than nominal, as five shillings per acre; and the annexation of conditions capable of being strictly enforced, with regard to their effectual cultivation, communications, &c. The end will be obtained in this way far better than by requiring a high purchase price for land; which 1st, will not prevent those who prefer a wild to a civilized life, from settling as *squatters* without title; 2d, will force the employment of capital on inferior soils now appropriated; 3d, will produce no revenue till every acre of land now private property is sold or cultivated; 4th, will decidedly discourage colonization by capitalists, without whom no progress can be made at all: for, as Adam Smith has correctly stated, the essential elements of rapid colonization are *dear labour* and *cheap land*; for the obvious reasons that the latter forms the most powerful attraction to capitalists, the former to labourers. The high price of labour, also, by making a large family a source of wealth to every man, gives the highest encouragement to the increase of the colonial population; while 'the cheapness and plenty of good land encourage improvement, and enable the proprietor to pay those high wages. In those wages consists almost the whole price of the land; and though they are high, considered as wages of labour, they are low, considered as the price of what is so very valuable. What encourages the progress of population and improvement encourages that of real wealth and greatness.'\*

Nature has supplied us in our colonies with an almost unlimited extent of fertile land. Capitalists are ready and anxious to avail themselves of it. All that is wanted is a sufficient supply of labourers,—of those labourers whose numbers are so redundant at home that, under existing circumstances,—for we must repeat that we have great doubts whether this is *necessarily* the case,—employment cannot be found for them on terms that will keep life together. This supply, then, is, in the interest of both countries, the great object which government ought to have in view. And in order to raise a fund for this purpose, what method is more apposite and less likely to discourage either capitalists or labourers, than a small tax levied on the value of the labour which its expenditure conveys to the colony? Such a tax will be as readily paid by the employers of labour, as are the merchants' charges of importation on any other article in great request by the consumer.

In other respects, Mr. Gouger's pamphlet is worthy of great attention, displaying, as it does, many novel views on the import-

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\* *Wealth of Nations*. Book IV. chap. vii.



ant question of the means by which the pressure of population on states may be turned from a curse into a blessing. The calculations, in particular, of the numbers which it may be necessary to remove in order to maintain the resident population at that limit which will afford a comfortable subsistence to all, merit the utmost consideration.

It is observed, that by selecting for emigration young persons of both sexes previous to their marrying, the same effect would be produced in checking the increase of the residents, as if many times the number were taken at a more advanced age, when a large proportion of them are, perhaps, past procreation, or have already produced a family. Thus suppose the population of twenty millions to increase annually four per cent., by which ~~it~~ would double itself in twenty years, the highest rate of increase ever alledged by Mr. Malthus himself to exist in any country. Suppose, too, the annual number of marriages in proportion to the whole population to be as one to one hundred; which is probably rather above than below the truth; two hundred thousand couples will marry every year. By exporting four per cent. of that number, or eight thousand couples, the annual increase would take place in the colony instead of in the mother country. The expense of transporting an adult to the Cape or Australia averages 20*l.*; therefore, for 320,000*l.* annually laid out in this way, the population of Great Britain might be maintained at its present number, even though the tendency of its population to increase should equal that assumed by Malthus respecting countries like North America. But since the actual ratio of increase in the British islands is not more than one half of this, the expenditure of half that sum, or about 160,000*l.*, would wholly prevent any increase. Were the proposed tax on labour imposed on the colonies, and the sum of 160,000*l.* raised for a few years on the security of its proceeds, until the number of labourers in the colony had brought the tax up to that annual amount, the increase of our population might be at once effectually stopped.

But it may be said that this is not enough, for that the existing number is too great. We must read and study Mr. Sadler's forthcoming work before we pronounce it to be too great *absolutely*; —but suppose we grant all that is asked. What then can be easier than to reduce it by an excess in the annual exportation beyond the number required to prevent an increase? Thus, if a second sum of 160,000*l.* were applied to this purpose for the first five or ten years, the population would be annually diminished in the same proportion in which it at present increases; a process which, as it would depopulate the country entirely in about forty

years, will clearly be sufficient to thin the population to any desirable extent.

If we consider that the poor-rate of *England alone* amounts annually to above seven millions, of which a large proportion is spent in supporting unemployed labourers; and that of the remainder much must be saved by a measure which would almost wholly banish want from the country, we shall think such a result cheaply purchased at an expense of about 300,000*l.*, or of double that sum, (should the correctness of our calculations be doubted,) were it even to fall, as we have shown it need not, upon the mother country. And this will help us to form some conception of the prodigious benefit that must result from the establishment of a systematic exportation of marriageable couples on this principle, independent of the advantage to be anticipated from the creation of a new market for our manufactures in the rapidly increasing population of the colony.

Though we consider a tax on colonial rents inapplicable to the purpose of forming an emigration fund, we are willing to allow, and it is a subject which ought long ago to have attracted the attention of ministers, that, in a more advanced stage, a portion of such rents may form a very proper subject of taxation; nay, may without injury to any one, and with the greatest advantage to the community, be taken by government as a substitute for other sources of necessary revenue. We hope, indeed, that this consideration will be borne in mind in the disposal of all future grants, in which either a quit-rent might be reserved of twenty or twenty-five per cent. on the annual rent, without prejudice to the settler; or, which would be far better, the grants might be made only for long terms, renewable every ten years, at a fixed number of years' purchase. A permanent and increasing source of revenue would thus be opened to the future government of the country, so as wholly to prevent the necessity of those injurious schemes of taxation, by which the employment of capital and industry is so generally and unfortunately burdened in all old countries. The difference, in present value, between this kind of property and a grant in fee, would hardly, in any degree, check the investment of capital in its improvement and cultivation. This, however, is a digression from the immediate subject of discussion.

We think it quite possible to agree in opinion with Mr. Malthus, and the other writers on population, who maintain the proposition that, *cæteris paribus*, numbers uniformly increase with the means of subsistence, and diminish with their diminution—and yet to deduce, from their own premises, a very different inference from that adopted by the authors in question. They all argue, that

that to prevent the sufferings from want and disease, which must accompany the struggles of a population against those limits to its increase, which consist in a deficiency of food, endeavour should be made to prevent it by checks of a milder character, such as moral restraint, and the exercise of a prudential abstinence from marriage. Our inference, on the contrary, from the same premises, would be, that the endeavour should be applied not to limit the number of feeders, but to increase the supply of food. Granting all they ask as to the tendency of mankind to multiply, we should still deny utterly the *necessary* tendency of this multiplication to produce suffering, and the consequent propriety of checking it. We should deduce, from their own statements concerning the prodigious activity of the principle of population, the expediency, not of establishing new checks, but of removing that which now principally opposes the spread of population and human happiness,—namely, the difficulty of procuring subsistence. Unless it could be said that *the world* is already fully peopled, and that all its fertile soils are in cultivation, the problem would seem to us to be, not how to diminish, but how *to disperse*; not to exterminate, but to locate in the most advantageous positions; not to lessen the number of consumers, but to increase the means of consumption. So long as there is any uncultivated corner of the globe where the labour of a man can procure an abundance of food for himself and his family, it is too early to attempt to control the wise provisions which nature, in her benevolence, has established for the increase of our species; that is, for augmenting the mass of rational happiness. How foolish, then, is it, if not impious, to devise schemes for checking population at present, when *Britain alone*—(laying her domestic wastes, and the possibility of improving her internal agriculture, entirely out of view)—possesses, in her colonies, sufficient fertile and unoccupied land to supply food, with proper cultivation, to twenty times the twenty millions which are now complained of as too numerous! It will not be seriously urged, that, the globe being limited, and the possible increase of mankind unlimited, except by famine, we ought to begin now to anticipate and provide for the struggle that ages hence may be maintained by its population against the failure of subsistence. We may safely leave so distant a future to the same Providence which has brought us progressively forward to the point of improvement where we are, and in which one acre of ground will even now support many times the number of individuals which it did only a few centuries back.

The population writers have, throughout their arguments, gone upon the assumption, rather implied than expressed, that every nation



nation is limited to certain fixed boundaries. But the assumption is a bare hypothesis, utterly at variance with the fact. There is no law natural, human, or divine, to forbid a people from enlarging its territory as its numbers increase. Had Adam or Noah un- luckily argued like them, and succeeded in persuading their sons to submit to prudential restraint, and be careful not to over-people paradise or the ark, where should we have been now, and what would the world have remained ?—A wilderness, or peopled only by brutes. If a society suffers from the pressure of population, if its members are too closely packed, what is to prevent it from drafting its superfluity to other lands, where nature is prodigal of her bounty, and the luxuriant soil runs now to waste, but only ~~asks~~ the hand of man to produce an abundance, not of food merely, but of comforts and luxuries ?

It will be said, for it is the only answer, that these lands lie at a distance from the older and densely-peopled countries ; and the able-bodied pauper, who is starving in the midst of the latter, is, *by his very poverty*, deprived of the means of transporting himself to the former. And is it come to this ? After all our vaunted advances in art, in science, in morals, is Europe still at such a point of barbarous and almost infantine simplicity, that in those even among her states, which are at the head of civilization, an object, confessedly for the general benefit, must be foregone, because it cannot be attained by individual efforts ; that nations possessed of wealth beyond the imagination of Croesus, whose governments expend vast revenues in maintaining the dignity and splendour of thrones, and other *indirect* modes of benefiting their people, allow a large proportion of that people to drag on a miserable and useless existence from day to day, a burden to themselves, and to the wealthier classes, whose property they consume, without any return, merely because those destitute individuals cannot, unassisted, *remove themselves* to those shores, where they would infallibly become a source of wealth and happiness to themselves and the mother country ? Can it be that nations have not yet devised so obvious a method for turning the increase of their numbers to advantage, as the establishment of a system of colonization, by which a general curse may be converted into a general blessing—a herd of idle, criminal, and wretched paupers, into a band of happy, industrious, and thriving customers ?

We cannot allow that either the government or the legislature understand the nature of the duties they have undertaken, or even rightly view their interest as private individuals, if they are not aware that the condition of the labouring class—the great bulk of the people—ought to be the first and most important object of their solicitude. That this class is at present in a most depressed  
and

and degraded state, is proved by the reports of their own committees; and it is most certain that, in a country possessed of such vast wealth and resources, this can only be owing to the faultiness of her institutions, or the mismanagement of her rulers. 'The right of property itself is subservient to the general welfare; and that welfare is clearly not promoted by a distribution of property which confers princely wealth on a few, and condemns the industrious multitude, by whom that wealth is fabricated, to the alternative of hopeless toil or abject pauperism. The very multitude itself is, or shortly will be, capable of reasoning thus. Intelligence is spreading fast even among this degraded class,—intelligence, which offers the firmest security for their peaceable conduct, if accompanied by an interest in the maintenance of established order, but which is to be dreaded by all who are so interested, when the spirits whom it animates have everything to gain, and nothing to lose, by convulsion and anarchy.

If, under the influence of these ideas, the legislature should earnestly apply itself to the task of ameliorating the condition of the lower orders, we consider the first and most indispensable step to be, the placing the poor of Ireland on the same footing with those of Great Britain, with respect to parochial relief; so as to take from the latter the intolerable burden of supporting the surplus labourers of Ireland in addition to her own. Of equal importance with this measure is the correction of the illegal and abominable abuse, which, in some districts, taints the administration of the English poor-law, and turns to poison what, properly used, is a salutary and beneficial provision. So long as these two great but simple improvements are uneffected, we must despair of seeing any permanent or real improvement in the condition of the working class, whatever other remedies may be adopted. These steps taken, it will remain to remove the existing redundancy of population by such measures as we have ventured to recommend, viz. :—1. A general tithe-composition act; and a bill for facilitating the inclosure of wastes, and their cultivation by parochial paupers: 2. The removal of those taxes which press peculiarly on labour—to be replaced either by a property tax, or by moderate taxes on the horses used in agriculture, and on machinery: And lastly, a systematic exportation of labourers to our colonies, particularly Australia and the Cape, carried on by government, and defrayed by a tax on the value of the labour exported, and employed there.

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- ART. IX.—1. *Thoughts on the Present Distress*. London. 1829.  
 2. *An Inquiry into the Nature, Extent, and Causes of the Distress since 1825*. London. 1829.  
 3. *On the Distressed State of the Country*. By a Merchant. London. 1830.

ON two points, we presume, no doubt can be said any longer to remain;—first, that the difficulties under which the productive classes of this country have for some time laboured prevail, in various degrees of intensity, throughout the whole civilized world; and, secondly, that one great proximate cause of those difficulties is the progressive fall in the money-price of all commodities. It is not at all surprising that as many different solutions should have been offered as there are different countries which suffer under the visitation, and as there are, in each country, different opinions, interests, and political parties. Thus, in France, and in the United States, the existing restrictions on commerce,—in England, ‘free trade,’ the ‘corn laws,’ and ‘Mr. Peel’s bill,’ have severally been strenuously accused of having engendered the evil. We are far, indeed, from underrating the importance of these, and other similar influences, within their proper sphere; but the incongruity, in accounting for a general effect by causes, the operation of which is confined within so much narrower limits, is sufficiently obvious.

The influence of peace,—more especially of a general peace succeeding a general war,—is entitled to more consideration. In various ways peace operates to reduce the costs of production, or the natural price of commodities; but although such a reduction of the cost-price may, in its progress, be productive of some little loss to the holders of stocks, there can be no doubt that its general effect on the condition of the community at large is decidedly beneficial, as it is advantageous to the consumer without being prejudicial to the producer. For if A. can manufacture two pairs of stockings, and B. two yards of linen, at the same cost as formerly, respectively, one pair of stockings and one yard of linen, it is evident, first, that A. is not injured by selling the stockings he produces at one half of their former price, and secondly, that he is benefited by the reduced price at which he can now procure the linen which he consumes; and thus B. *vice versâ*, and so on throughout the whole series, whatever be its extent.\* It has been said, however, that peace has moreover caused ‘over-production,’ whereby the *market prices* of commodities have been generally depressed below their cost prices. Temporary gluts in particular commodities of particular markets, certainly have

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\* Vide Storch, *Cours d’Economie Politique*. Paris edition, t. i. p. 460.



occurred, and it may also, perhaps, be admitted that they are naturally of more frequent occurrence in peaceful than in warlike times; but unless not only a general, but a permanent glut be assumed, which would be as monstrous in theory as entirely destitute of foundation in fact, we do not see how what has been termed 'over-production' can be made available in explanation of the object of our inquiry.\* The effect of the greater regularity and abundance with which markets are usually supplied in peace, is, however, undoubtedly to bring down the market price of commodities to a closer approach of the cost price than is generally the case during war, and thus to diminish the profits of the producers. In pre-eminently productive communities, more particularly, this effect of peace will of course cause disappointments and complaints proportionally grievous and loud as industry and commerce have become more or less habituated to the excitements of war. Thence, for some time, a listless, discontented state of the public mind is apt to arise, not unvisited by mischievous illusions, causing temporary, more or less decided, relapses in the formerly hypersthenic habit. At length, however, men's ideas and habits are forced to conform to the even tenor of the course of things in times of general peace, and the transition from war to peace is then felt to be completed. In this respect the present circumstances so closely resemble those of the periods of general tranquillity succeeding the 'Thirty years' war and the peace of Utrecht, that we should be tempted to draw the parallel, if our space admitted of such a digression.

Peace, then, may, perhaps, account for the whole of the reduction which has taken place in the cost price of commodities—and even for the depression of the market price to the extent of lowering the rate of profits. But it affords no explanation of a fall of prices, exceeding the amount of the reduction in the costs of production and the depression of the rate of profits. Yet that prices have for some time past been constantly impelled beyond those limits in their fall, the progressive destruction of one, and the retirement of another portion of the capital invested in industry,—the sinking credit of those who are engaged in trade and commerce, and the general despondency which prevails among the productive classes, sufficiently attest.

'The steadiest industry' (says the spirited author of the pamphlet

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\* The commercial reports from nearly all markets, and on nearly all commodities, remark on the circumstance of stocks having gradually decreased in the course of last year, and being generally lower at the close than at the commencement of it, and of prices yet having continued to give way, thus disappointing all those confident anticipations of an advance of prices which were founded on the stricter limitation of the supply to the actual demand, which has of late been observable in the great majority of the principal commodities.

first on our list) can no longer ensure success. The best founded expectations end but in disappointment—the wisest schemes lead but to ruin. It is not one branch of industry only that feels the pressure of the times—one manufacture that is unsuccessful—all are equally borne down by one general oppression. Nor is the evil, though more acutely felt in England, peculiar to this country. The industry of every quarter of the world attests its infliction. From the Neva to the Ganges, from the Mediterranean to the Pacific Ocean, its influence, lessened or aggravated by the peculiar commercial systems of each country, acts in every region of the earth. . . . Effects so universally felt,’ he proceeds, ‘it would be unphilosophical to ascribe to any but an universal cause, and none is adequate to produce them but the increased value of the precious metals.’

We are much surprised that the fact here indicated should as yet have failed of receiving the degree of attention which is so obviously its due, more especially as a full and exact knowledge of the supply of precious metals must be considered as the very foundation on which every inquiry into the rise and fall of the money-price of commodities ought to proceed.\* If the great proximate cause of the existing difficulties be an alteration that has taken place and still is in progress in the general measure of value, it is essential to the safety of all public and private property that this should be properly and generally understood. If such be indeed the main source of the present distress, grave and afflicting though it be, it evidently furnishes no cause for despairing of the fortunes of the country,—for those gloomy forebodings of the future, which have of late troubled the public mind; above all, for arraying in hostile contention against each other the several classes and interests of the community. A just appreciation of its influence will teach our landlords and their tenants not to despond under the infliction, and direct their attention to means of real relief which are yet far from being exhausted; while our merchants and manufacturers will learn from it, not to waste their spirit and strength in ineffectual struggles against a current, with which no exertions can successfully contend, but prudently to rest on their oars until the propitious tide returns, as it sooner or later, more or less strongly, but infallibly, will.

To contribute in some measure to these salutary ends, we propose to prove that a considerable rise has occurred in the *exchangeable value of the precious metals*,—and, by consequence, in that of *the money of the world*,†—during the last twenty years;  
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\* See Lowe, *Present State of England*, 1822, p. 267; Tooke on *High and Low Prices*, 2d. edit., 1824, p. 382-392; the same author's *Considerations on the State of the Currency*, 1826, p. 52; and the *Postscript to his Second Letter to Lord Grenville*, 1829, p. 91-107.

† Not, therefore, in that of cowries or macutes, tobacco or salt, stockfish or furs, nor,

1st, by showing that there has been an extraordinary decrease in the supply, while there has been a similar increase in the demand of precious metals since 1810; 2dly, by reference to the money prices of wheat in Europe, taking the average every ten years, as a criterion of the effect of the altered proportion between the precious metals and other commodities on the value of money. Having done this, we shall proceed to point out some of the effects of a rise in the value of money on the condition of different classes of the community, in which the characteristic features of present circumstances will immediately be recognized: concluding with a few observations on the remedies applicable to this state of things, and on the prospect we have of its termination.

The productiveness of the gold and silver mines of Europe was on the decrease, and the money-price of commodities exhibited a tendency downwards, at the time of the discovery of America. Nor was the addition to the existing stock of precious metals very considerable for some time after the discovery of the new continent, 1502; and the conquest of Mexico, 1529, and Peru, 1533. It was not till after the treasures of the Cerro de Potosi had been discovered in 1545, and the Veta Madre of Guanaxuato had begun to be worked in 1556, nor until (about the same time) mining had become an object of regular industry in America, that the treasures of the New World poured in on the Old in such abundance as to produce a sensible effect. It was felt in the rise of prices in England towards the last quarter of the sixteenth, and in the markets of the world generally appears to have reached its extreme limit before the middle of the seventeenth, century. The relative value of the precious metals had then fallen to one-fourth of what it had been before the discovery of America, and the money prices of commodities were raised fourfold.

Humboldt estimates the importation of treasure from America into Europe, between 1546 and 1600 at 11, and between 1601 and 1700, at 16,000,000 dollars annually. The supply still continued to increase, and from 1700 to 1750, averaged 22,500,000 dollars annually. The demand, however, had now also increased in an, at least, equal ratio; and Doctor Smith has satisfactorily shown, that the value of the precious metals experienced no further depreciation between 1640 and 1775, and that the money price of commodities, during that period, remained nearly stationary, with a slight tendency even to fall.

From 1770, however, in consequence of the great productive-

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nor, in short, in the value of any money in which the precious metals do not enter, substantially or ideally, as material. We conceive we have sufficiently guarded against being misunderstood, by saying the 'money of the world,' which is nothing but gold and silver, in coin and ingots.



ness of some of the old, and the discovery of new mines, (Gualgayoc in Peru, and the mineral repository of Catorce in Mexico,) aided by a combination of circumstances imparting a fresh stimulus to the mining industry of America generally, the produce rose more rapidly. Humboldt estimates the importation of American gold and silver into Europe between 1751 and 1800 at \$5,500,000 dollars annually, and states the total produce of the American mines at the commencement of the present century as follows :

	Dollars.		Dollars.		Dollars.
Mexico	23,000,000	Buenos Ayres	4,850,000	New Grenada	2,990,000
Peru . .	6,240,000	Chili . . .	2,060,000	Brazils . . .	4,360,000
<hr/>		In all . . .	43,500,000 dollars annually.		

Subsequent to the date of this estimate, however, the coinage in Mexico increased, and averaged, from 1800 to 1810, 22,564,722 dollars annually. Adding 1-6th for unregistered metal, we may, therefore, state the produce of the Mexican mines at 26,500,000, and that of America generally, before 1810, at 47,000,000 dollars annually. Contemporaneously with this rapid growth of the produce of the mines, the credit, bank, and paper-money systems experienced an hitherto unknown development and extension, and the money prices of commodities during this period (1770—1810) accordingly steadily continued to rise.

Let us observe here in passing, that the advantages have scarcely yet been duly appreciated which England, in particular, reaped from this progressive fall in the value of the precious metals and of money. It was about the beginning of this period that English industry had taken a more decided turn towards manufacturing pursuits. Hargreaves, in 1767, had invented the jenny; Arkwright, the same year, brought forward his improvements in spinning; and James Watt, the following year, took out a patent for his steam-engine. On the tide of rising prices that set in at this critical epoch, and unchangingly continued to flow for a period of forty years, not only those important inventions, but every undertaking of industry or speculation of commerce, were borne up and succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectations; and it was this uniform and often splendid success, which created and matured that spirit of enterprise in the British manufacturer and merchant, which has raised Great Britain to her present eminence; which then gave her a start, that has since enabled her, in the race of domestic prosperity, to leave all other nations wide behind her.

During the last twenty years of this era, the wars arising out of the French Revolution supervened, and added—to the abundant supply of precious metals, to the extension of credit, to the in-

creased

creased mass of paper money,—their active influence in causing a still further rise of prices.

‘ ——— Tolluntur in altum,  
Ut lapsu graviore ruant.’

In 1810, the revolutionary troubles in Spanish America broke out; they raged with the greatest fury in most of the principal mining districts, and the richest American mines were abandoned and partly inundated. The disastrous consequence was an immediate decrease of the produce to one-third of its former amount.

We are indebted to the industry and intelligence with which Mr. Ward has so meritoriously availed himself of his opportunities as his Majesty’s chargé d’affaires in Mexico, from 1825 to 1827, for more conclusive data on the produce of the Mexican mines since 1810, than we possess on that of any part of South America: a defect, however, which the recent motions of the Marquis of Lansdowne and Sir James Graham in parliament lead us to hope will shortly be remedied. According to Mr. Ward,\* the coinage in the metropolitan and six provincial mints of Mexico amounted, during the sixteen years, 1811 to 1826, to an aggregate of

	168,297,400 dollars.
The coinage in the metropolis in 1827 and 1828 has been stated at	5,700,853 „
If we suppose the coinage in the four provincial mints still employed to have been in 1827 and 1828	6,001,747 „

We shall have for the eighteen years, 1811 to 1828, a total of 180,000,000 dollars, or, on an average, 10,000,000 dollars annually.

If, on one hand, 1,000,000 a year more ought to be added to this amount for unregistered metal, on the other, all the metal coined was not, by any means, the immediate produce of the mines.† Gold and silver plate of churches and private individuals was from 1811 to 1815 sent to the mints to the amount of at least 1,000,000 annually; the remittances of specie from England on

\* Mexico in 1827. 2 vols. London. 1828.

† The coinage of the provincial mints from 1811 to 1826 is given by Mr. Ward at 48,275,165 dollars in the general resumé of the whole coinage; the sum of the detailed dates is, however, 49,084,564 dollars. We have taken this latter amount.

Mr. Ward could not, in fact, collect that the actual produce of the mines since 1810 had been higher than 4,790,000 dollars annually. Humboldt says ‘the mining districts of Guanaxuato, Catorce, Zacatecas, Real del Monte, and the new Biscaina furnish nearly the whole of the Mexican produce of gold and silver.’ Now, Guanaxuato, which in the fifteen years previous to 1810 had yielded 590,164 marcs of silver, and 1920 marcs of gold annually, furnished, from 1811 to 1819, only 221,549 marcs of silver, and 615 marcs of gold; and from 1820 to 1825, 95,546 marcs of silver, and 430 marcs of gold annually;—Catorce, instead of 3,500,000 dollars previous to 1810, only 600,000 dollars annually from 1811 to 1825; the Biscaina of Real del Monte, instead of 875,000 dollars annually from 1794 to 1801, only 14,285 dollars annually from 1809 to 1823; and the produce of Zacatecas, which was about 2,000,000 of dollars annually, previous to 1810, had fallen off to one-half of that amount, although, compared with other districts, it had suffered least.

account of the first Mexican loan raised in this country, and by the English mining associations, which went to swell the amount of the coinage, may be estimated at 2,000,000;—and, finally, the coin which issued from the provincial mints between 1811 and 1821, was of so low a standard, that it is now only taken at a discount of from 15 to 20 per cent. We cannot, therefore, estimate the total produce of the Mexican mines since 1810 higher than at the amount of the coinage, viz., 10,000,000 of dollars annually.

Of the annual produce of the South American mines since 1810, Mr. Jacob, in a communication inserted in the second edition of Mr. Tooke's work on High and Low Prices, gives the following estimate:—

	Dollars.		Dollars.		Dollars.
'Peru . . .	2,000,000	Chili . . .	800,000	Brazils .	1,736,000
Buenos Ayres	1,500,000	New Grenada,	2,000,000		
Total, 8,036,000 dollars.'					

'Of Peru,' Mr. Jacob remarks, 'the produce could only be guessed at from knowing that some of the mines had stopped since 1811, and that the Pasco mines' (which, from 1752 to 1801, had yielded upwards of two millions of dollars annually,) 'still produced very little.' 'Buenos Ayres was the scene of ravaging wars from 1810, and chiefly in the mining districts. When Puyreddon seized on La Paz and Potosi, in 1811, none of the mines were at work.'

Of 132 ingenios (stamping-mills) which, in the most prosperous period of mining on the Cerro de Potosi, had full employment, Captain Andrews,\* in 1826, found only twelve in existence, and the population of the town reduced from 130,000 to 9000. Mr. Temple says, that of forty ingenios in active work a few years before the revolution, and producing, at a moderate calculation, 8000 marcs of silver weekly, (about three millions and a half of dollars annually,) there were, in 1827, only fifteen working on a very moderate scale, producing, on an average, 1500 marcs of silver weekly, (about 663,000 dollars annually). In General Miller's Memoirs it is stated, that, from 1810 to 1825, the mint of Potosi coined at the average rate of only half a million of dollars annually. In 1826 it was again on the increase; and Mr. Temple informs us, that, in that year, the Rescate Bank of Potosi had purchased from the mines of Potosi, Portugalette, and Chayanta, 177,127 marcs of plata piña (about 1,500,000 dollars in value).

'By recent accounts from Chili,' Mr. Jacob proceeds, 'the produce of the mines is stated to be reduced to less than 200,000 dollars.'

Mr. Caldcleugh,† in 1821, estimated the general produce at

\* Travels in South America.

† Caldcleugh's Travels.



500,000 dollars; but Mr. Miers \* states the coinage, which, in 1817, amounted to 1,161,283 dollars, to have fallen off down to 193,000 dollars in 1824. Mr. Jacob says,

‘ By a report presented to Congress from the executive government of New Grenada, it appears that the working of the mines had been resumed, and had, which is stated boastingly, in the year 1822, produced 1,270,000 dollars. . . . The state of the Brazil gold washings is traced from the “*Correo Braziliense*,” “*Balbi, Essai Statistique*,” *Koster*, and other late travellers.’

According to Humboldt, however,† the produce of gold which paid the quinto averaged, from 1811 to 1825, only 1095 pounds (=755,000 dollars) annually, to which four-fifths (=604,000 dollars) may be added for gold which evaded the duty.‡ The produce had since fallen off still more, and, according to the Baron von Eschwege, did not, in 1824, amount to more than 584 pounds (=36,000 dollars), including unregistered gold. Mr. Walsh § mentions that the duty on gold paid at the Caza da fundação of Sabara, for the last quarter of 1825, was only one ounce; and that the value of all the gold raised in the comarca of Rios das Mortes, and passed into the caza of S. João d’el Rey, in 1827, did not exceed 104,000 dollars. The produce entered at S. João in 1828, however, Mr. Walsh estimates at about 5200 marcs (=680,000 dollars).—The success which has attended the working of the mines of the Gongo Soco estate by the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association, has added an aggregate of 7664 pounds of gold (=1,731,000 dollars) to the produce of the last three years. || If, on the strength of these data, we estimate the annual produce of Brazils from 1811 to 1821 at 1,350,000, from 1822 to 1826 at 400,000, and for the last three years at 1,000,000 dollars, this will give an average of 1,240,000 dollars annually for the last nineteen years.

‘ I am satisfied,’ Mr. Jacob thus concludes his remarks, ‘ that my statement of the produce from 1810 to 1821 is too high, and I should not now (14th May, 1824), if I were to make the estimate, take the annual average higher than twelve millions of dollars;’ in which he includes Mexico with eight millions, leaving, as the

\* *Travels in Chili.*

† *Essai Polit. sur la Nouv. Esp.* 2me edit. Paris, 1827.

‡ The revenue from the Quinto do oiro in Brazil averaged—

From 1774 to 1784, 69 arrobas annually. From 1810 to 1817, 22 arrobas annually.

— 1785 to 1794, 45

— 1818 to 1820, 6

*Ess. Polit.* 2d ed. t. iii. p. 450.

§ *Notices of Brazil in 1828 and 1829.* 2 vols. London, 1830.

|| The produce of the Gongo Soco mines is reported to have been—

1826, 550 pounds of gold.

1828, 1062 pounds of gold.

1827, 2008

1829, 4044

From Jan. 9th to Feb. 17th, 1830, it was 470 pounds.

annual produce of the South American mines, four millions of dollars. This we consider as a sufficiently close approximation to the truth; but, taking into account the recent partial increase of the produce, we shall estimate it at five million dollars, and adding that of Mexico, ten millions, we have, as the annual average amount of the gold and silver production of America, since 1810, fifteen million dollars, or less than one-third of what it was previously to 1810.

The value of the annual produce of gold and silver from Europe and Northern Asia, at the commencement of the present century, amounted to 4,000,000 dollars. Passing over a trifling increase of about 6000 marcs of silver in the produce of the Saxon mines, we cannot trace that there has been any increase of the produce since 1810, except in the Russian empire. Until 1817 the produce of gold in the Ural was only 20 poods annually; from 1818 to 1823 it averaged about 50 poods; and from 1824 to 1829 it has amounted to rather more than 250 poods annually.\*—The total produce of all the Russian mines, from 1704 to 1810, had been 1726 poods of gold, and 61,859 poods of silver.† In the year 1828 it amounted to 318 poods of gold, and 1093 poods of silver. The value of this addition to the produce of the last six years may be stated at 3,000,000 dollars annually; and the annual amount of the supply of gold and silver from the mines of Europe and Northern Asia, since 1810, may thence be estimated at 5,000,000 dollars.

The annual produce of gold in Borneo, Sumatra, and the rest of the Indian Archipelago, Mr. Crawford‡ states at 2,980,000 dollars. That of Senegambia, Guinea, and the Coast of Africa generally, has been stated variously, and may be taken at 1,000,000 dollars. No data exist as to the produce of the interior of Africa, Central Asia, Tonkin, China, and Japan.

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* Viz. :—	1824	.	205	poods—(1 pood = 46½ lb. English.)
	1825	.	237	"
	1826	.	232	"
	1827	.	282	"
	1828	.	291	"
	To June 1829	.	142	"

Humboldt, in a paragraph which he was induced to publish, in order to guard against being considered as the promulgator of some incorrect accounts, which the journals had given of the produce of the Russian mines since his return from Russian Asia, states the total produce of gold of the Ural—

From 1814 to 1823 at 304 poods.  
 „ 1824 „ 1828 „ 1247

Together at 1551 poods, worth about 17,000,000 dollars.

† Vide Herrman's *Wichtigkeit des Bergbaues von Russland*, 1810.

‡ *History of the Indian Archipelago*, London, 1820.

The account, then, of the total annual supply of gold and silver will stand thus :—

	Previous to 1810.	Subsequent to 1810.
Europe and Northern Asia . . . . .	4,000,000 dollars,	5,000,000 dollars.
Indian Archipelago . . . . .	2,980,000     "	2,980,000     "
Africa . . . . .	1,000,000     "	1,000,000     "
America . . . . .	47,000,000     "	15,000,000     "
Total . . . . .	54,980,000 dollars.	23,980,000 dollars.

Decrease of the annual supply since 1810, 31,000,000 dollars—amounting, during the last nineteen years, to an aggregate of 589,000,000 dollars.

Even if the demand had remained stationary, a defalcation in the supply to such an amazing amount must have affected the relative value of the precious metals to a greater degree than any event since the discovery of America, with which indeed it is in this respect alone to be compared, or rather contrasted. But the rapid growth, during this period, of the capacity of the two great absorbents of the precious metals, commerce and luxury, is scarcely less remarkable than the extraordinary decrease of the supply. A glance at the import and export lists of the different nations which compose the civilized world, at the commencement and at the close of the last twenty years, suffices to convince us of the remarkable increase which has taken place in the amount and activity of international commerce, and the more silent growth of internal trade, though less palpable, is not the less certain. Considering, then, the increase in the mass of commodities in circulation now, compared with what was the case twenty years ago ; the accelerated movement with which the growth of the population has proceeded since the restoration of peace ; and the quickened pace with which commerce and civilization, hand in hand, are striding onwards extending the markets of the world, we shall hardly be deemed guilty of exaggeration, if we assume that, *deductis deducendis*, an increase of the absolute quantity of the circulating medium, to the amount of at least 10 per cent., must have taken place during the last twenty years. Storch,\* correcting the estimate of Humboldt, computed the metallic circulation of Europe alone in 1815 at 1,320,000,000 of dollars ; at present it may be stated at 1,600,000,000. The population of Europe at the former period was 190,000,000, it is now 210,000,000.

This is, however, only the *ordinary* increase which has taken place in the demand for coin during this period : but we have now also to take into calculation a sudden *extraordinary* increase since 1815, to fill up the chasm in the circulating me-

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\* Cours d'Econ. Polit. t. iv. Note xii.



dium caused by the withdrawal of paper money.\* In England, in Austria, in Russia, in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, in the United States, this transubstantiation of the circulating medium has simultaneously proceeded, since 1815, to the amount of, probably, 300,000,000 dollars; in some of those countries this operation is still in active progress; and the *extraordinary* demand for gold and silver, to replace paper, thus continues. That it should have been thought necessary to adopt a measure so certain of aggravating the evil of the sudden defalcation in the supply of precious metals, at a time when, to meet the exigencies of the moment, if no national currencies had already existed, they ought to have been created, must certainly be considered as most peculiarly unfortunate; and it cannot be denied, that the advocates and the adversaries of paper money are equally open to the reproach of having neglected to consider the matter duly in this very important point of view.

The increase in the consumption of gold and silver in the manufacture of services of plate, watches, trinkets, plating and gilding, wire, lace, &c., &c., has also been very considerable. In France, Chaptal (*de l'Industrie Française, Paris, 1819*) computed it at 29,450,000 francs annually; and Humboldt estimates it at four times that amount in all Europe, or at about 22,000,000 dollars annually. Count Chabrol (*Recherches Statistiques sur la Ville de Paris, 1823*) gives the annual average value of the gold and silver manufactured in Paris, at 14,553,000 francs. If

* In England, the increase of the gold and silver coin, in consequence of the withdrawal of paper money, amounts to 25,000,000 <i>l</i> .	Dollars. 125,000,000
In Austria, about 200,000,000 guilders	= 150,000,000
In Russia, the paper circulation, 1810-1814, was (as stated by Storch) 577,000,000 roubles, and it does not appear to have decreased in amount since. But the coinage has increased, in order to provide a metallic circulating medium, and avoid an increase of the paper circulation. The coinage 1796-1801 averaged about 3, and 1802-1811 3½ millions of roubles annually; but in 1817 and 1818, an extraordinary coinage of 44,000,000 took place, which we are justified in bringing into account here	= 35,000,000
In Denmark, the notes of the bank of Copenhagen in circulation amounted, in 1813, to 38,834,336 rix-dollars; in August, 1829, only to 19,115,202 rix-dollars. In Sleswick and Holstein, a redemption of paper to a considerable amount has likewise taken place; altogether equal to about	10,000,000
In Sweden, a decrease of the paper circulation is likewise said to have been operated, and the bank of Stockholm is stated to have added to its metallic treasure 1,800,000 rix-dollars since 1812. Including Norway, where the same operation has been going on, we may estimate the effect there at about	5,000,000

We have no detailed account of what has been done, in the United States and some other countries. It would be of great interest to have this defect remedied; but in the mean while, we have stated sufficient grounds for the assumption in the text, even if allowance be made for the emission of new paper money in Brazil and Buenos Ayres.

we add two-fifths for the departments, and one-third of the whole for plate which evades the assay duty, the result would indicate a decrease to the amount of 1,500,000 francs. This decrease, however, (if decrease there be,\*) seems to have taken place in the manufacture for exportation, and disappears in the great contemporary increase of this manufacture throughout the rest of Europe. Whatever may have been the case in France, no one at all acquainted with the principal cities of Europe, can entertain any doubt of the general increase of the manufacture of plate, &c., and in England it has, in fact, been so great as almost to stagger belief. According to Chalmers (*Comparative Estimate*) there were manufactured into plate in Great Britain in the ten years from 1788 to 1797, 10,171 lbs. of gold, 919,283 lbs. of silver; and in the ten years from 1800 to 1809, 16,942 lbs. of gold, 1,130,481 lbs. of silver. The assay duty on plate during the latter ten years (1800-1809) we calculate to have averaged 8420*l.* annually. Now, in 1828, (according to a statement made by Mr. Huskisson,† in the House of Commons,) it amounted to 105,000*l.*, being equal to 88,200*l.* at the former rate of duty, or to 17,790 lbs. of gold, and 1,186,973 lbs. of silver manufactured into plate in Great Britain in one year. This is four times the amount of that manufactured in France, and exceeds even the sum at which Humboldt has estimated that of all Europe. If these data will justify us in assuming the annual value of the gold and silver manufactured in England at 23,000,000 dollars, and in France at 5,500,000 dollars; and if we may hazard an estimate of its value in Geneva, Vienna, Augsburg, Berlin, Leipsic, Vicenza, Padua, and the rest of Europe, at 11,500,000 dollars; the aggregate for Europe alone would be 40,000,000 dollars annually. In spite of all our deference to the great authority of Humboldt, we must, therefore, differ from him in his opinion‡ respecting Mr. Lowe's calculation of the annual consumption of gold and silver for plate, ornamental manufacture, and furniture, in Europe and the United States of America, and consider that es-

\* The number of gold and silver watches manufactured in France was, in 1789, 200,000; had, in 1819, increased to 300,000; and is at present stated at 400,000. The census of the *fonds de boutiques*, in France, in 1819, gave 7000 pounds gold, and 218,000 pounds silver = 64,000,000 francs.

† 'The rate of duty upon silver wrought plate in 1804 was 1*s.* 3*d.*, upon gold 16*s.* per ounce; it was afterwards raised to 1*s.* 6*d.* upon silver, and to 17*s.* upon gold. But what has been the net produce of the duty? It has risen from less than 5000*l.* in 1804, to upwards of 105,000*l.* in 1828; a rise more than twenty-fold, notwithstanding the greatly diminished supply from the mines, and the consequent increasing value of the precious metals. It may be further remarked, that this augmented consumption shows how large a portion of gold and silver is annually diverted from the purposes of coin to those of ornament and luxury.'—See the corrected edition of Mr. Huskisson's speech of the 18th March, 1830.

‡ *Ess. Polit. sur la Nouv. Esp.*, t. iii.

timate of it at 30,000,000 dollars annually as a very moderate one. Certainly, we need not fear being charged with exaggerating the fact, if we content ourselves to estimate at that amount this species of consumption of the precious metals in the whole civilized or commercially connected world.

Let us now, without wishing to lay any undue stress upon the experiment, but merely *pour la curiosité du fait*, hazard an attempt at giving a numerical statement of the actual supply and demand of precious metals for the last nineteen years. The supply for these nineteen years has averaged 23,980,000 dollars annually, making an aggregate of 455,620,000 dollars. The demand may, perhaps, be stated as follows—

(a) Taking the metallic circulation of the world at 3,000,000,000 of dollars, and estimating the waste by wear and tear, melting and recoinage, and the loss by shipwrecks and in other ways at 2 per mille, annually, it would, in nineteen years amount to	114,000,000 Dollars.
(b) The increase of the absolute quantity of circulating medium, which has become requisite since 1810, we will estimate at 6 per cent.	=180,000,000 „
(c) The chasm in the circulation, caused by the withdrawal of paper-money since 1815, and filled up by gold and silver coin, at	300,000,000 „

And finally—

(d) The consumption of precious metals by the manufactories and artificers at 30,000,000 annually, amounting in nineteen years to	570,000,000 „
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Which gives us for the demand, since 1810, a total of	1,164,000,000 „
Deduct the supply from the mines	455,620,000 „

And the deficiency will appear to have been 708,380,000 Dollars, to which amount there must have been a drain on the existing stock.\*

If,

\* It may possibly be thought by some, that so great an excess of the demand over the supply proves too much, and that an abstraction of such a sum from the existing stock could not have been effected without becoming more clearly manifest to every perception than has been the case. But the following data towards an estimate of the absolute amount of the mass of precious metals in actual existence will, we conceive, remove such doubts. Gregory King estimates the stock of gold and silver, existing at the time of the discovery of America, at 2,500,000,000 dollars. In the absence of the grounds upon which it was formed, we must, however, consider this estimate as certainly too high. Gerboux (*de la législation monétaire*) computes the metallic circulation of Europe, at that time, at only 114,000,000 dollars. We will take the whole stock of the world of gold and silver, in 1492, at 2,000,000,000 Dollars.

Of the additions that have since been made to it we can form a tolerable estimate to the following extent:—

1. Produce of the American mines since 1492. From 1492 to 1803, according to Humboldt (inclusive of 25,000,000, the spoil of the first conquest)	5,731,000,000 „
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[In the documents from which Humboldt drew his data of the coinage of Mexico, the coinage of gold from 1690 to 1733, estimated at 24,237,766 dollars, and from 1750 to 1777, known

to



If, on the contrary, there had been no falling off in the produce of the American mines, the supply during these nineteen years would have amounted to 1,053,620,000 dollars, or, very nearly have covered the whole demand, notwithstanding the *extraordinary* increase in it, caused by the withdrawal of paper-money.

We repeat, however, that we do not wish to attach any undue importance to a calculation, founded on assumptions which may be, if not refuted, at least disputed. We take our stand on the plain and undeniable facts, that there has since 1810 been a defalcation in the usual supply of precious metals—a *lucrum cessans* to the amount of 589,000,000 dollars; that we have also, by the destruction of paper-money since 1815, suffered a *damnum emergens* of 300,000,000 dollars; and finally, that the ordinary demand has, at the same time, greatly and notoriously increased. No one will deny that these form sufficient grounds for the presumption—that they amount in fact, *à priori*, to the strongest possible proof—that a considerable rise, in the relative value of the precious metals must, as an inevitable consequence, have taken place. But that such rise has, in point of fact, really occurred, we shall now proceed to prove, *à posteriori*, by applying to the present

to have been 21,536,980 dollars, does not, however, appear to have been included. From these 45,774,746 dollars may be deducted the amount of mere recoinage of old coin from 1733 to 1822, which amounted to 10,714,363 dollars.]

And we may then add to Humboldt's statement	35,000,000 Dollars.
From 1804 to 1810, seven years, at 47,000,000 dollars	329,000,000 "
From 1811 to 1829, twenty-nine years, at 15,000,000 dolls.	435,000,000 "
2. Produce of the mines of Europe and Northern Asia, from 1492 to 1825, according to Malchus (Statistik und Staatenkunde, 1826)	600,000,000 "
From 1826 to 1829, four years, at 7,000,000 dollars	28,000,000 "
[Humboldt, incidentally and without entering into details, supposes it at 6,000,000 francs annually, which would give only about 500,000,000 dollars since 1492.]	
3. The supply from the coasts of Africa, since 1492, we will take at	150,000,000 "
These items give a total of	9,308,000,000 "
Out of which we will suppose to have disappeared by waste and every species of consumption	2,308,000,000 "
Which still leaves us	7,000,000,000 "

To this is to be added the produce of the mines of Central Asia, the Indian Archipelago, Tonkin, China, and Japan, and the interior of Africa since 1492, of which we can form no conjecture, and from which, likewise, the consumption and waste would have to be deducted. The decrease in the existing stock of precious metals, which has been operated since 1810, would, therefore, appear to be less than 10 per cent.: no greater decrease, certainly, than may be easily conceived, especially if we consider that the drain has been severest upon the stock of America, and, in the first instance, therefore, proportionably less felt in Europe; yet quite sufficient to effect that general rise in the relative value of the precious metals which we have witnessed.

case the most accredited test which we possess, to ascertain the truth in this matter,—we mean, the average prices of corn in money.

Mr. Jacob's report to the House of Lords on the corn trade (dated February, 1826), and the returns of his Majesty's consuls on the prices of corn, have enabled us to compile a tabular statement of the variations in the decennial average prices of wheat at eleven different points of Europe, for some of which the data commence from the year 1700. The price of the first ten years, at each of the seven places for which our accounts begin with the year 1700, we have stated, = 100 ; the first price at each of the remaining four places, for which the accounts do not begin so early, we have stated at the average of the line in which that first price has been inserted. The subsequent figures show the relation of the subsequent prices to the first. In the thirteenth column of our table we have given the total average, and in the fourteenth we have, in the same manner, added, from Mr. Rooke's 'Inquiry into the Principles of National Wealth,' the prices of agricultural labour in Cumberland since 1730, corresponding, we believe, pretty nearly, with those in other parts of England. The last columns contain the annual average amount of the coinage in Mexico and Potosi—a tolerably correct index of the variations in the general supply from the mines.

The prices of wheat in England and of agricultural labour in Cumberland have been reduced to the bullion-price. Our inability to reduce to similar uniformity the prices of wheat in Bourdeaux, commencing in the year 1700, and those of rye and barley mixed (used for bread) in Sweden, which reach still further back, has reluctantly compelled us to reject those interesting particulars, which, however, appear to accord with the results given in the thirteenth column, and would have served to extend the base on which it rests. Although a fuller account of the prices of corn in Europe, than this table contains, would have been very desirable, we have, on consideration, preferred to leave it the fragment it must be confessed to be, rather than to impair its authentic character, by supplying its deficiencies from other less accredited sources. It reaches only down to 1826. The scanty and, in parts, absolutely deficient harvests of the last two or three years have sustained the prices of corn since, while those of all other commodities have continued to fall ; yet even scarcity has not been able to raise the money price of corn to what it was during the ten years immediately preceding the last war.\*

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\* The average price of wheat in England, 1827—1829, was 59½s. per quarter, and would have to be represented by 171 in the table we give, raising the English average for 1820—1829 to 168.

TABLE of VARIATIONS in the Average Decennial Prices of Wheat in Europe, of Agricultural Labour in England, and in the Annual Coinage of Mexico and Potosi.

W H E A T.													14	15	16	17
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Agricultural Labour in Cumberland since 1730.	Average of the annual Coinage in		
Periods.	All England.	All France, since 1756.	Amsterdam.	Dortrecht.	Hamburg, since 1736.	Berlin, since 1774.	Konigsberg.	Warsaw, since 1796.	Dantzic.	Ancona.	Biscaya.	Total Aver- age.		Mexico, (Dollars.)	Potosi, (Dollars.)	Var. in the aggr. stat- ing 1700-9 =100.
1700 to 1709	100	..	100	100	..	..	100	..	100	100	100	100	..	5,756,982	1,650,175	100
1710..1719	125	..	110	105	..	..	101	..	120	94	119	111	..	7,146,516	1,272,208	114
1720..1729	108	..	115	85	..	..	89	..	92	71	87	93	..	8,978,841	1,169,275	137
1730..1739	91	..	94	78	90	..	75	..	88	92	106	90	90	9,536,848	1,417,480	148
1740..1749	92	..	129	100	104	..	105	..	106	105	117	107	86	10,812,685	1,975,196	173
1750..1759	109	107	117	96	94	..	111	..	102	108	103	104	97	13,121,983	2,113,943	206
1760..1769	119	117	134	113	113	..	132	..	111	136	138	123	123	11,755,611	2,434,236	192
1770..1779	130	157	122	127	120	131	133	..	129	130	150	132	132	17,477,256	2,863,423	275
1780..1789	131	147	139	126	121	150	132	..	130	147	158	137	136	19,340,356	3,161,880	304
1790..1799	160	201	178	158	148	185	168	174	170	185	217	174	162	23,108,028	2,988,835	352
1800..1809	223	193	235	199	239	301	274	265	257	226	245	244	246	22,608,151	3,000,000	331
1810..1819	216	239	250	251	202	254	200	234	206	272	257	232	211	11,000,000	500,000	155
1820..1826	165	164	138	112	111	164	119	150	124	141	158	139	184	9,000,000	500 000	123

Of the effect of local causes on the prices there are several indications in this table, and the differences which the prices at Amsterdam and Dortrecht exhibit are so frequent and considerable as even to raise doubts of the correctness of at least one of the returns from these places. In the total average of the eleven returns these discrepancies, however, may be considered as very nearly obliterated.

The powerful influences of peace and war, and of the difference of seasons, being more extensive and uniform, have left stronger traces on the general price. With the exception, however, of the quarter of a century of general tranquillity after the peace of Utrecht (1713), and of the last ten years, no one of the periods enumerated in our table was wholly exempted from war.\* But the depression of the average from 111 in 1713 to 90 in 1739,

\* 1702 — 1713  
1739 — 1748  
1756 — 1763  
1775 — 1783  
1793 — 1815 } Were years of more or less extensive warfare in Europe, in which England took part.



may safely be taken as a clear instance of the admitted effect produced on prices by a general peace,—as that from 1713 to 1739, *à peu près*, was—aided by a nearly uninterrupted succession of generally plentiful harvests, such as the chroniclers record from 1730 to 1756. It amounted to 19 per cent. Yet peace, unattended by plenty, would seem, in the instance of the last average in our table, to have precipitated the prices from one decennium to another full 33 per cent. ! Thus, also, the unusual proportion of greatly deficient crops between 1764 and 1776 only raised the average of 17 $\frac{8}{9}$  to the extent of 7 per cent. in 17 $\frac{7}{9}$ . But all this will cease to appear anomalous if we attend to the increase in the supply of precious metals from 17 $\frac{1}{9}$  to 17 $\frac{3}{9}$ , which kept pace with the increase in the demand,—to the decrease in that supply in 17 $\frac{8}{9}$ , which took its effect on prices in the following decennium—and to the sudden defalcation in the produce of the mines which we have proved to have occurred since 1810. The influence of the seasons, and of peace and war, on prices is undisputed, and no one can esteem more highly than we do the ability, the circumspection, and the general success with which it has been demonstrated by Mr. Tooke,\* and by Mr. Lowe.† At the same time it must be admitted, we think, that these respectable writers have unaccountably omitted to attend sufficiently to the most obvious and general cause of the fluctuations in the money-price of commodities,—the variations in the supply of precious metals. Certainly their valuable investigations would have been greatly benefited, and would have led, we conceive, to much more comprehensive and practically important results, if they had bestowed the same degree of attention and research on this as on other parts of their subject.

The invariable parallelism between the rise and fall of the money price of commodities on one hand, and the increase and decrease in the produce of the mines on the other, the following concentration of the results of our table may serve to present to the view with improved effect :—

Periods.	Years.	Average Prices of Wheat in Europe.		Annual amount of Coinage in Mexico and Potosi, in Dollars.	
1700—1739	40	100		9,232,000	
1740—1769	30	113		14,070,000	
1770—1789	30	137		21,420,000	
1790—1809	20	212		25,803,000	
1810—1819	10	235		11,500,000	
1820—1826	7	141		9,500,000	

When facts speak so plainly, comment is unnecessary. The evidence they afford is equally strong and unequivocal, and must,

\* On High and Low Prices.

† Present State of England.

we should think, with every unprejudiced inquirer, at length set at rest the *quæstio vexata* of the 'cause and nature' of the present general fall of prices.\*

Before we take leave of this part of the subject we shall, however, avail ourselves of the opportunity which the double entry of the British exports of manufactures and produce (at an invariable official, and at their fluctuating marketable value) affords us of examining a little into the progress and extent of the fall in the money-price of other commodities besides corn.

According to a recent return of exports and imports made to the House of Commons on the motion of Mr. Alderman Waithman, the official value of British manufactures and produce, compared with their declared or invoice value, was in 1811 and in 1829, as follows :

Years.	Official Value.	Declared value.	Relative proportion of the official to the declared value.
1811	£21,723,532	£30,850,618	= 100 : 141
1829	55,465,723	35,212,873	= 100 : 64

If we reduce the declared value of these exports in 1811 to the gold standard, the proportion to the official will then be = 116,† and

\* We have, in the course of the present inquiry, abstained from alluding to the *distribution* of the precious metals, involving the causes of temporary local modifications in their exchangeable value. It is a fit and interesting subject for a distinct investigation, but would only have unnecessarily encumbered us on the present occasion. The produce of the mines is the source of the general supply, and, in conjunction with the general demand, the primary cause of every permanent alteration in the relative value of the precious metals throughout the world, and this was the object of the present inquiry. As we have, however, been compelled to content us here with a reference to European prices only,—*pars pro toto*,—it may be proper to observe, that the decrease in the produce of the American mines was, at first, not very sensibly felt in Europe, in consequence of her receiving the greater part of the gold and silver plate and coin, which existed in Spanish America before 1810, but has since, to a great extent, disappeared there. Till within the last ten years the value of the precious metals still continued so much lower in Europe than in Asia, as to render exports of specie from Europe to Asia profitable, and it is only since 1825 that a decided reversion of the current appears to have taken place, as may be collected from the following statement, which we regret our inability to bring down to the present moment:—

Periods.	Annual average Export of Gold and Silver.	
	From Great Britain to the East Indies.	From the East Indies to Great Britain.
1815 — 1819 . . . . .	£529,649 . . . . .	£ 607
1820 — 1824 . . . . .	241,961 . . . . .	43,582
1825 — 1827 . . . . .	5,170 . . . . .	73,250

† If we leave the declared value in 1811 at 141, without reducing it, and take 141 = 100, the above table will then have to be altered thus :

1811 = 100	1816 = 86	1821 = 63	1826 = 54
1812 = 97	1817 = 72	1822 = 59	1827 = 50
1813 = 95	1818 = 77	1823 = 57	1828 = 49
1814 = 96	1819 = 77	1824 = 53	1829 = 45
1815 = 84	1820 = 65	1825 = 58	

The total amount of the fall of prices in this country, as respects these exports, would then appear to have been since 1811 = 55 per cent., in which the effect of the alterations

and if we state this = 100, the progress of the fall of prices in this country will, on an examination of the returns in question, appear to have been as follows :

1811 = 100	1816 = 84	1821 = 77	1826 = 66
1812 = 90	1817 = 86	1822 = 71	1827 = 61
1813 = 83	1818 = 88	1823 = 69	1828 = 60
1814 = 94	1819 = 90	1824 = 64	1829 = 55
1815 = 87	1820 = 79	1825 = 70	

The fall in the money price of the series of commodities included in these exports accordingly appears to have been 45 per cent. since 1811. In the absence of sufficient data to assist us in an analysis of this fall into its constituent elements, we feel justified in assuming, as the result of the best consideration we have been able to give the subject, that if we take the effect of peace in the reduction of the costs of production and of the rate of profits at 15 to 20 per cent., ample allowance will have been made for the influence of that cause on the prices. The remaining 25 to 30 per cent. of the fall can only be accounted for by the rise which has taken place in the relative value of the precious metals.

In particular commodities the fall, calculated on the returns of their declared value in 1814 and 1828, has been as follows:—In cotton manufactures, 55 per cent.; in silk do. 55; in linen do. 45; in woollen do. 32; in brass and copper do. 27; in cutlery and hardware, 33; in iron and steel, wrought and unwrought, 32; in tin, unwrought,\* 36; in lead and shot, 27; in British refined saltpetre, 66; in coals and culm, 23; in soap and candles, 56; in ham and bacon, beef and pork, 30; in fish of all sorts, 36; in bread and biscuit, 20; in seeds of all sorts, 42; and in *plate, plated ware, jewellery, and watches*, 7. There has been a further declension in the prices of nearly all the above articles in 1829.†

alterations in the currency is included. Freed from that element the fall above has been found = 45 per cent. The difference may properly be ascribed to the resumption of cash payments, and amounts to 10 per cent.

\* In the third of the pamphlets at the head of this article the fall in the prices of minerals is thus stated:

	Prices during the war.		Present Prices.	
Copper	£200	per ton	£145	
Tin	120	"	72	ψ
Lead	25	"	12	
Iron	15	"	6	
Salt	1 : 5s.		0 : 9s.	

† 'Commerce has continued in a depressed state during the whole of this year (1829), and prices that were generally considered very low at the close of 1828, have experienced a further reduction.'—*Prince's Price Current*.

'It is to be particularly noticed that nearly every description of goods, whether a raw article or manufactured, has been reduced to such a low rate during the year (1829), that growers and producers are suffering severely, the value having receded far below remunerating prices, a state quite unnatural, and which cannot continue.'—*Nicholson's Price Current*.



A considerable proportion of them, also, have been shipped for British merchants and manufacturers to foreign markets, where the declared value has not been realized—the gross fall in cotton manufactures since 1814 amounted in 1829 to 59 per cent.

One species of manufacture appears to have nearly maintained its price ; peace and lowered profits, jointly, have only affected it to the extent of 7 per cent. It is the last in the above list, and its solitary stand in the midst of the general downfall marks, with happy effect, what has preserved it from the fate which has laid all the other prices prostrate around it. *Opposita juxta se posita magis elucescunt.*

The result of the preceding investigation is, that the general fall in the money prices of commodities, which since 1811 appears to have been, at a moderate estimate, = 50 per cent., may be considered as having been caused—1st, To the amount of 15 per cent., probably, by the diminution in the costs of production and the depression in the rate of profits—the effects of peace. 2dly, To the amount of 10 per cent. as respects this country, and, probably, some others, similarly situated, by *alterations in the national currency.* And 3dly, To the amount of 25 per cent. by the *rise* which has taken place in the relative value of the precious metals, constituting the material of the money of the world. Not dwelling on the first of these causes, and subtracting the supposed amount of its effect on prices, as quite guiltless of the ‘present distress,’ and rather tending to mitigate it—the remaining 35 per cent. of the fall will present itself, then, under the aspect of a rise in the value of money. Our next business is to examine how this rise generates distress.

Viewed generally, the effect of a rise in the value of money is at once perceived to be, that, in the exact ratio of that rise, all those who had previously contracted obligations to be discharged in fixed amounts of money, become *losers*; while, on the other hand, those to whom they are bound, become *gainers* by the occurrence. The reverse takes place in the case of a fall in the value of money; and in both cases loss and gain would, at first, appear to be equally balanced. A little consideration, however, will make it evident that, although every alteration in the general measure of value must be considered an evil, that which throws the whole weight of the unjust pressure on the debtors is by far the greater, as it originates much more intense suffering,—as it affects with peculiar severity the condition of the industrious and productive classes of the society,—and as the creditors, far from being gainers to the extent that the debtors are losers, do not, in the end, probably owing to the ruin of the latter, obtain even that amount which would justly have been their due.

A rise

A rise in the value of money is therefore, in a national point of view, an unmitigated evil; while the reverse, on the contrary, in diminishing the pressure of debts and the burthen of taxes, and in bestowing on the poor and industrious the entire amount which it abstracts from the wealthy and indolent, will generally operate as a national advantage.

It is by no means the direct consequences of a rise in the value of money alone that constitute the whole of the evil. The addition which that rise causes to the pressure of every debt, every tax, in short every previously fixed money payment, cannot be evaded; the operation of the present rise, for instance,—supposing it = 35 per cent., and the annual amount of government taxes, which the population of Europe pays, = 1,025,000,000 dollars,—as an additional impost of 358,000,000 dollars, is inevitable. But were the rise only to take place so as to become at once generally known and understood, it would not generate one-half of the ‘distress’ of which it is the cause, owing to its silent and unsuspected progress, and to the success with which it escapes detection, under cover of the multitude and complication of other circumstances, which constantly operate on prices, and in consequence of the popular indisposition to regard the general measure of value otherwise than as invariable. Thence the unwearied perseverance in accounting for the fall of prices by any other cause rather than this; and thence, necessarily, the indulgence of hopes, the reliance on calculations, founded on past experience, and exciting to speculation and activity at the very time when a recognition of its real features would impress upon every one engaged in commercial and industrious pursuits, the expediency and prudence of maintaining a strictly passive attitude. If we consider that capital to an immense amount has thus been destroyed,—suffering, moral and physical, to a truly harrowing degree, inflicted, not as a necessary consequence of the rise in the value of the money itself, but absolutely only as the deplorable consequence of the general unconsciousness of its existence and operation, we shall obtain a just view of the importance, nay, the urgent necessity, of correct and adequate notions being at length promulgated on this, the *main* cause of the ‘present distress.’ Acting under the impulse of that impression, we now proceed to trace some of the most obvious phenomena which a rise in the value of money, necessarily and incidentally, produces in the condition of the principal classes of the community.

In this procession of sufferers, precedence is, on every ground, unquestionably due to those who derive their income from the produce of the soil—the landlords and their tenants. Let us suppose

pose\* the money price of the total gross produce of a farm in 1811, £100; the fall in prices since 1811, = 50 per cent.; and the money value of the produce in 1829, accordingly, £50. Let, on the other hand, in 1811,

The rent be fixed in money £20 ; the taxes, £10 ; making the fixed money charge . . . . .	£30
The consumption of the cultivators during the production, 20% ; tithes and contingencies, 10% ; labour and ordinary profits, 40% . . . . .	£70

which would give for all outgoings, including ordinary profits, £100 balanced by the money amount which the produce realizes.

In 1829, however, the money value of that produce is reduced to = 50%. Rent and taxes are still nominally the same, viz.	£30
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The labour and commodities consumed in production have fallen in price, but the fall being progressive, prices are higher during the process of production than when it is completed, and the produce is brought to market. We will, therefore, take those outgoings which, in 1811, were 70, now at	£38
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The total outgoings in 1829, then, are	£68
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while the total produce is only £50, leaving a deficiency of £18.

This will suffice to point out the manner in which a rise in the value of money operates on the condition of the *farmer*. In the exact ratio of the rise, the pressure of rent and taxes on land increases; while, at the same time, the reduction of the other elementary costs of production never reaches the extent to which the farmer finds prices reduced, when he brings his produce to market. Year after year he makes up the deficiency out of his capital, confident of the speedy return of better times, because unable to discover the invisible hand which adds its weight to the burthen of rent and taxes, and relentlessly perseveres in depriving his labour of its reward. But the years roll on, and bring no improvement: his capital is at length exhausted, and ruin ensues. Others succeed him, and still share the same fate. The effect then reaches the *landlords*. Rents are reduced; yet the difficulty of their collection increases: another and another reduction succeeds, still attended with similar results. In short, so long as the rise in the value of money is in progress, the destruction of capital invested in farming, the reduction of the income of the landlords, the increase in the pressure of nominally the same amount of taxes on land, likewise proceed.

The *manufacturer* comes next. Calculating on the stability of

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\* But we need not *suppose* a case of this kind. The very case itself is described by the sufferers in our public prints. In the Times newspaper of Nov. 21 and 25, 1829, appeared two statements—the one from a Middlesex, the other from a Surrey farmer—to which our readers may turn. See also “Present Operation of the Act of Parliament of July, 1819, commonly called Mr. Peel’s Bill.” London, 1830, p. 38-41.



the existing prices of his manufacture, he makes his purchase of the raw material, and proceeds to his task. It is completed, and he brings his product into the market. But, be this at home or abroad, he finds, to his dismay, that prices have, in the meanwhile, given way, and that he has been labouring in vain. And this is assuming the most favourable case; for too frequently he cannot even realize the capital sunk in the production. Unconscious of the true cause of his failure, he ascribes it to circumstances, transitory in their nature, and justifying the hope of future better success. Thus he returns to his task; but again and again the result is the same. Disheartened by the 'badness of the times,' the prudent man then limits his operations to the extent of his 'orders.' Goaded on by repeated ill success, the adventurous redoubles his exertions. Languor and ruin are the respective consequences. The rent of manufactories has, by this process, been reduced on an average at least fifty per cent. during the last fifteen years, and one-half of the capital fixed in machinery, &c., has thus been lost.

The agricultural and manufacturing *labourers* share in the misery of the lowered condition of their employers, and while the same cause that produced it continues to operate, the numbers that are thrown wholly out of employment continue to increase. Oppressed alike by idleness and want, they are seen lounging about the purlieus of their former activity, suggesting the image of the suffering groups stretched round the pool of Bethesda, in listless expectation of the stagnant waters being touched by the returning angel,—the longed-for moment of their general immersion into the healing element.

Next in succession the *merchant*, importing and exporting commodities on his proper account, fixes our attention. Watching the fluctuations in the relation between demand and supply, at home and abroad, he frames his dispositions so as to secure the advantage of what rise of the markets his information and past experience may lead him to anticipate. But however correct his information, however sanctioned by past experience his conclusions, the rise which he contemplated as certain, does not take place, and his operation ends in disappointment. In proportion, now, as he persists in confiding in the justness of calculations, into which the change which is taking place in the measure of value does not enter as an element,—in proportion as he fortifies himself against importune doubts by repeating that 'this unnatural state of things cannot continue,'—as his temper incites him to 'lick against the broad,' his losses will be certain and great. If, on the other hand, he takes warning by the repeated checks he experiences, he suspends all operations, subsides into inactivity, and limits his care to the preservation of what wealth he retains.

tains. Thus, either paralysis or fever seizes on Bacon's 'vena porta of the state,' and 'the body nourishes little.'

The train now brings up the *commission-merchant* and the *broker*, the *wholesale* and the *retail dealer*, representing a numerous class, loudly complaining of a grievous reduction of their incomes. Yet the quantum of their business and labour, and the rate of their remuneration, have undergone no decrease; but as the former charge their commission, and the latter their profits on the money value of their sales, and that has been reduced, their incomes have thus suffered, and 'the taxes levied' on their reduced emoluments now become 'the cause of great embarrassments to these classes of the trading community.' The *shipowners*, too, and the entire class of carriers in the service of international and domestic commerce, have suffered,—the rates of freight and carriage having fallen in proportion to the reduction which the value of their cargoes has undergone.\* The muster of *artisans* and *tradesmen* among the sufferers for a while remains incomplete; but, sooner or later, the general reduction invades also their profits, and sends them in, like the rest, complaining of the pressure of the times.—With rueful countenance the *capitalist* brings up the rear of the *cortège*. Alarmed by the evident unprofitableness, and the constant recurrence of ruinous losses in trade,—warned by the experience, that every gleam of returning prosperity is but the precursor of denser gloom, he has retired his investments—recalled his loans from trade, as from 'a burning city,' devoted to destruction.' Deprived of his best customers—the productive classes, whose condition no longer affords the requisite security—he now waits in vain for an effectual demand in the money market, and though he again and again reduces the rate of interest at which he offers his capital, a great portion of it will still remain unemployed. And thus *his* income is reduced.†

In the midst of the general distress, operated by the rise in the value of money, the fundholder and annuitant, the placeman and

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* Freights between England and		During the war.		At present.	
Calcutta . . .	per ton	£30	0 to £35	0	£3 0 to £4 0
West Indies . .	„	10	0	15 0	4 0 5 0
North America .	„	7	0	9 0	1 15 2 0

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See No. 3 of the pamphlet at the head of our article.

† 'In London, the bankers, the monied men of all descriptions, complain of the glut of money. We hear of seven or eight millions deposited, for want of employment, in the Bank of England alone. . . . In the country, you hear of nothing but the bewailings of industry and the want of money, confidence, and credit. The country banker, reluctant to make advances, and the prudent man, who is still solvent, cautious and tardy in applying for them, because productive speculation, however carefully conducted, holds out too little prospect of gain,' &c.—See Mr. Huskisson's Speech on the State of the Country.

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the pensionist, he whose salary has been fixed previous to the rise, and the mortgagee, are the only real gainers. All these find, that the purchasing power of their income has, during the last twenty years, been nearly doubled; while, in an equal proportion, the weight of their claims on the productive and industrious classes is by these felt to have increased. In fact, the whole sum of additional enjoyments gained by the former has been lost by the latter; and so long as the same cause operates, the progress of the spoliation will continue. Such are, generally, and in the present instance, some of the effects of a rise in the value of money. In proportion as the cause is unsuspected or defied, they are destructive—*volentem fata ducunt, nolentem trahunt*: in proportion as a community is wealthy and productive, they will be severely and acutely felt.

The question as to the cause of the general fall of the money prices of commodities, since 1811, being thus disposed of, others of great interest arise. Is the momentum of the action of that cause on prices now exhausted, or is it still in operation? If still in operation, when is it likely to terminate? And, lastly, what remedies does the case admit of?

We are constrained to say that the main cause of the great declension of prices since 1811 is still in active operation, although with diminished power and effect.\* Let us suppose the past deficiency in the produce of the mines to have, at the present moment, produced its full effect on prices:—If the supply henceforth be equal to the demand, the new relation which has been established between the precious metals and other commodities will not be disturbed, and prices, by that cause, not affected; if the supply, on the other hand, rapidly increase, so as sensibly to exceed the demand, the precious metals (and money) will then fall, and commodities rise in their relative value; but if, finally, the supply still continue deficient, money will continue to rise and commodities to fall. The question then resolves itself into this: which, among these, is our case at present?

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\* A revival of trade is felt at the present moment, which, although much less lauded by the parties immediately interested than by the lookers-on, is still sufficiently obvious not to admit of any doubt. The prices of some commodities, for instance cotton, and English and low foreign wool, have accordingly rallied, and partly even risen, since the commencement of this year, to nearly the amount of their fall during the preceding twelve months. It is, however, to be wished, that this improvement,—the effect of that well-known pulsation which throbs in trade as in every thing else,—may not be mistaken for more than it really is. The demand was, the whole of last year, at so very low an ebb, that the only wonder has been how it could remain so long in that state. Now that it returns, it finds stocks low, and production checked, which, under other circumstances, would have had quite another effect on prices than the slight and partial one which has at present taken place.



The annual supply may be stated as follows :

Europe and Northern Asia*	7,100,000 Dollars.
Indian Archipelago (?)	2,900,000 „
Africa	1,000,000 „
America (most probably less than)	17,000,000 „

Making a total of 28,000,000

The demand, on the other hand, we cannot estimate lower, on an average, than between 45,000,000 and 50,000,000 dollars annually. There would, accordingly, still appear to be a deficiency of about 20,000,000 dollars annually, to which amount the drain on the existing stock of precious metals continues operating, to cause a still further decline in the money price of commodities.

It is, of course, impossible to predict how long this will yet continue. Mr. Ward, however desirous to be moderate and circumspect in his calculations, still takes, we believe, rather a sanguine view of the question, when, in answer to it, he conjectures that the produce of the Mexican mines will, in 1835, be nearly equal to what it was previous to 1810, that is 26,000,000 dollars. The addition of 13,000,000 dollars, which he anticipated, to the produce in 1830, from the operation of seven English, one German, and two North American companies, working Mexican mines, it is, unfortunately, too certain will not be made good. The price-lists of the shares of the Anglo-American mining companies,—a tolerable index of the estimation of the present returns and future prospects of these undertakings among the parties immediately interested therein,—do not encourage very sanguine expectations of a speedy, considerable addition to the supply from this source, although the rise in the value of gold and silver, measured by other commodities, directly tends to increase their profits. Generally speaking, the unsettled state both of Mexico and the South American States must have the effect of keeping in abeyance for some time yet to come the full development of the mining industry of America.

It is to be hoped, that the reports we have to expect from His Majesty's consuls in Mexico and South America may throw some light on this very interesting subject, and that they may do it generally in as satisfactory a manner as it has been done by Mr. Ward, with regard to Mexico. In the mean while no one who

\* Humboldt, in the newspaper-paragraph quoted above, gives the following statement :—

	Actual annual produce.	Incorrectly stated in other Journals at
Europe and Northern Asia : gold	26,500 marcs of Cologne	57,387 marcs.
„ „ silver	292,000 „	457,942 „

has

has at all informed himself on the subject can for a moment entertain the notion which has been broached, that the mineral wealth of America has been exhausted by the past workings. On the contrary, there cannot be the least doubt that, under favourable circumstances, the produce will again reach, not only the former, but eventually a much greater amount. However long the advent of that period may be deferred—be it ten, be it twenty years, be it even longer—arrive it most assuredly will ; and with it—*redeunt Saturnia regna*—rising prices, general success in commercial and industrious pursuits, lightened burthens, a favourable change in the relative condition of the productive classes, and whatever else is antithetical of our ‘present distress.’ Let this well-founded hope solace all those who would at present despair of the fortunes of the country, as if this, to borrow a scholastic distinction, were a *finis finium*, and not a *finis in consequentiam veniens*.

As to the remedies which, in the meanwhile, the case admits of—it must be clear that all means by which the supply of precious metals can be increased and the demand diminished, are entitled to be considered as directly remedial. Within the reach of this country, unfortunately, there are no means to increase the supply, except indirectly, by the policy (in other respects no less obvious) of assisting, if possible, the infant States of South America and Mexico to emerge from their present lamentable condition of anarchy. But the demand may, to a certain extent, be diminished, by a rehabilitation of the condemned paper-circulation throughout Europe ; and in this country all that is desirable and, indeed, necessary to be done in this respect, might, we are quite convinced, be accomplished by a speedy and sufficient reform of the English banking system. But this is a subject for separate treatment. We dwelt on it at some length in our last number, and it is our intention to return to it in our next.

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# THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—*Reflexions on the Decline of Science in England, and on some of its Causes.* By Charles Babbage, Esq., Lucasian Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge, and Member of several Academies. London. 1830.

**D**URING the last fourteen years of almost uninterrupted tranquillity, the poorest as well as the most powerful of the European states have been ardently engaged in the prosecution of the arts of peace. The return of the sword to its scabbard seems to have been the signal for one universal effort to recruit exhausted resources, to revive industry and civilization, and to direct to their proper objects the genius and talent, which war had either exhausted in its service or repressed in its desolations. In this rivalry of skill, England alone has hesitated to take a part. Elevated by her warlike triumphs, she seems to have looked with contempt on the less dazzling achievements of her philosophers, and, confiding in her past pre-eminence in the arts, to have calculated too securely on their permanence. Bribe by foreign gold, or flattered by foreign courtesy, her artisans have quitted her service—her machinery has been exported to distant markets—the inventions of her philosophers, slighted at home, have been eagerly introduced abroad—her scientific institutions have been discouraged and even abolished—the articles which she supplied to other states have been gradually manufactured by themselves; and, one after another, many of the best arts of England have been transferred to other nations.

These baneful effects, though not generally seen and acknowledged, excited the early notice of various individuals who felt a deep interest in the honour of their country. Their voice was often raised in counsel and in warning; but it was only the voice of reason, and, amidst the uproar of faction, it never reached either the cabinet or the throne. Truth, however, cannot long be repressed. Fresh inroads upon science called forth louder appeals, and the abolition of the Board of Longitude, the only scientific board in the kingdom, at last proclaimed the mortifying intelligence, that England had renounced by Act of Parliament her patronage even of the sciences most intimately connected with her naval greatness.



In order to give our readers some idea of the state of opinion, among competent judges, respecting the present condition of British science, we shall make a few extracts from the works in which their views have been expressed; and we shall begin with a passage from the life of Fraunhofer, which was published in 1827.

‘ Bavaria has thus lost one of the most distinguished of her subjects, and centuries may elapse before Munich receives within her walls an individual so highly gifted and so universally esteemed. But great as her loss is, it is not rendered more poignant by the reflection, that he lived unhonoured and unrewarded. His own sovereign, Maximilian Joseph, was his earliest and his latest patron; and by the liberality with which he conferred civil honours and pecuniary rewards on Joseph Fraunhofer, he has immortalized his own name, and added a new lustre to the Bavarian crown. In thus noticing the honours which a grateful sovereign had conferred on the distinguished improver of the achromatic telescope, it is impossible to subdue the recollection, that no wreath of British gratitude has yet adorned the *inventor* of that noble instrument. England may well blush, when she hears the name of Dollond pronounced without any appendage of honour, and without any association of gratitude. Even that monumental fame, which she used to dispense so freely to the poets whom she starved, has been denied to this benefactor of science, and Westminster Abbey has not opened her hallowed recesses to the remains of a man, who will ever be deemed one of the finest geniuses of his age, and who exalted that genius by learning and piety of no ordinary kind.’

About the time when these opinions were published Sir Humphry Davy was occupied with the same subject. His position as President of the Royal Society of London, and his acquaintance with the most distinguished individuals of all ranks, gave him ample opportunity of ascertaining the state of science in England, while his long residence in foreign countries enabled him to draw the painful contrast which wounded his pride, and roused his indignation. In order to draw the public attention to such a state of things, he began a treatise on the decline of science in England, which he unfortunately did not live to complete. We are told, however, that it was written ‘in the language of feeling and of eloquence,’ and we have no doubt, from the sentiments which he expresses on the same subject in his ‘*Consolations in Travel*,’ that it contained the language of truth.

‘ I have often wondered,’ says he, ‘ that men of fortune and of rank do not apply themselves more to philosophical pursuits; they offer a delightful and enviable road to distinction, one founded upon the blessings and benefits conferred on our fellow creatures; they do not supply the same sources of temporary popularity, as successes in the  
pursuits

senate or at the bar, but the glory resulting from them is permanent, and independent of vulgar taste or caprice. In looking back to the history of the last five reigns in England, we find Boyles, Cavendishes, and Howards, who rendered these great names more illustrious by their scientific honours; but we may in vain search the aristocracy now for philosophers, and there are very few persons who pursue science with true dignity; it is followed more as connected with objects of profit than those of fame, and there are fifty persons who take out patents for supposed inventions for one who makes a real discovery.'—p. 225.

Statements similar to these, but of a still more specific and decided nature, have been recently published by Mr. Herschel, whose range of scientific acquirements is at present unrivalled in this country.

'In England, whole branches of continental discovery are unstudied, and, indeed, almost unknown, even by name. It is in vain to conceal the melancholy truth. We are fast dropping behind. In mathematics we have long since drawn the rein, and given over a hopeless race. In chemistry the case is not much better. Who can tell us anything of the sulpho-salts? Who will explain to us the laws of isomorphism? Nay, who among us has ever verified Thenard's experiments on the oxygenated acids? Oersted's and Berzelius's on the radicals of the earths? Balard's and Serullas's on the combination of brome, and a hundred other splendid trains of research in that fascinating science? Nor need we stop here. There are, indeed, few sciences which would not furnish matter for similar remark. The causes are at once obvious and deep seated; but this is not the place to discuss them.'—*Treatise on Sound, Encyc. Metrop.*

These views of the state of science in England were introduced by their authors only as incidental topics to which the bearings of their subject had casually led them; and, as they appeared only in scientific works, perhaps not known even by name to those who rule over the destinies of England, they were not likely to attract notice or to excite discussion. An appeal, however, of a more formal kind has been at length made from the chair of Newton, and from the pen of his successor Mr. Babbage, whose varied and profound acquirements fitted him in a peculiar manner for such a task. A mathematician of the first order, a learned natural philosopher, and the inventor of one of the most extraordinary machines that ever proceeded from the sagacity of man, he has had occasion to be intimately acquainted with the present condition of the arts as well as the sciences of his country. His 'Reflexions' are, therefore, entitled to our most serious consideration, and will, we trust, make a deep impression upon those to whom they are more particularly addressed. The following introductory remarks contain the general opinions of the author on the decline of science in England.

‘ It cannot have escaped the attention of those whose acquirements enable them to judge, and who have had opportunities of examining the state of science in other countries, that in England, particularly with respect to the more difficult and abstract sciences, we are not merely much below other nations of equal rank, but below several even of inferior power. That a country, eminently distinguished for its mechanical and manufacturing ingenuity, should be indifferent to the progress of inquiries which form the highest departments of that knowledge on whose more elementary truths its wealth and rank depend, is a fact which is well deserving the attention of those who shall inquire into the causes that influence the progress of nations.

‘ To trace the gradual decline of mathematical, and with it of the highest departments of physical, science, from the days of Newton to the present, must be left to the historian. It is not within the province of one who, having mixed sufficiently with scientific society in England to see and regret the weakness of some of its greatest ornaments, and to see through and deplore the conduct of its pretended friends, offers these remarks, with the hope that they may excite discussion; with the conviction that discussion is the firmest ally of truth; and with the confidence that nothing but the full expression of public opinion can remove the evils that chill the enthusiasm and cramp the energies of the science of England.’

These various opinions, proceeding from individuals not acting in concert, are sufficient, we think, to establish the fact, that the arts and sciences of England have been for some time on the decline. Devoted to the almost undivided pursuit of science, and belonging to no political party, the authors whom we have quoted are not likely to have written under any improper bias; and occupying, as they all do, respectable stations in society, the motive of self-interest is still less likely to have actuated them. They attack no particular ministry; they revile no particular individual; they seek no personal advantage; they complain in the language of solemn regret; and they appeal only to that tribunal, if any such now exists, which decides for the good and glory of their country.

Considering, therefore, the general fact as well-established, we shall proceed to give a rapid view of the patronage which the sovereigns of Europe have extended to science in less enlightened ages, and in times when its practical applications were less connected with the wealth and the progress of nations; we shall then give a sketch of the present state of science on the continent of Europe; and conclude with a survey of its condition in the British islands, of the causes which have led to its decline, and of the means which may yet be adopted to revive and extend it.

At whatever period of the history of science we begin our inquiries, it is difficult to find any well-authenticated instance  
where



where knowledge was persecuted or neglected by the sovereigns of civilised nations. The appellations of the sage and the hero have at all times been inseparably joined; and in countries but little removed from barbarism, and in ages comparatively dark and ignorant, kings have conferred the same honours on those who saved their country by their prowess or enlightened it by their wisdom. The reigns of the Ptolomies, of Alphonsó the Great, of Ulugh Beig, the Tartar Prince, were particularly distinguished by this noble patronage of learning.\* Not content with fostering the genius of their own subjects, they invited to their courts the philosophers of foreign countries; they even took an active part in their scientific inquiries, and honoured them with every mark of confidence and friendship. It was scarcely to be expected that this golden age could have a permanent existence; but though the condition of the civilised world became unfavourable to the patronage of learning, yet no sooner did the human-mind recover from its fall, than the princes of Europe sought for reputation from the protection of the arts.

The history of Galileo furnishes a striking example of the munificence of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and of the influence which it produced on the discoveries of that illustrious astronomer. He had enjoyed the appointment of Professor of Mathematics at Padua, with a salary of 520 florins; but as this was insufficient for the support of his family, he was obliged to give private lectures, and to receive pupils into his house. Cosmo, who had succeeded his father as Grand Duke, made proposals to Galileo, in 1607, to return to his original situation at Pisa. In reply to these proposals, Galileo observes—

‘My public duty does not confine me more than sixty half-hours in the year, and even that not so strictly but that I may, on occasion of any business, contrive to get some vacant days: the rest of my time is absolutely at my own disposal; but because my private lectures and domestic pupils are a great hinderance and interruption to my studies, I wish to live entirely exempt from the former, and in great measure from the latter; for if I am to return to my native country, I should wish the first object of his Serene Highness to be, that leisure and opportunity should be given me to complete my works, without employing myself in lecturing.’\*

To these arrangements Cosmo cheerfully agreed. Galileo was appointed Honorary Professor of Mathematics at Pisa, with an annual salary of 1000 florins; he was distinguished by the title of Philosopher and Principal Mathematician to his Highness; he was exempted from all professional duty, excepting that of giving lectures on extraordinary occasions to sovereign princes, and other

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\* Life of Galileo, Library of Useful Knowledge, No. 18.

strangers of distinction ; and was thus, as he himself expresses it, ' left without the duties of any office to perform, and with the most complete leisure, so that I can complete my treatises on Mechanics, on the Constitution of the Universe, and on Natural and Violent Local Motion.' But the generosity of Cosmo did not stop here : he personally assisted Galileo in observing the satellites of Jupiter at Pisa during several months ; and when he parted from him, he gave him a present of more than 1000 florins. In the spring of 1624, Galileo went to Rome, to congratulate Pope Urban on his elevation to the pontificate. Flattered with this compliment, his Holiness granted the astronomer a pension for the education of his son Vincenzo. He recommended him in the strongest terms to the liberality of the Grand Duke Ferdinand, who had now succeeded his father ; and, in a few years afterwards, he rewarded the discoveries of Galileo with a pension of 100 crowns. Ferdinand did not hesitate to extend to science the liberality of his father. Inheriting his knowledge along with his fortune, he even devoted himself to optical pursuits ; and Galileo informs us, in a letter to his friend Micanzio, ' that Ferdinand had been amusing himself with making object-glasses, and always carried one with him, to work it wherever he went.' Honoured with such distinguished munificence, Galileo was enabled to complete those great inquiries which he had so successfully begun. All the physical sciences experienced the generosity which was extended to the Italian philosopher ; and in every succeeding age the Grand Dukes Cosmo and Ferdinand will inherit a portion of that glory which Galileo earned for himself and for his country.

While the abstract sciences were thus fostered in Italy, Tycho Brahe was experiencing the most princely liberality from Ferdinand I. of Denmark. Besides a pension of 1000 crowns a-year, he conferred upon him the canonry of Rothschild, with an annual income of 2000 crowns, and he made over to him the island of Huen, upon which he erected the celebrated observatory of Uranibourg, at an expense of 20,000*l*. In this temple of astronomy Tycho pursued his researches for more than twenty years. Princes and philosophers courted his acquaintance ; and among his illustrious guests were Ulric, Duke of Mecklenburg, accompanied by his daughter, the Queen of Denmark, William, Prince of Hesse, and James I. of England. This last monarch spent eight days under the roof of Tycho, and not only honoured him at his departure with a magnificent present, but addressed to him a copy of verses, and gave him his royal license to publish his works in his dominions. The death of Frederick II., in 1588, proved a severe blow to the fortunes of Tycho. Instigated by the malice of his enemies, the infamous Walchendorf, the minister of Christian IV.,

IV., deprived the astronomer of his pension and of his canonry, and forced him, with his wife and children, to seek the hospitality of a foreign land: but on learning this, the Emperor Rodolph II. invited him to his kingdom, and assigned to him the castle of Benach, near Prague, with an annual pension of 3000 florins.

The illustrious Kepler experienced the same generosity from Rodolph, and, on the death of Tycho, he succeeded to him as principal mathematician to the emperor, with a liberal pension; but, unfortunately for science, it was always in arrear; and this exalted individual was compelled to draw his subsistence from calculating nativities, and imposing upon the credulity of his species.

In the history of Descartes, we are presented with still more striking instances of royal kindness and munificence. At an early period of his life, Lord Charles Cavendish, the brother of the Duke of Newcastle, invited Descartes and his friend Mydorgius to settle in England, and Charles I. offered to make a handsome provision for these two mathematicians; but this arrangement, so honourable to the British sovereign, was frustrated by the commencement of the civil wars. By the advice of the Cardinal Richelieu, Louis XIII. invited Descartes to Paris; but, notwithstanding the high offers which were made to him, he could not be prevailed upon to quit his retirement at Eyndegeest. Crowds of admirers, from every quarter, flocked to visit him, and among these was Elizabeth, princess-palatine, who went in the character of a disciple, to receive his instructions. Returning to France in 1647, the king granted him a pension of three thousand crowns, not only out of respect to his talents, and on account of the great benefits which his discoveries had conferred upon the human race, but for the purpose of enabling him to complete the researches which he had begun.

Upon his return to Holland, he received from Christina, Queen of Sweden, an invitation to visit Stockholm, and initiate her into the principles of his philosophy. He accordingly arrived in that capital in October, 1649, and was welcomed with all that respect and affection which might have been expected from a sovereign of such acquirements. She rose every morning at five o'clock to receive his instructions; and such was her anxiety to retain him in her kingdom, that she offered him an annual pension of three thousand crowns, and the perpetual possession of the property from which it was derived; and, lest the climate should prove too severe for his delicate health, he was allowed to choose a residence either in the archbishopric of Bremen or in Swedish Pomerania. The indisposition of the French ambassador alone prevented the completion of this arrangement; but no sooner had he recovered, than



than Descartes caught a cold which terminated his life. The royal disciple was inconsolable for the loss of so distinguished a master: she proposed to the French ambassador to bury Descartes at the public expense; to lay his hallowed remains beside the ashes of the Swedish kings; and to erect a magnificent mausoleum over his tomb. A simpler funeral, however, and an humbler grave, were considered more appropriate to a philosopher. He was interred in the Catholic cemetery; and about seventeen years afterwards, the treasurer-general of France conveyed the body to Paris, where it was interred with great pomp in the church of St. Genevieve.

Among the other distinguished philosophers who adorned the seventeenth century, there is scarcely an individual who did not receive the most substantial rewards for his scientific labours. Newton was appointed successively warden and master of the Mint\* by Charles Montague, afterwards Earl of Halifax, and in the subsequent reign of Queen Anne the then undegraded honour of knighthood was conferred upon him. Olaus Roemer, the discoverer of the propagation of light, was appointed a counsellor of the chancellery of Denmark. Huygens was invited to France by Colbert, and resided at Paris, in the enjoyment of a liberal pension, till the revocation of the edict of Nantes drove him back to his native place; and Hevelius, while consul of the republic of Dantzic, received a pension from Louis XIV. for his astronomical discoveries, without even the necessity of quitting his own country.

Leibnitz, the great rival of Newton, was equally honoured in Germany. He was early appointed one of the counsellors of his own sovereign, who permitted him to remain at Paris till he completed his arithmetical machine. In 1711 he was nominated aulic counsellor to the Emperor of Germany, who gave him a pension of two thousand florins, and promised to double it on the condition of his residing at Vienna. The Emperor of Russia likewise elected him a privy counsellor, with a pension of one thousand ducats; and the situation of keeper of the Vatican was offered to him by Cardinal Casanata. George I., upon his accession to the British throne, invited Leibnitz to England, where he was received with the highest distinction. These lucrative appointments enabled him to leave a fortune of sixty thousand crowns, which were found, after his death, accumulated in sacks, in various kinds of specie.

The celebrated family of the Bernouillis, who flourished about the beginning of the eighteenth century,\* were rewarded with lucrative professorships, which enabled them to pursue their studies with all the energy which springs from independent circum-

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\* An office then worth from 1200*l.* to 1500*l.* per annum.

stances. When Leibnitz exhibited to Frederick I. of Prussia the luminous barometer discovered by John Bernouilli, he generously presented the philosopher with a gold medal of forty ducats. His son Daniel was invited by the court of Russia to the Academy of St. Petersburg, where he enjoyed a handsome pension. A desire, however, to revisit the place of his birth having made him determine to quit Russia, the imperial government increased his appointments; and, on a subsequent occasion, settled upon him for life half his income, with permission to return to his native land.

The illustrious Euler—a name scarcely less sacred than that of Newton, and in whom piety and wisdom were equally conspicuous—enjoyed in a peculiar manner the friendship and the liberality of kings. On the invitation of Daniel and Nicholas Bernouilli, he went to St. Petersburg, where he was appointed, successively, Professor of Natural Philosophy and of Mathematics, with a pension from the government. Frederick the Great invited him to Berlin in 1741; and no sooner had he arrived in that capital, than he received a letter of welcome from the king, written from his camp at Reichenbach. The queen-mother honoured him with her special friendship, and derived the highest enjoyment from his conversation. An opportunity unfortunately occurred, which exhibited in a striking light the feeling then cherished for men of genius. The Russian army, under General Tottleben, having penetrated, in 1760, into the march of Brandenburg, pillaged and destroyed a farm which Euler possessed near Charlottenberg. As soon as the Russian general was made acquainted with the event, he transmitted a large sum in reparation of the loss, and to this liberal compensation the Empress Elizabeth added a present of four thousand florins. During Euler's residence in Prussia, the Russian government had handsomely continued the pension which it had formerly granted him; and this generous treatment, combined with the former munificence of the Russian empress and her general, induced him to accept of an invitation from Catherine the Great to return to St. Petersburg. The King of Prussia having consented to this arrangement, Prince Czartorysky invited Euler, in the name of the King of Poland, to take the road by Warsaw, where, distinguished by the highest regards, he spent ten days with Stanislaus, who afterwards honoured him with his correspondence. When Euler became old and blind he was still the object of royal attention. The heir of Prussia, when he visited St. Petersburg, spent several hours at the bedside of the dying philosopher. During this long visit, he held him all the while by the hand, having, at the same time, upon his knee, one of Euler's grandchildren, who had evinced an early attachment to geometry.

The contemporary and rival of Euler, the illustrious Lagrange,  
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was honoured with even higher dignities. When Euler left Berlin, Lagrange was invited by the king to become his successor, with a pension of 1500 Prussian crowns, and with the title of Director of the Academy of the Physico-mathematical Sciences. On the death of Frederick, philosophers ceased to enjoy that elevated station which he had assigned them, and Lagrange became desirous of returning to his native country. No sooner were his wishes known, than sovereigns contended for the possession of so inestimable a prize. The King of Sardinia eagerly invited him to return to his native country. The Prince Cardito de Laffredo offered him the most flattering terms from the King of Naples; but the liberality of Louis XVI., prompted by his minister M. Breteuil, secured him for the French Academy. In 1787 he came to Paris, and his station as foreign member was changed into that of veteran pensionary. The Queen of France treated him with the highest regard, and obtained for him apartments in the Louvre. Even amid the changes of the revolution, his person and talents were respected; and though he seems at one time to have dreaded the fate of some of his illustrious colleagues, yet he was induced, by his wife, to wait for the arrival of better times. These times did arrive; and the extraordinary man who then wielded the destinies of France was not slow to honour the genius of the most distinguished of her citizens. Lagrange was created by Buonaparte, a Senator of France, a Count of the Empire, a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour, and Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of Réunion; and when he sunk under the weight of his years and his honours, his remains were deposited in that noble mausoleum on which France has engraven the memorable inscription—

‘AUX GRANDS HOMMES LA PATRIE RECONNAISSANTE.’

On the death of Lagrange, Laplace held the most elevated station among the great philosophers of Europe. From the humble situation of professor of mathematics in the military school of Paris, he was raised, by the force of his talents, to be president of the Conservative Senate, and was successively created a count and a marquis. Napoleon, to whom he dedicated his two great works, treated him uniformly with the highest consideration; and from Louis XVIII. and Charles X. he received every mark of respect and affection.

From France we pass to Italy for another illustration of the honours conferred on scientific men. Volta of Como, the celebrated inventor of the voltaic pile, was invited to Paris in 1801, and was honoured with the presence of the First Consul while repeating his experiments before the Institute. Buonaparte conferred upon him the orders of the Legion of Honour, and of the  
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Iron Crown, and he was afterwards nominated a count, and senator of the kingdom of Italy. At the formation of the Italian Institute, a meeting was held, at which Buonaparte presided, for the purpose of nominating the principal members. When they were considering whether or not they should draw up a list of the members in an alphabetical order, Buonaparte wrote at the head of a sheet of paper the name of Volta, and, delivering it to the secretary, said, 'Do as you please at present, provided that name is the first.' At the death of this eminent philosopher in 1827, his fellow-citizens struck a medal, and erected a monument to his memory; and a niche in the façade of the public schools of Como, which had been left empty for him between the busts of Pliny and Giovio, natives of the town, has, we believe, been recently filled by the bust of Volta.

Such is a brief sketch of the honours which have been conferred by princes on those illustrious men, by whose labours the temple of modern science has been reared. In this enumeration, England holds a very subordinate place. Her liberality to Newton is the only striking instance which we have been able to record, because it is the only one in which the honour of a title was combined with an adequate pecuniary reward. Sir W. Herschel, indeed, was made a Hanoverian knight, and Sir Humphry Davy a baronet, but the comforts which these distinguished men enjoyed, and the stations which they occupied in society, were neither derived from the sovereign nor from the nation. No monument has been reared to their memory, and no honours have descended to their families. Nor are these the only instances of national ingratitude. The inventive genius of Wollaston, and the talents and literature of Young, have passed like a meteor from our sight. No title of honour has illustrated their name, and no tribute of affection has been pronounced over their grave. He who buckled on the weak arm of man a power of gigantic energy; who taught his species to triumph over the inertia of matter, and to withstand the fury of the elements; who multiplied the resources of the state, and poured into the treasury the spring tide of its wealth—the immortal Watt, was neither acknowledged by his sovereign, nor honoured by his ministers, nor embalmed among the heroes and sages of his country.

From this contrast, so painful to English feelings, we pass to another still more distressing, when we consider the condition of our living philosophers, and the present state of our science; but in order to form a just opinion upon this important subject, we must previously take a view of the state of science on the continent of Europe.

Of all the kingdoms of Europe, France is undoubtedly the one  
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in which the scientific establishments have been regulated by the most enlightened and liberal principles, and in which science is most successfully cultivated. This high distinction she owes to the formation of the Institute, which consists of four different academies,\* viz.—the French Academy; the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres; the Royal Academy of the Fine Arts; and the Royal Academy of Sciences—which alone comes under our notice. It is composed as follows:—

		Members.	Corresponding Members.
<i>Mathematical Sciences.</i>	Geometry . . . . .	6	6
	Mechanics . . . . .	6	6
	Astronomy . . . . .	6	16
	Geography and Navigation . . . . .	3	3
	General Physics (Nat. Philosophy)	6	6
<i>Physical Sciences.</i>	Chemistry . . . . .	6	12
	Mineralogy . . . . .	6	8
	Botany . . . . .	6	10
	Rural Economy, and Veterinary Art	6	10
	Anatomy and Zoology . . . . .	6	10
	Medicine and Surgery . . . . .	6	8
		—	—
		63	100
Associate Members . . . . .		8	

The vacancies which take place in this body are supplied by the majority of suffrages, and in the case of ordinary and associate members, the royal approbation is necessary to complete the election. Political motives have, we believe, seldom, if ever, influenced these elections; and our readers have only to look at the list of its members—a list crowded with immortal names—to be satisfied of the truth of this statement.

The *sixty-three* ordinary members of the academy receive each an annual pension from government of 1500 francs, and the two secretaries 6000 francs each. A considerable number of these members, from the sections of geometry, mechanics, astronomy, and navigation, compose the board of longitude, and receive a handsome additional salary; others hold situations in the University of France, in the Royal Observatory, in the Polytechnic School, in the Jardin des Plantes, in the School of Mines, and in the School

\* The following sums are annually voted by the French government:—

	Francs.	£.
For the scientific and literary establishments . . . . .	1,656,000	69,000
For the establishments of the fine arts . . . . .	453,000	18,875
For artists and literary men . . . . .	382,000	15,916
	—	—
	2,491,000	103,791

The first of these sums is, we believe, divided between the four academies. Those who gain one of the great prizes for the fine arts are sent to Rome, and supported at the public expense.

of Roads and Bridges; in a word, the members of the academy may be considered as placed in opulent circumstances, and being freed from all the anxieties of professional labour, are enabled to pursue their scientific inquiries in the calm of seclusion and domestic life. Nor, in her generous care for the respectability and comfort of her scientific men, has France overlooked the most powerful stimulus of genius and industry. All the honours of the state have been thrown open to her philosophers and literary characters. The sage and the hero deliberate in the same cabinet;—they are associated among the privy councillors of the king;—they sit together in her house of peers and in her chamber of deputies;—they bear the same titles;—they are decorated with the same orders, and the arm and the mind of the nation are thus indissolubly united for its glory or for its defence.

‘If we analyse the list of the Institute,’ says Mr. Babbage, ‘we shall find few who do not possess titles or decorations; but as the value of such marks of royal favour must depend, in a great measure, on their frequency, I shall mention several particulars which are probably not familiar to the English reader.’

Number of Members of the Institute of France in the Legion of Honour.					Total number of each Class in the Legion of Honour.
Grand Croix	.	.	3	.	80
Grand Officier	.	.	3	.	160
Commandeur	.	.	4	.	400
Officier	.	.	17	.	2000
Chevalier	.	.	40	.	not counted.
Number of Members of the Institute decorated with the Order of St. Michael.					Total number of that order.
Grand Croix	.	.	2	.	} 100
Chevalier	.	.	27	.	
Amongst the members of the Institute there are,					
Dukes	.	.	.	.	2
Marquis	.	.	.	.	1
Counts	.	.	.	.	4
Viscounts	.	.	.	.	2
Barons	.	.	.	.	14
					23
Of these there are Peers of France					5.

In the same year to which these details more particularly refer, the biennial exhibition of the national industry of France took place. On this occasion Charles X. conferred the decorations of the Legion of Honour on *twelve* of the most distinguished artisans, and adjudged forty-eight medals of gold, thirty-nine of silver, and two hundred and seventeen of bronze, in all four hundred and four medals. The influence of such liberality on the progress of the arts does not require to be pointed out.

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Although the scientific institutions of Prussia cannot be compared, in point of organization or extent, with those of France, yet the patronage extended to scientific men by the house of Brandenburg is not equalled by that of any reigning family in Europe. Within little more than twenty years the university of Berlin has risen into celebrity, and by the royal munificence the Museums of Anatomy, Zoology, Mineralogy and Geology, contains rich and well arranged collections. The great names of Humboldt, Von Buch, Mitscherlich, Seebeck, Weiss, Erman, Henry and Gustavus Rose, adorn the University and the Academy of Berlin; and the known attachment of the king to every species of talent, and the desire to draw around him even the genius of foreign countries, holds out the hope that these institutions will soon rival the more ancient establishments of France.

At the Congress of German Naturalists and Philosophers which took place at Berlin, in September, 1828, the attachment of the king and of the royal family of Prussia to the sciences was most strikingly displayed. On the evening of the first day of the meeting, Baron Humboldt, the celebrated traveller, and chamberlain to the king, gave a large *soirée* in the concert-room attached to the theatre. Nearly twelve hundred persons of rank and talent were assembled on this occasion, and the king of Prussia himself honoured this illustrious assembly with his presence. Several princes of foreign states, the Prussian nobility, and the foreign ambassadors were also present. The princes of the blood mingled with the cultivators of science, and the heir-apparent to the Prussian throne was seen in earnest conversation with the philosophers of his own or of other kingdoms that were most celebrated for their talents and their genius.

We have already had occasion to notice the liberality with which the emperors of Russia have provided for those great men whom they invited to their capital. The Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg, which has done so much to advance the interests of learning, is composed of distinguished individuals maintained at the public expense, and the government has, on all occasions, exhibited the most generous indulgence to her philosophers and artists. The recent establishment of the Observatory of Dorpat, in Livonia, furnished with the finest instruments which Europe could produce, and endowed with liberal salaries for observers, will ever be a proud monument to the prince by whom it was founded. The reign of the Emperor Nicholas, though disturbed at its commencement by a necessary war, promises to be even more favourable to science than that of his predecessor. A Technological Institute for promoting the useful arts has been recently established at St. Petersburg, and in every part of the vast

vast territory of Russia philosophers and naturalists have been employed in the most interesting scientific researches. When Baron Humboldt visited St. Petersburg, on his return from his tour in Siberia, in 1829, he was received with all the honour which was due to his scientific attainments,\* and on his recommendation the Academy of Sciences has been authorised by the emperor to appoint a commission for establishing in the capital an observatory devoted to physical, meteorological, and magnetical observations, and to trace the lines of no variation, and the isothermal curves through all their windings in Siberia.

Sweden has not been behind the other kingdoms of the north in her zealous patronage of science. The illustrious chemist, Berzelius, has been honoured by a seat in the house of peers. The Cross of the order of Vasa, and the Grand Cross of the Polar Star, have also been conferred upon him ; and in addition to these marks of royal esteem he enjoys the almost entire patronage of the chemical and medical chairs of Sweden.† Though circumscribed in its finances, the Parliament (Storting) of Norway has advanced to Professor Hansteen no less than 3000*l.*, to perform his magnetic tour in Siberia. This generous confidence in their countryman has been well repaid by a series of the most valuable observations ; and we are sure that every philosopher in Europe is deeply grateful to the patriotic Norwegians for an act of devotion to science which would do honour to the most powerful nation.

In the other states of Europe the same liberality is extended to philosophers ; and a knowledge of science, in place of being a disqualifying accomplishment, is a recommendation to titles of honour and to offices of dignity and trust. Oersted, Gauss, and Humboldt appeared at the Congress of Philosophers in Berlin, decorated with the orders of their respective sovereigns. The Marquis Rangoni, author of the *Memoria sulle Funzioni Generatrici*, and other mathematical works, has been appointed Minister of Finance and Public Instruction in the state of Modena. Count Fossombroni, the author of several memoirs on mechanics and hydraulics, is the Prime Minister of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and Baron Lindenau, well known by his astronomical works, and once astronomer in the observatory of Saxe Gotha, after appearing at the German diet as the representative of the Grand Duke, now enjoys the more elevated appointment of ambassador from the king of Saxony to the court of the Netherlands.

From these details, which we might have extended to Austria,

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\* The Empress of Russia has very recently honoured this philosopher with the order of St. Vladimir.

† Mr. Johnston's visit to Berzelius, in 1829, in *Edin. Journ. of Science*, No. IV. p. 202.

Denmark, Bavaria, Naples, and the Netherlands, we are authorized to conclude that in every nation on the continent of Europe, with the exception of Turkey, and perhaps of Spain, scientific acquirements conduct their possessors to wealth, to honours, to official dignity, and to the favour and friendship of the sovereign.

In England, however, the reverse of this picture is offered to our contemplation.

There is not at this moment, within the British isles, a single philosopher, however eminent have been his services, who bears the lowest title that is given to the lowest benefactor of the nation, or to the humblest servant of the crown!

There is not a single philosopher who enjoys a pension, or an allowance, or a sinecure, capable of supporting him and his family in the humblest circumstances!

There is not a single philosopher who enjoys the favour of his sovereign or the friendship of his ministers!

Mr. Dalton, the most distinguished chemist in Britain,—and the man who has given to chemistry her numerical laws, has been allowed to spend the flower of his days in the drudgery of teaching the elements of mathematics at Manchester, and has never been honoured by a single mark of national gratitude. Mr. Ivory, the first mathematician in England, after exhausting the vigour of his life as a mathematical teacher at Marlow, has retired, as his humblest colleague would have done, on a superannuation, and has been allowed to spend his latter years in comparative poverty and obscurity.

When the eldest and the most illustrious of our sages have been thus neglected, need we inquire into the condition of those younger men who are destined to succeed them? Need we ask what mark of respect has been conferred upon Brown, the first botanist of the age;—on Herschel, the morning star of our science;—on Babbage, the inventor of a machine which seems to be actuated with almost intellectual power;—on Kater, Barlow, Christie, and South, who have extended the boundaries of physical science;—on Thomson, Henry, and Faraday, who have shone in the field of chemical discovery;—or on Murdoch and Henry Bell, who first introduced into actual use the two greatest practical inventions of modern times? Of the two last it has been the fortune of Mr. Murdoch to rise to wealth and consideration in the field of commercial enterprise; but Henry Bell has been preserved from starvation only by the private contributions of his fellow citizens.

Were not the detail likely to prove tedious, we might unfold to our readers a series of grievances of the most afflicting kind. We might point out English inventions rejected at home and adopted abroad. We might adduce the cases of ingenious men, who, when



when denied public aid, have exhausted upon their inventions their private resources, and terminated their days in poverty, or in prison. We might bewail those melancholy examples where youthful enthusiasm has been chilled by the apathy of power, and where disappointed hope has turned the luxuriance of genius into the wild shoots of mental alienation. Every day indeed we meet with the victims of our patent laws, that fraudulent lottery, which gives its blanks to genius and its prizes to knaves,—which robs the poor inventor of the wealth which he has either earned or borrowed, and transfers it to the purse of the attorney-general and the keeper of the great seal of England.

From general observations, which are calculated to make but a transient impression, we shall proceed to an examination of our scientific establishments. Without expecting that any of our philosophers should be cabinet ministers, or privy-councillors, or ambassadors, it might reasonably have been supposed that, in a country like Great Britain, a variety of her public institutions would have furnished ample provision for scientific men. As mistress of the ocean, her board of longitude should, like that of France, have furnished an elegant endowment for many of her philosophers; her lighthouse boards, with their immense revenues, might, like the corresponding board in France, have given situations to others; her boards of manufactures might have been appropriately conducted by men who combine practical with theoretical knowledge; her mineral treasures might have proffered a tithe of their produce to reward the knowledge which explored them, and applied them to the arts; her Royal Societies might have added several official situations; and her Universities, beside the ordinary chairs for professional education, might have contained others, which, while they attracted men of great name within their precincts, left them sufficient leisure to pursue their researches. All this might have been expected in England, because it is found in other countries less able and less called upon to be liberal to their philosophers.

But how greatly are these expectations disappointed! The Board of Longitude was placed under the management of the Lords and Secretaries of the Admiralty, &c. &c.; under the Astronomer Royal and certain professors of Oxford and Cambridge; under the President and three Fellows of the Royal Society; and under three scientific Commissioners, chosen by the Admiralty, who received 100*l.* per annum, and one of whom, acting as a secretary, had a salary of 300*l.*, and 200*l.* additional for superintending the 'Nautical Almanac.' This singularly constituted board was abolished in 1828,—and simply, we believe, because it was considered as actually useless. Its failure, however,

as an useful institution, if it did fail, arose from the very circumstance that it was not managed, like the French board, by scientific men, with regular salaries, personally responsible for the rewards which they conferred, and the publications which they issued.

Great Britain possesses three lighthouse boards; viz., that of the Trinity House, the Scottish Lighthouse Board, and the Board for improving the Port of Dublin. With respect to the exact constitution of some of these boards, we are not accurately informed; but we know that the funds which annually pass through their hands cannot be greatly less than 100,000*l*. They have engineers, secretaries, and treasurers, who receive good salaries, and in one of the boards we believe the members are paid; yet, by a fatality which impends over every British institution, not one of all the numerous members and officers of these three scientific boards is a man of science, or is even acquainted with those branches of optics which regulate the condensation and distribution of that element which it is their sole business to diffuse over the deep.

The Scottish board consists of the two law-officers of the crown, six provosts, two baillies, and fourteen sheriffs of maritime counties, who discharge their duties gratuitously and faithfully. But, however great may be the zeal and the legal knowledge of its members, such a board imperiously requires the assistance of scientific men, capable of examining and introducing the most improved systems of illumination; and even if these were amply paid from the funds of their respective boards, the saving to the country would be incalculable. Constituted as they now are, they are unable to perform the functions which are assigned them. The apparatus for fixed and moveable lights is much more complicated than that of a telescope and other optical instruments; and yet even the British government would stand appalled before an act of parliament which should place the instruments of our observatories under the charge of the maritime provosts and sheriffs of Scotland.

That grave inconveniences arise from boards thus composed is not left to conjecture, a striking instance having occurred in the very boards under consideration. The inventor of a new compound lens, and of a particular apparatus connected with it, published an account of his invention in 1811.\* Some years afterwards, a most distinguished member of the Academy of Sciences brought forward the same lens and apparatus as a new and important improvement in lighthouse illumination. It was submitted to the most severe trials by the French lighthouse board, composed of some of the most eminent philosophers and naval officers in

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\* See the *Edinburgh Transactions*, vol. xi. p. 33, for the particulars of the following statement.

Paris, and was found to be greatly superior to every other mode of illumination. It was adopted in the great national lighthouse of Cordouan, and arrangements were made for its universal introduction on the coasts of France. The author of the invention had previously, but vainly, attempted to draw to it the attention of the engineer of the Scottish lighthouses; but, fortified by its actual introduction in a foreign country, he addressed himself to the three lighthouse boards of Great Britain, and offered his gratuitous services in bringing into use the new system. The Scottish lighthouse board went so far as to order one of the lenses to be executed under the superintendence of the inventor. The Trinity board made some trials with the lens before it was sent from London; and the board in Dublin declined doing anything in the matter. No other step has been taken; and the inability of these boards to judge of the merits of the invention has prevented it from being substituted for those unscientific methods which are used on every part of the British shores.

Scotland contains three other boards of a scientific character, incorporated by act of parliament, viz., the Board of Trustees for promoting the Manufactures of Scotland, the Board for the British and White Herring Fishery, and the British Society for extending the Fisheries and improving the Sea-coasts. These boards present to us the same extraordinary constitution as the lighthouse board. They are all managed by unpaid commissioners, who are necessarily ignorant of the subjects that come before them; and there is not in these boards, nor among their stipendiary officers,\* a single man of science; and the board for the improvement of the coast does not seem to contain even a single engineer, but consists of individuals who, if they know anything of our coasts at all, must have seen them from the wicket of a bathing-machine, or over the bulwarks of a steam-boat.

In making these remarks, we cannot be understood as reflecting upon the individuals who have given their unhired services to the public. We have witnessed their zeal; but the affairs of the boards are virtually under the management of officers who are not qualified for the discharge of such duties. We cannot, therefore, blame the honourable men upon whom the yoke has been imposed; we blame the meanness,—shall we not add the ignorance,—of the British government, who, with a culpable indifference to the best interests of their country, have kept out of every board the only men who were qualified to fill them; and, with false views of

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\* Mr. Skene, recently appointed Secretary to the Board of Trustees, though highly qualified for the office, is not an exception to our remark, for the salary has been withdrawn, and he performs his duties gratuitously. Able men are sure of office when its emoluments are abolished.



economy, have devolved them on the gratuitous management of our nobility and gentry.

The three scientific societies of Great Britain present to us many singular phases, which we are persuaded no foreigner can comprehend, and of which few of our countrymen are aware. They contain no official situations capable of affording a provision even for a single philosopher; they are constituted on a plan which necessarily throws them under the management of persons little acquainted with science; and they are not only supported by the subscriptions of their own members, but some of them, if not all, pay taxes to government for the rooms which hold their collections, and in which their sittings are held. The Royal Society of London has three stipendiary officers, viz., the senior secretary, who receives 105*l.* per annum; the junior secretary, who receives 110*l.*, 5*l.* being allowed for making the index to the *Transactions*; and a foreign secretary, who receives 20*l.* When we consider the duties which belong to these offices, especially the superintendence of the '*Philosophical Transactions*,' of which two volumes are published annually, we must be convinced that the secretaries receive an inadequate compensation for their labours; and if they are either professional men, or have the power of increasing their income by their literary exertions, they must be considerable losers by holding their appointments. The Royal Irish Academy is, we believe, in the very same predicament; or, if a remuneration is annexed to any of its offices, these offices are certainly not held by men of science.

In the Royal Society of Edinburgh none of the office-bearers receive any salary. The Society, however, have, on three occasions, liberally given a present to their general secretary for his trouble in superintending their *Transactions*; but this sum would not average more than 20*l.* or 30*l.* per annum. This institution presents some interesting points of consideration. It receives nothing whatever from government, nor from the town of Edinburgh, nor from any individual endowments. It is supported wholly by the subscriptions of its members. It pays to government, or to the board of trustees who act for the government, an annual rent of 260*l.* for its apartments; and it is, besides, well taxed for the blessed light which exhibits its meagre and pillaged collections.\*

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\* After such an account of the state of our provincial societies, the reader will naturally ask, to what purpose are their funds applied, or for what object is their existence prolonged? This question may, we think, be usefully and satisfactorily answered. The metropolitan societies of Scotland and Ireland cannot hope to publish *Transactions* like those of London and Paris, containing many profound inquiries or valuable discoveries. Papers of such a description will be sent to the Royal Society of London, where there are now several splendid bequests for rewarding original researches;

Since our scientific boards and institutions contain no situations for scientific men, we shall now inquire if any shelter is afforded them within the walls of our eight universities. On this subject, Mr. Babbage has the following observations :—

‘ There are no situations in the state, there is no position in society, to which hope can point to cheer him (the young philosopher) in his laborious path. If, indeed, he belong to one of our universities, there are some few chairs in his *own* alma mater, to which he may, at some distant period, pretend : but these are not numerous ; and, whilst the salaries attached are seldom sufficient for the sole support of an individual, they are very rarely enough for that of a family.’—p. 37.

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‘ Perhaps it may be urged that sufficient encouragement is already afforded to abstract science, in our different universities, by the professorships established at them. It is not, however, in the power of such institutions to create ; they may foster and aid the developement of genius ; and, *when rightly applied, such stations ought to be its fair and honourable rewards.* In many instances their emolument is small ; and, *when otherwise, the lectures which are required from the professor are not, perhaps, in all cases, the best mode of employing the energies of those who are capable of inventing.*’—p. 19.

A small number of chairs in our universities are certainly the only rewards which are open to scientific ambition ; but when we consider how many of these have been filled either from political

researches ; so that our provincial Transactions must always be works of secondary merit. The purposes of these institutions are not on this account frustrated. It is no small object to bring together the scientific men of a large city, and the gentlemen of rank and official dignity, who are willing to support such institutions by their wealth and their co-operation. Science gains greatly by this indirect patronage. The young aspirant after fame is encouraged in his pursuits by having such individuals as his audience. The jealousies of scientific rivalry are repressed in an assembly of so miscellaneous a composition ; and, while the working members derive new zeal from the approbation of their more elevated colleagues, these again are repaid by the amusement or the instruction which they receive, or by the consciousness of supporting an institution of national utility.

But the principal advantages of provincial societies must be sought in the prosecution of local researches, which they alone can carry on : we allude to the examination of the natural history of the country, and to inquiries into its meteorological and magnetical phenomena. The Royal Society of Edinburgh has particularly distinguished itself in these valuable researches, and has liberally devoted its funds to every such object that has been proposed to its consideration. They have established registers throughout Scotland for ascertaining the mean temperature of the earth and of the atmosphere. By means of an instrument, constructed by Professor Hansteen for the Society, Mr. Dunlop has determined, in every part of the country, the direction of the magnetic lines of equal intensity ; and, what is perhaps more valuable still, they established, in 1823, a series of hourly meteorological observations, which have disclosed some most important general laws respecting the distribution of temperature. These observations were carried on at Leith Fort by the non-commissioned officers of the garrison, during 1824, 1825, 1826, and 1827 ; but suppressed in 1828 by order of Lieutenant-Colonel Rogers, under circumstances which we have neither room to describe nor temper to characterize.

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influence, or the personal favour of the patrons, the actual number considered as the rewards of eminence is greatly diminished. Few, however, though they be, they will operate as an excitement to the young philosopher in his sacrifice of all other professional expectations; but the benefit thus conferred upon science is, in our opinion, far outweighed by the baneful influence which such situations produce on the philosopher who obtains them. In this age of extended and diluted knowledge, popular science has become the staple of an extensive trade, in which charlatans are the principal dealers. No sooner is a professor installed behind the counter of his lecture-room, than it becomes his single object to enrich himself with the fees of his ready money customers. His handbills announce the qualities of his wares;—the cups and balls and the fire-works of science are summoned into requisition, and by the legerdemain and alchemy of his art he transmutes his baser metals into gold.

If, what is not uncommon, the individual never studied his science till he became a teacher of it, he will enter *con amore* into the spirit of *divertissements* so well suited to his genius and acquirements. But if his ambition has been that of fame, and his career that of discovery, by what process is he to descend into the popular arena of a lecture-room? If he teaches his science as a chain of demonstrated truths, his auditors are incapable of following him; and he must either bring himself to the level of the humblest illustrations, or surrender the emoluments which are to support himself and his family. He has, indeed, no alternative. He is forced to become a commercial speculator, and under the dead weight of its degrading influence, his original researches are either neglected or abandoned. The mammon of knowledge has beguiled many of her most ardent votaries, and some of our proudest intellects have fallen in their attempts to explore the Eldorado of science.

In the case of chairs, where the emoluments are derived principally from a salary, or where no duty at all is performed, or where the subject is of an unpopular nature, such as the higher mathematics, &c., the professor has no sacrifice to make either of time or of scientific character, and he is enabled to pursue his researches, and along with his own fame to advance that of his university and of his country. These, therefore, are the only university appointments which are of real use in the promotion of science.

For the truth of these views we might appeal to the authority of many distinguished names, but facts speak more loudly than authorities. Mr. Babbage has asserted, that ‘the great inventions of the age are not, with us at least, always produced in universities;’



universities ;' but we go much farther, and maintain, that the great inventions and discoveries which have been made in England during the last century have been made without the precincts of our universities. In proof of this, we have only to recall the labours of Bradley, Dollond, Priestley, Cavendish, Maskelyne, Rumford, Watt, Wollaston, Young, Davy, and Chenevix ; and among the living, to mention the names of Dalton, Ivory, Brown, Hatchett, Pond, Herschel, Babbage, Henry, Barlow, South, Faraday, Murdoch, and Christie ; nor need we have any hesitation in adding, that within the last fifteen years not a single discovery or invention, of prominent interest, has been made in our colleges, and that there is not one man in all the eight universities of Great Britain who is at present known to be engaged in any train of original research.

Since our scientific men then can find no asylum in our universities, and are utterly abandoned by our government, it may well be asked, what are their occupations, and how are they saved from that poverty and wretchedness which have so often embittered the peace, and broken the spirit of neglected genius ? Some of them squeeze out a miserable sustenance as teachers of elementary mathematics in our military academies, where they submit to mortifications not easily borne by an enlightened mind. More waste their hours in the drudgery of private lecturing, while not a few are torn from the fascination of original research, and compelled to waste their strength in the composition of treatises for periodical works and popular compilations.\* Nay, so thoroughly is the spirit of science subdued, and so paltry are the honours of successful inquiry, that even well-remunerated professors, and others who enjoy a competent independence and sufficient leisure, and are highly fitted by their talents to advance the interests of science, are found devoting themselves to professional authorship, and thus robbing their country of those services of which it stands so much in need.

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\* In 1817, the year before Dr. Young was appointed Secretary to the Board of Longitude, with a salary of 500*l.* per annum, his valuable time was wasted in professional authorship, as appears from the following extract of a letter to a correspondent : ' I shall be most happy to receive from you at all times any account of your interesting investigations ; but do not send me any information you are not prepared to have mentioned again, for I am always scribbling something anonymous, and I am very capable of introducing your experiments, where perhaps you would not wish them to appear—but I cannot help it—I can only give you fair warning. I have indeed very lately been entering into some optical subjects pretty much at large ; but I do not think that I shall resume the consideration of them for a long time.' However valuable Dr. Young's compositions are, yet his fame rests upon his optical discoveries, and science sustained a severe loss by the direction of his talents to any other subject. His appointment to the Secretaryship of the Board of Longitude did honour to the Admiralty ; and had Providence spared his valuable life, we should have witnessed, in his scientific discoveries, the happy influence of the leisure which it gave him.

Having thus exhibited what we conceive is a correct picture of the degraded state of science in England, it may be expected that some means should be suggested for its revival; but these means are so very obvious, that the reader cannot fail to have anticipated them.

The first remedy which suggests itself relates to the condition of our universities. The principal object of all university appointments is to provide the best possible system of instruction for the young, and whatever interferes with this must be regarded as inimical to the interests of the state. When a candidate of popular talents and practical skill as a teacher and lecturer is opposed to a philosopher of great name and profound acquirements, the patrons of the chair are placed in a dilemma of unusual difficulty. Their first impulse has always been to reward the man of genius, and to shed the lustre of his glory round the institution over which they preside. They fondly hope, that the fame of his talents will attract crowds of admiring disciples, and that his example and his counsels will rouse and foster the genius of his pupils. But these advantages, however real, are dearly purchased by the rejection of a popular teacher, who zealously devotes his whole time to the labours of instruction.

This difficulty may be removed in two ways: professorships might be established for the maintenance of men of genius, whose duty should be limited to the advancement of science by their original researches, and to the instruction of the young men who hold out the promise of great acquirements; or if such endowments should be considered as too much for the liberality of government, *some* of the existing professorships might be doubly filled, by an Emeritus professor of high name, and by a popular deputy appointed either by the professor or by the patron. This plan has the advantage of economy, and would ensure every advantage to the university and to the pupils. When the income of the chair amounts to from 800*l.* to 1000*l.* or upwards, this plan is perfectly practicable; but we conceive, that even when it is only 600*l.* or 700*l.* *under one professor*, the circumstance of the chair being filled by two—a popular lecturer and a gifted philosopher, would of itself render its emoluments sufficient for the maintenance of both. Let us suppose, for example, that the London University or King's College should have commenced its career, with Sir Humphry Davy as Emeritus Professor of Chemistry—Dr. Young, Emeritus Professor of Natural Philosophy—Dr. Wollaston, Emeritus Professor of Experimental Philosophy, and Mr. Ivory, Emeritus Professor of Mathematics, would not such names have attracted crowds of pupils, not only from every part of the kingdom, but from the remotest corner of Europe?

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In like manner, the arrangement which we have proposed, though on a much more limited scale, would yet produce proportional effects.

But this is not a mere speculation. It may be said to exist to a certain degree in all cases of superannuation, where the salary is received by the incumbent, and the whole or part of the fees by his colleague or assistant,\* and we believe it actually exists in several foreign universities. In the English universities and in that of Dublin some difficulty might be experienced in cases where the chairs have been endowed by individuals, but in Scotland no such difficulty is presented. A royal commission exists at this moment for improving the Scottish universities, but with a fatality characteristic of a government which knows little and cares less about the interests of philosophy, *there is not in that commission a single man of science*. They are said to have recommended the abolition of the Professorship of Practical Astronomy at *Edinburgh* as a sinecure, and to have proposed to double the duty of the professors—measures which are highly injurious to that university as a *seat of science*,† however useful the last of them may be to it as a *seat of education*.

The next remedy which we have to suggest for the revival of science, relates to the organization of our scientific societies; and if anything really effectual is ever to be done, it can be accomplished only by such a measure. Actuated by an ardent zeal for its interests, Mr. Babbage has pointed out many defects both in the constitution and management of the Royal Society, which ought to be instantly remedied. Those who are acquainted with the Royal Societies of Edinburgh and Dublin would doubtless be able to find as many, if not more, in the management of their affairs. Such defects, however, we are disposed to treat with indulgence. Persons who are deeply occupied with their own studies and affairs, cannot devote much personal attention to the management of the societies of which they happen to be influential members. It is often necessary indeed, for the benefit of an institution, to break its own rules; and when such an act emanates from good intentions, we must view it as a virtue rather than as a crime. We are persuaded, from personal knowledge, that Mr. Davies Gilbert feels the deepest interest in the welfare of the Royal Society, and would willingly promote any reform necessary to its improvement; and we are confident that the same liberal

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\* During the twenty years that Professor Playfair filled the mathematical Chair at Edinburgh, Dr. Ferguson received the salary.

† We allude to the future: for in a university where science is not pursued for its own sake, where original research is abandoned, and where three or four of the professors occupy their superabundant leisure in editing periodical works, an augmentation of duty might have an useful effect.



spirit exists among the office-bearers of the Edinburgh and Dublin institutions.

But there is one censure, not mentioned by Mr. Babbage, which, we think, all these institutions have deeply incurred. They have not employed their influence with the government, either in staying its destroying arm, in calling into action its powers of doing good, or in demanding its bounty for those distinguished men who were especially placed under their patronage. If these three societies, represented by such eminent presidents as Sir Walter Scott, Dr. Brinkley (Bishop of Cloyne), and Mr. Davies Gilbert, had combined to save the Board of Longitude, it is impossible that any government could have resisted their appeal; and if the Royal Society of London, on whom the obligation lay, had represented, to the proper quarter, the pre-eminent services of Mr. Dalton and Mr. Ivory, these great men would have held a more comfortable and a more prominent position in the eyes of their countrymen.

The changes which Mr. Babbage has proposed upon the Royal Society of London, judicious though they be, are too slight to produce any decided results; and unless government shall grant salaries to a certain number of its most distinguished men of science, as is done in every other country, no effectual improvement can take place. In return for this bounty, the society would be, as it were, the scientific advisers of the crown. They would superintend public experiments, report on all scientific measures submitted to government, and, in short, perform those multifarious and valuable duties which are so admirably discharged by the Academy of Sciences of Paris. This change in the constitution of the Society might easily be effected without disturbing the position of its other members. These members, though much more numerous, would form a class corresponding to the *académiciens libres* of the Academy of Paris, who receive no salary, and perform none of the professional duties of the stipendiary members.

But however desirable these changes would be under any circumstances, their influence would be limited and their operation cramped, unless our literary and scientific men are allowed, like other ranks in society, to aspire to the honours of the state. No statute, indeed, disqualifies them from holding the titles which reward the services of other men; but custom, as powerful as statute, has torn all such hopes from their grasp; and while the mere possessor of animal courage, one of the most common qualities of the species, has been loaded with every variety of honour, the possessor of the highest endowments of the mind,—he whom the Almighty has chosen to make known the laws and mysteries of his works,—he

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who has devoted his life, and sacrificed his health and the interests of his family, in the most profound and ennobling pursuits,—is allowed to live in poverty and obscurity, and to sink into the grave without one mark of the affection and gratitude of his country. And why does England thus persecute the votaries of her science? Why does she depress them to the level of her hewers of wood and her drawers of water? 'It is because science flatters no courtier, mingles in no political strife, and brings up no reserve to the minister, to swell his triumph or break his fall. She is persecuted because she is virtuous; dishonoured because she is weak.

'Amongst the various proposals for encouraging science (says our author), the institution of an order of merit has been suggested. It is somewhat singular, that whilst in most of the other kingdoms of Europe, such orders exist, for the purpose of rewarding, by honorary distinctions, the improvers of the arts of life, or successful discoverers in science, nothing of the kind has been established in England.

'Our orders of knighthood are favourable only to military distinction. It has been urged as an argument for such institutions, that they are a cheap mode of rewarding science; whilst, on the other hand, it has been objected, that they would diminish the value of such honorary distinctions by making them common. The latter objection is of little weight, because the numbers who pursue science are few, and probably will long continue so. . . . Another proposal, of a similar kind, has also been talked of,—one which it may appear almost ridiculous to suggest in England, but which would be considered so in no other country. It is to ennoble some of the greatest scientific benefactors of their country. Not to mention political causes, the ranks of the nobility are constantly recruited from the army, the navy, and the bar. Why should not the family of that man, whose name is imperishably connected with the steam-engine, be enrolled amongst the nobility of his country? In ability and profit, not merely to that country, but to the human race, his deeds may proudly claim comparison even with the most splendid of those achieved by classes so rich in glorious recollections.'—p. 198.

The experience of the last fifteen years, however, forbids us to indulge in such reasonable expectations, and in the list of honours which have been conferred since the peace of 1816 there are sufficient grounds for this prohibition. No fewer than 97 Knights Grand Crosses, 164 Knights Commanders, and a whole regiment of Companions of the Order of the Bath, have been appointed since that period: these are all military and naval men; and, though the order does admit the civil servants and benefactors of the state, yet only fifteen of this class have been appointed, and not one of these knights are men either of science or of literature. In the long list of Knights Bachelors, we meet with a singular assemblage of characters—judges, lawyers, soldiers, sailors, physicians,

icians, surgeons, apothecaries, painters, architects, booksellers, and quack doctors, and all the *operatives* of the political machine, are marshalled in ludicrous juxtaposition. A few honoured names, indeed, grace the multifarious list, but not a single philosopher, not a single literary or scientific\* character is to be found.

The reign of George IV., therefore, however brightly it has shone with deeds of arms, will derive no lustre from the patronage of science and philosophy. In the eulogies recently pronounced upon our late gracious sovereign, the Duke of Wellington and Sir R. Peel characterized his majesty as the *patron of art and of artists*. This tribute, slender as it is, was sincerely paid, and justly merited; but its limitation to a single branch of the *imitative arts* was in itself a censure upon the neglect of all the higher departments of science and industry; and must be regarded as an admission, from the highest authority, of the views which have occupied the preceding pages. Our lamented sovereign, however, is entitled to higher praise: He founded two annual medals of fifty guineas each, to be awarded by the Royal Society, for scientific discoveries; and, with true liberality, he not only gave similar medals to the Royal Society of Literature, but established *ten* pensions of 100*l.* each, for meritorious and not wealthy members of that body. This great service to the cause of learning we owe to the patriotism of the venerable Dr. Burgess, bishop of Salisbury, who so ably fills the chair of the institution which he planned. The commencement of another reign holds out the prospect of a new epoch; and, at a period when the warrior rests from his toils, we trust that our gracious sovereign will take into his favour the cultivators of the arts of peace—that he will extend the liberality of the crown to every variety of genius, and shed the honours of the state upon every class of its benefactors. The reign of William III., while it was endeared to Englishmen by the political rights which it secured, was rendered illustrious over Europe by the discoveries of Newton, and the noble rewards which he received from his sovereign. Nations who never heard of the former, still cherish the latter with affectionate remembrance; and the noble act of Charles Montague will be remembered when the revolution of that day is forgotten amid the events of more recent convulsions.

But there is yet another department of British interests which has experienced the same depression:—our mechanical and chemical arts—the foundation of British industry—the basis of our manufacturing and commercial wealth. Discoveries in abstract science, however rich and ample may be their blossom, do not

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\* With the exception of Sir R. Seppings, the improver of our ships of war.



at once bring their fruits into the national treasury. Many a winter intervenes between their spring and their harvest, and centuries often elapse before they find a practical application; but the inventions of mechanical genius, and the processes in agriculture and the useful arts, advance into immediate maturity, and while they add to the comforts and luxuries of the people, they, in the same proportion, contribute to the resources of the state. All nations, however low in the scale of civilization, have agreed in protecting the arts of industry, and the liberality of our ancestors devised a scheme for the same purpose. This scheme constitutes the patent laws of Great Britain,—a system of vicious and fraudulent legislation, which, while it creates a factitious privilege of little value, deprives its possessor of his natural right to the fruit of his genius, and which places the most exalted officers of the state in the position of a legalized banditti, who stab the inventor through the folds of an act of parliament, and rifle him in the presence of the Lord Chief Justice of England.

The author of any literary composition, whether it be a folio volume or a ballad, enjoys, by the laws of England, the sole right of publishing it for twenty-eight years certain, and, if he survives, during the rest of his life. The only tax exacted by the government is the presentation of eleven copies to the public libraries of the kingdom. There is not, we believe, an author in Great Britain who is not grateful to the legislature for this wise and liberal enactment. The tax, which is scarcely entitled to that name, is a mere trifle, amounting only to the price of the paper of eleven copies, if the work is a successful one; but if the work does not sell, the tax becomes nothing, for the eleven copies have no value, and it is better for the author that they should be deposited in the public libraries than converted into waste paper. Hence it follows, that the author of a work has its property secured to him by statute, without paying for the privilege. The painter, the engraver, the draftsman, the geographer, the hydrographer, and the sculptor, enjoy the same valuable right; and so complete is the protection extended by the law, that piracy is almost unknown, and works thus secured constitute a property which can be transferred with as much safety as land or stock.

The case, however, is very different with the inventor of new machines and the discoverer of new arts. He who has invented a new steam-engine cannot, like the author of a new romance, dispose of it forthwith. He must devote himself night and day to the practical application of his principle: he must construct models and perform experiments, and work either in the dark or with the assistance of tried friends, lest some pirate robs him of his idea, and brings it earlier into use. When his  
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views are completed, and his hopes of pecuniary reimbursement raised, he applies for that privilege which the patent laws hold out to him ; but, before he can receive a right to the exclusive use of his invention throughout the British dominions, he is obliged to pay down the sum (to him, in all likelihood, enormous) of 300*l.* or 400*l.*—a direct tax upon his genius—not upon the products of his genius, for nothing is yet produced.

Now, the invention, thus loaded with a tax of 350*l.*, must belong to one of five classes :—

1. It may be one of inestimable and immediate value, not only to the country, but to the human race—such as the steam-engine or the achromatic telescope, and therefore capable of rewarding the labours of its author.

2. It may be an invention of no intrinsic value, which, from the extent of the demand, may give employment to many idle hands—require for its construction many taxable materials, and form an article of export, so as to become profitable to the community, and thus reward the ingenuity of its author.

3. It may be an invention of one or other of these classes, but which, from the state of the arts and other causes, does not come into actual use till the period of the privilege is expired.

4. It may be an invention of one or other of the two first classes, and yet the demand may, from its very nature, be so limited, and the expense of bringing it into use so great, that the profits are *nothing*, or at all events less than 350*l.*, the price of the patent.

5. It may be an invention of no use at all, and one which evinces the folly of the patentee who seeks for a privilege, and the cupidity of the government who grants it.

Now, in the two first of these cases, is it just or honourable that an inventor, who has performed such great services to his country, should be taxed with 350*l.* for performing these very services, even though he shall be remunerated by his patent ? In the third and fourth case, is it just that an inventor should pay 350*l.* for bringing into use a valuable invention, by which he has been either wholly or partly ruined ? Or is it just, in the fifth case, that an inexperienced and sanguine projector should be fined 350*l.* for exerting himself to the utmost of his ability in giving a new manufacture to the state ?

There is no principle of equity upon which such a tax can be defended, even if the statute, by which it is levied, confers a real and substantial privilege. But the privilege actually conferred is almost wholly illusory, because it can be set aside upon the most frivolous grounds ; and a patent right can never be considered as transferable property till its validity has been tried before a court of law, at an expense of one or more thousand pounds.

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It will no doubt be said that the uncertainty of a patent right arises, in a great measure, from the difficulty of protecting a mechanical invention or a process in the arts ; but this difficulty, or rather this incapacity of our legislators to devise a sufficient protection for the productions of skill, instead of authorising them to levy a tax upon inventions which they are unable to defend, should have led them to confer bounties or rewards upon those who risk their time and their fortune in labours, which are thus withdrawn from the protection of the law.

If we take the average number of patents at 150 every year, and the average expense so low as 300*l.*, the sum paid annually by inventors will be about 45,000*l.*, of which about 7000*l.* passes into the treasury, while the remaining 38,000*l.* goes into the pockets of the officers of the crown. This tax, heavy as it is, is scarcely felt by wealthy inventors, but it operates as an absolute prohibition against the poor inventor ; and, consequently, against nine-tenths of those individuals who are most capable of advancing the interests of the arts.

Such is a faint picture of the evils of our patent laws—evils which had become so intolerable, that a committee of the House of Commons was appointed, in 1829, to inquire into the subject. Their report, which is printed, contains much important information ; but the opinions of the witnesses, relative to the consequences of making patents cheap, are so extraordinary, that they seem to be the result of the most superficial inquiry. They are almost all of opinion *that patents should not be too cheap, lest the country should be inundated with them.* One individual only, Mr. John Isaac Hawkins, has viewed the subject with the feelings of a patriot and the sagacity of a philosopher.

‘ I would propose patents,’ says he, ‘ to be put upon the same footing as copyrights, or rather as statuary. . . . If I take a piece of clay, and model the likeness of a human head, or any other form that my fancy may dictate, and cast a copy of the same in plaster of Paris, I have a patent or exclusive right to sell copies of it, *by merely putting my name and date of publication upon each copy* ; but if I take the same piece of clay, and spend the same time upon it, and *model an useful article*—a teapot, for instance, and cast it in metal, I must pay from 100*l.* to 400*l.* for a patent for that article. . . . If patents were given free of cost, the public would be benefited by the inventions of the sober-minded ; and thus a source of permanent wealth to the country would be opened. I am well acquainted with many cases in which a poor inventor has remained poor, while the capitalist has realised a great fortune by the invention. . . . I firmly believe I am, at the present moment, the confidential depositary of important inventions, which, if they could be patented free of cost, and thus become



become marketable commodities, *they would immediately occasion employment to thousands of people.*

Sir Robert Peel stated, in the House of Commons, that if patents were made too cheap, the manufacturers of Manchester and Birmingham would be put to great inconvenience. Without noticing the novelty of the principle of taxing inventors for the convenience of the manufacturers of these towns, we may ask if the manufacturers here referred to are the pirates who lie in wait for the poor man's inventions, or the respectable tradesmen who would scorn to touch the property of their neighbour? The former do not deserve our sympathy, and the latter do not require it. If the tradesman has been in the previous use of the invention, no patent can prevent him from continuing to use it; nay, the patent itself falls, and the invention is thrown open to the community. But if an increase in the number of patents is an evil, which no sensible man can admit, the best way of diminishing their number is to prevent them from being granted for frivolous and ludicrous objects, and not to tax the wise and the poor, and thus suppress inventions of real utility to the nation.

In 1829, for example, the number of patents in actual operation was 1855. Now, if we suppose that the total abolition of fees should raise that number to 5600, the consequences would be the same as if the number of books and pieces of statuary, &c., were increased in the same proportion. The chance of piracy and litigation may be said to be increased, because the number of articles capable of being pirated has been augmented; but as a very great portion of the additional number of patents must be for inventions of trivial value, there could be no motive for their invasion, and litigation never takes place but in the case of patents that are either rewarding, or likely to reward, the ingenuity of the patentee. But even if the abolition of fees should introduce a new source of litigation, it would entirely put an end to those ruinous and expensive lawsuits which arise from the deficiencies of the *Specification* and other causes. In place of injurious consequences, great and incalculable benefits would immediately arise from the abolition of fees. The inventive genius of the nation would be instantly directed to the improvement of every species of manufacture, and new sources of wealth and of revenue would be created. Mr. B. Rotch states, on his personal knowledge, *that there are hundreds of patents that would be brought out, if the expense and hazards of the present system were diminished*; and we can add also, that we know of many valuable inventions that have been kept secret for years, and which will probably die with their inventors.

But in whatever light we view the abolition of patent fees, it **must**

must be admitted that a real difficulty exists in protecting the rights of inventors. When a patentee applies for an exclusive privilege, there are two parties whose interests are supposed to be at stake—the *inventor*, and the *public*, as represented by the government. These parties meet on the understood principle, that the one has a secret to communicate, and the other a privilege to confer in return. The conditions required from the patentee are, that he really possesses a secret, and honestly communicates it. If either of these conditions is not complied with, the privilege granted by the government is null and void. In order to ensure to the community the advantages of the invention, the patentee makes affidavit that, to the best of his belief, the invention is new, and that he is the sole inventor; and he communicates the particulars of his secret in a document called the *Specification*. Hence, if the invention has been made or practised previously, or if the patentee has acquired the secret from another, or if he has incautiously made it known, or if his specification does not contain a clear exposition of it—in all these cases the patent becomes void, and may be formally cancelled by an application to the crown.

Now, this distressing result may arise either from fraud, or from ignorance on the part of the patentee. If he knew that his invention was old, or if he concealed the true secret of it from the public, then we can have no sympathy with him for the forfeiture of his privilege, and he is justly punished by the loss of his 350*l.*; but if the patentee is an honest man, who not only is the true author of the invention, but has obtained the highest professional assistance to enable him to communicate faithfully and clearly his invention to the public, then the repeal of such a patent must be viewed as an act of oppression and dishonesty on the part of the government. It is an act of oppression, because the law deprives him of the part of the invention which may really belong to him, and which he has clearly and faithfully described; and it is an act of dishonesty, because the government retains possession of the large sum of money by which the cancelled privilege has been purchased. Thus, despoiled of his invention, and robbed of his all, the poor man is sent back to his starving family, branded with the character of a plagiarist, and ruined by the costs of the very action by which he has been deprived of his rights.

In the preceding case we have supposed that the inventor had, without his knowledge, been anticipated in some part of his invention; but even when the patentee is acknowledged to be the original inventor—when his invention is allowed to be one of national benefit, and when he has rigorously fulfilled all his obligations

gations to the public, yet the law contrives, on the most frivolous and vexatious grounds, to rob him of his privilege. In forty-nine trials on the validity of patents, no fewer than thirty patents have been repealed, and in all these cases it would be easy to show that the public were losers rather than gainers by the decision; while, in all the cases where valuable patents have been sustained, the public have been as great gainers as the patentee. As this is a view of the subject which we believe has never yet been taken, we shall endeavour to illustrate it by a reference to well-known facts. When Sir R. Arkwright secured by patent the exclusive right to his spinning machinery, he sold licenses for making and using it to a great extent; but when the patent was repealed, his rivals in trade received no other benefit than the exemption from paying the license, and this only for a few years previous to the expiration of the term. Now, the price of this license was so trivial, compared with the magnitude of the concerns in which they were engaged, that the same enormous fortunes would have been realized whether the patent stood or fell. Had the patent remained in force, each manufacturer had a motive to invent and improve, so as to relieve himself from the license by the use of new machinery; but the moment the patent was thrown open, and all the manufacturers placed on the same level, this powerful stimulus to invention was removed.

The same observations are applicable to the celebrated contested patents of Watt and Dollond; the first of which was nearly lost, while the second was supported more by the good feeling of the judge than by the application of a sound principle of law. Had these two patents been repealed, the public would have lost those enormous advantages which they derived from all the subsequent labours of Watt and Dollond. Mr. Watt, and his eminent partner, Mr. Boulton, brought the steam-engine to such a high degree of perfection, that, with the exception of some minor improvements, their engines at this moment surpass those of every rival manufacturer; and such were the exertions of Dollond, *after* the confirmation of his patent, that the achromatic telescope has not received a single improvement from any of his English rivals. When those patents expired, rival manufacturers derived immediate advantage from the improvements made by the patentees; and, to the great benefit of the public and of the revenue, all Europe was long supplied with the steam-engines and the achromatic telescopes of England.

It would form a curious chapter in the history of legal despotism, could we exhibit a detail of the specific grounds on which individual patents have been attacked or repealed; but our limits will permit us only to state a few simple cases. The celebrated



celebrated patent of Mr. Watt was nearly lost, on the ground that it was for a *principle*, (viz., the principle of separate condensation,) and not for a *vendible substance*. The judges were divided, and no decision was pronounced; but in a subsequent trial the patent was supported. In 1813 Lord Cochrane took out a patent for a method of lighting cities, towns, and villages; and in his specification he described a *new lamp*, most ingeniously suited to those special purposes. This patent was repealed, on the ground that the patent should have been taken for an *improved lamp*. Mr. Jessop took out a patent for a *new watch*, whereas only a particular movement in the watch was new. The court held that the patent should have been for the particular movement only, and in consequence of this it was repealed. Now, this decision would have been just, had the patentee claimed a right to the old parts of the watch; but this he did not, and therefore the public could not be injured by its being called a new watch. But independent of this, we maintain that old and new parts combined constitute a *new whole*—a machine which never existed before; and however few be the new parts, and however numerous the old, yet, if the new parts enable the whole machine to produce a new effect, or a better effect than was ever produced before, the whole machine is a new one.

A most extraordinary decision was given by Lord Ellenborough, in 1817, in the case of Metcalf's patent for a *tapered hair or head brush*. This most ingenious invention, which has now come into general use, is a brush in which the central bristles of each cluster project a little beyond the rest, and thus enable the brush to penetrate the hair much better than when the bristles are of equal length. Rival brushmakers applied for a repeal of the patent; and the following is the account of the decision, given by Mr. Farey.

' *Lord Ellenborough*.—"Tapering means gradually converging to a point: according to the specification, the bristles would be of unequal length, but there could be no tapering. *If that word be used in its general sense*, the description is defective; if the term has by usage of trade a different meaning, it may be received in its perverted sense; but I cannot hold out any prospect that the difficulty arising from the *grammatical consideration (! !)* can be removed." After some farther evidence, which did not remove the difficulty, his Lordship advised the jury to find, *that it was not a tapering, but only an unequal brush*.—Verdict for the crown. A motion was made next term for a new trial, but was refused.'—*Report of the Committee of the House of Commons*, p. 203.

In opposition to this legal quibble, we assert that the brush was a *tapering* brush, because the whole mass of bristles constituting the brush diminished by regular gradations from their place of insertion to their summits. Each cluster of the bristles

tapered like the human hand, which comes to its termination by the successively diminishing lengths of the thumb and the four fingers ; and as the word ‘ tapering ’ is applied to the hand, it is equally applicable to each cluster of the brush, and, consequently, to the whole. But the word ‘ taper ’ does not imply an imperceptible diminution of thickness. It is applied to the finger, which tapers by three joints ; and to spires, towers, and pagodas, which undergo successive diminutions *per saltum*. But if this decision was founded upon an absurd criticism, the principle of law which would have given efficacy to the criticism, had it been just, was still more absurd. The patent was set aside by a defect in the specification, owing to the supposed improper use of the word ‘ tapering ; ’ but this was one of those numerous cases where a specification was entirely unnecessary to secure the rights of the public. The brush itself told its own construction, and it was impossible for any man to see it without being able to make it. Lord Ellenborough therefore repealed a patent for what was allowed to be a new invention, and where the specification alone, and the invention alone, communicated to the public the true secret of the inventor.

In 1778, when an action for infringing Sir Richard Arkwright’s patent for spinning machinery was tried in the King’s Bench, the obscurity and imperfection of the specification were urged ; and because certain workmen could not make the machinery, a verdict was given *against the patentee*. In 1785, when another action was tried in the Common Pleas, a verdict was given *for the patentee*, on the ground that several witnesses *had made the machinery from the specification alone* ; and yet, in the same year, this patent was repealed ! Such was the fate of an invention which produced a saving of several hundred thousand pounds per annum, and has proved one of the richest sources of British wealth. The inventors of this extraordinary machinery were Hargrave, Arkwright, and Crompton. Hargrave’s patent for a spinning-jenny, in 1767, was invaded by an association of pirates. Ruined in his circumstances, and persecuted by the mob, he died in poverty and want, in the middle of a population that had grown rich by his inventions. Crompton suffered similar persecutions ; but, after languishing in poverty during a long life, a reward of 5000*l.* was at last obtained from parliament. Sir Richard Arkwright suffered great losses by his patents ; and yet, after they were set aside, he acquired an immense fortune, along with many others who had availed themselves of his inventions.

These observations will convey to the reader some idea of the state of our patent-laws, and will, we hope, convince him of the necessity for their repeal.\* The subject is supposed to be beset  
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with insuperable difficulties, but these difficulties appear formidable only to those whose interests are bound up with the present system. The protection of the rights of inventors,\* as well as those of the public, might be effected by the following means:—

1. Every application for a patent should be made to one of three scientific boards—one in each metropolis of the three kingdoms—whose especial business it should be to become acquainted with the present and past state of the useful arts.

2. If the board should determine that the invention is new, the patentee should, from that moment, be absolutely secured in all the advantages of his patent for fourteen years.

3. The specification should be drawn up to the satisfaction of the board, and the patentee should make oath to its correctness.

4. If an inventor thinks himself aggrieved by the board's rejecting his invention as old or frivolous, let him take out his patent as it is done at present, *periculo petentis*. This arrangement would remove entirely the objections which have been made to the decisions of a board.

If the board should grant an absolute privilege for an invention previously used and abandoned, the patentee would still deserve it for introducing a forgotten invention into actual use; and if the invention should happen to be in use by one or more individuals, these individuals might be allowed to stand in the situation of those who had received a license from the patentee.

If the government should decline to pay the members of these boards, it might be done by fees from the patentees; or a fund might be raised by a tax upon all patent articles, and patent licenses. Even if the present system of fees should remain unaltered, there is not a patentee in the kingdom who would not willingly secure his privilege by paying a considerable sum to defray the expenses of such a board.

Enough, we trust, has been said to satisfy every lover of his country that the sciences and the arts of England are in a wretched state of depression, and that their decline is mainly owing to the ignorance and supineness of the government; to the injudicious organization of our scientific boards and institutions; to the indirect persecution of scientific and literary men by their exclusion from all the honours of the state; and to the unjust and oppressive tribute which the patent-law exacts from inventors. In a country which has so long derived its truest greatness from being the land of Newton, and which is now rendered illustrious over all the earth by one living star of its literature, can we look with indifference at this prostration of our intellectual strength?—can we behold unmoved the science of England, the vital principle of her arts, struggling for existence, the meek and unarmed victim of political strife? An association of our nobility, clergy,



clergy, gentry, and philosophers, can alone draw the attention of the sovereign and the nation to this blot upon its fame. Our aristocracy will not decline to resume their proud station as the patrons of genius ; and our 'Boyles, and Cavendishes, and Montagues, and Howards, will not renounce their place in the scientific annals of England. The prelates of our national church will not refuse to promote that knowledge which is the foundation of pure religion, and those noble inquiries which elevate the mind, and prepare it for its immortal destination !

If this effort fail, we must wait for the revival of better feelings, and deplore our national misfortune in the language of the wise man—' I returned, and saw under the sun that there is neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill.'\*

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ART. II.—1. *On Credit Currency.* By S. Paulett Scrope, Esq. London. 1830.

2. *Abstract Propositions touching Banking.* Edinburgh. 1830.

**N**O more important question of public economy is likely to present itself to the consideration of the legislature than that of the exclusive privileges of the Bank of England, whose existing charter expires in 1833. That the species of monopoly which was originally conferred upon, and which to a certain extent is still retained by, this establishment, has worked great practical injury to the interests of the public, is a fact which cannot be disputed : by preventing more than six partners from joining in banking speculations, it has deprived the community of incalculable advantages. Their monopoly has enabled the proprietors of Bank stock to derive a large extra profit from the employment of their capital ; but this, although by no means a trifling advantage, reaped at the expense of the community, is a very inconsiderable item in the sum total lost to us through the operation of the Bank Charter. In order to arrive at a true estimate, we must also calculate the sums which, from time to time, have been lost in various districts, through the failure of insolvent banks ; and to this must be added, what is still more important and difficult to compute, the amount of what has been lost through the want of that stimulus to industry and economy which is well known to be powerfully applied by local banks, established and conducted on correct principles.

The proprietors of Bank stock will, we may rest assured, struggle hard to retain at least that part of their exclusive privi-

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\* We are happy to observe that, since the first part of this article was printed off, the honour of knighthood has been conferred on Mr. South.

leges which prevents the formation of banking-companies, either established on the principle of joint-stock, or having more than six partners, in the metropolis: they well know that private banks, composed of a small number of partners, and conducted upon a system which necessarily excludes the public from all knowledge of their affairs, can never rival their establishment in general estimation; and they are aware that this superior credit, as long as it can be maintained, must secure to them the safest and the most lucrative portion of the banking business of the country. On this point, however, we have no doubt the Bank will be met with effectual resistance. The removal of the impolitic restrictions which clog the trade of banking would inevitably lead to the establishment of numerous banking companies, with a large paid-up capital, within the limits of the metropolis. The credit and resources of these institutions would, in the course of a very short time, emancipate the Treasury from its present dependence upon the Bank of England; and from this result alone a considerable saving would annually accrue to the nation. For the trouble taken in receiving the taxes, paying the interest of the public debt, and conducting the various other pecuniary transactions of the Exchequer, the Bank now receives a per centage, or commission, which amounts annually to about 260,000*l.*; to which must be added, the profit derived from the use of a floating balance due to the public, never less in amount than four millions sterling. This balance, employed in discounting mercantile bills at the rate of four per cent. yields a revenue of 160,000*l.* per annum, which being added to the commission of 260,000*l.*, gives a total of 420,000*l.* as the profit which the proprietors of Bank stock derive every year from the connexion subsisting between that establishment and the Treasury. Now every person at all acquainted with the nature of money transactions must at once perceive that this is an enormous compensation for managing the pecuniary affairs of the nation. It should be recollected that the transactions of the Bank with the state are attended with very little risk; its losses on this account being limited to occasional forgeries in the sale of stock, which, on an average of years, are of very trifling amount. It is not necessary to argue that the profits derived by the Bank of England from its connexion with the state ought not to exceed a fair compensation for the labour performed, together with an adequate premium for the risk incurred from forgeries. We think it extremely probable, that 200,000*l.* per annum would amply compensate the Bank, for the labour and trouble of receiving the taxes, and paying the dividends and Treasury orders; and we are quite sure, that 20,000*l.* per annum would be an ample premium to cover any losses which it might sustain from forgeries;

forgeries ; in other words, that the Bank receives at least 200,000*l.* per annum from the public, to which it has no just title. As long, in truth, as the Bank of England is permitted to enjoy its present monopoly, and prevent the formation of joint-stock banks, which might rival it in credit and resources, the nation is at its mercy : the restrictions on banking effectually exclude from the field all efficient competitors, and the Treasury must submit to any terms, however extravagant, which the directors choose to demand. If private banks offered to transact any branch of our pecuniary affairs on more reasonable terms, the answer of ministers would unavoidably be, ‘ Your credit is not such that we, as guardians of the public interest, can entrust you with the balances which must, from time to time, be left in your hands.’ The proprietors of Bank stock have thus contrived to obtain for that establishment exclusive privileges, which effectually prevent the intrusion of rivals ; and then make the absence of all other banks of undoubted credit the ground of extorting an enormous compensation for managing our money affairs. Private individuals get their business transacted without any compensation beyond that which accrues from the use of the balances which they allow to remain in the hands of their bankers ; but, although the state balances remaining at the disposal of the Bank of England bear a much higher proportion to the sum total of the national transactions, than the balances of individuals bear, on the average, to the amount of their banking accounts, the public allows to the Bank of England not only the profit arising from the employment of this balance, which cannot fall short of 160,000*l.* per annum, but, over and above, a commission amounting to 260,000*l.* per annum. No wonder that the proprietors of Bank stock should cling *mordicus* to their exclusive privilege of acting as the bankers of the state. The establishment of additional joint-stock companies, with a large paid-up capital, would in a very few years put it in the power of the Treasury to effect a saving of at least 50 per cent. in the management of the pecuniary transactions of the state.

But the saving which would accrue from a more economical management of these affairs is one of the least advantages which might be reasonably expected to result from releasing the trade of banking from the restrictions by which it is now hampered. Its emancipation would raise up a sound system of credit and accommodation, which has been long familiar to our northern neighbours, but of which we have hitherto had but a very limited experience. By affording facilities to the formation of joint-stock companies, government would succeed in gradually correcting the wretched system of banking which has hitherto acted as a drag upon the industry of England : the public, having the option of  
resorting



resorting to banks of undoubted credit and solvency, would gradually cease to entrust their pecuniary transactions to establishments which cannot offer them an equal assurance of stability. A sound system of banking would by degrees spread itself through the country, without even calling upon the legislature to interfere positively in the affairs and management of any subsisting banks. Private banks could not long maintain a successful competition against the superior resources of joint-stock companies. Many of the advantages which Scotland has derived from a correct system of banking we have already pointed out; and proportionate to the benefits which the inhabitants of that country have reaped from the operations of their banks, are the losses which we have sustained from adhering to a contrary course. Indeed, with respect to this very important branch of public economy, we seem desirous of showing how well we can move in fetters: we appear willing to clog the freedom of our motions, in order that we may not too rapidly outrun other nations in the race of prosperity.

The banking system of our neighbours presents three great and leading features: it offers to the frugal a safe and at the same time a profitable depository for their savings; the industrious it furnishes with loans, advanced upon cash-credits; and the public at large it provides with a safe, economical, and convenient circulating medium. The utility of the two former functions is too manifest to admit of dispute, but with regard to the latter function—that of providing a circulating medium—it is strenuously contended that this is not an essential feature of, but merely an adjunct to, the system. Those who hold this opinion urge that, although the Scotch system of banking be good as it stands at present, it would be still better without this adjunct, which they represent as an unnecessary and even injurious excrescence. From these views we must take the liberty of expressing our unequivocal dissent: far from regarding this function as an excrescence, which might be lopped off, if not with advantage, at least without injury, we consider it as the hinge on which the whole system practically turns. Our readers need scarcely be reminded, that a very large proportion of the most important transactions of those banks—receiving deposits and advancing loans upon cash-credits—is conducted through the medium of branches, dispersed throughout the various districts of that country; the expense of maintaining these local establishments is considerable, and would, unquestionably, exceed any profit which could accrue to the parent bank, from its deposit and cash-credit transactions alone: the loss thus occasioned is now made up to the parent banks by the profit derived from the circulation of their notes. If the parent banks were deprived of this source of emolument, it cannot admit  
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of a doubt that all, or at least nearly all, the branches would be relinquished. In some towns and populous places, they might clear their expenses and maintain their ground, even if this premium were withdrawn; but from the poorer and more thinly populated districts, where the accommodation which they furnish is most wanted, and, perhaps, most useful, they would infallibly disappear. The witnesses examined by the Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to inquire into the principles and practical operation of the system, were very closely questioned as to this point; and their uniform answer was, that without the profit arising from the circulation of a paper currency under five pounds, the branch banks could not be continued, the commission of one per cent. (which is the difference between the interest allowed upon deposits and that charged on advances made under cash-credits) not being of itself sufficient to defray the unavoidable expenses of such establishments in thinly-populated districts and small towns, where the amount of the business transacted is necessarily limited. It was suggested by some of the members composing that committee, that, either by allowing so much less interest upon deposits, or charging so much more interest upon cash-credit loans, the banks of Scotland might make up for the loss which would be occasioned by the discontinuance of paper money. This suggestion the witnesses effectually rebutted, by observing that either of these two modes of supplying the defalcation which would arise from the withdrawal of a paper currency, would inevitably prove fatal, at least to the cash-credit branch of the system. The interest allowed upon deposits is always reduced to the lowest rate at which it can be maintained without driving away the capital now entrusted to the management of the Scotch bankers: an additional reduction, even of a very trifling amount, might, and unquestionably would, force a very considerable proportion of the whole body of depositors to withdraw their funds, and seek out for another and more profitable channel of investment. \*The interest now allowed upon bank-deposits is less by ten shillings per cent. than could be obtained on private loans; but the superior credit of the banks, as well as various other advantages incident to this mode of investment, induce capitalists to give it the preference. If, however, the rate of interest, already below the average level of what is obtained on private loans, should be still further reduced, it is certain that the capitalist would no longer transact his affairs through the medium of the banks, but would, rather than consent to a further sacrifice, expose himself to the risk and inconvenience of dealing directly with the private borrower. Any attempt, therefore, to augment the profits of the Scotch banks, by reducing the rate of interest allowed upon  
deposits

deposits still further below the average rate of interest in the general money-market of the empire, would unavoidably fail. It would, indeed, appear about as rational, as well as effectual, as an attempt, by means of a sieve, to keep the water of one side of a stream higher than the level of the same channel on the other side. The bankers of Scotland have hitherto enjoyed the reputation of being not only tolerably well acquainted with their own business, but also pretty much alive to their own interests; and we may, therefore, be well assured that this wary, sagacious, and intelligent class of traders never allow a rate of interest upon deposits which exceeds by a single shilling what is necessary, in order to retain the capital now entrusted to their management. Comparing the loss which would be sustained from the withdrawal of a very considerable portion of the money which now passes through their hands, with the profit which would accrue from reducing the rate of interest allowed upon the remainder, they arrive at the practical conclusion, that the former would more than counterbalance the latter.

Equally futile would prove the endeavour to make up the deficiency of revenue occasioned by the suppression of a paper circulating medium, by the imposition of a higher rate of interest than is now charged upon loans advanced on cash-credits. The rate of interest charged upon these loans is already somewhat above the average of the money-market. The borrowers are willing to bear this extra charge rather than encounter the trouble and delay which generally embarrass all applications to private capitalists: but if the banks should raise the interest charged upon cash-credit loans still higher above the average level of the money-market, it would inevitably have the effect of driving at least a very large proportion of the class of borrowers to deal directly with the class of lenders; and the additional profit which would accrue on the loans advanced to the lesser number, which might, perhaps, still continue to deal with the bank, would not countervail the unavoidable loss of a large portion of its present custom. In either of these cases, the practical result would be precisely the same; if the banks reduced too low the rate of interest upon deposits, they would have less to lend; if they charged too high an interest upon loans, they would diminish the number of borrowers: and hence would unavoidably follow the discontinuance of the various branches now maintained by the parent institutions.

It must, no doubt, be admitted, that the establishment of joint-stock companies, for the purpose of employing in discounting bills of exchange such balances as might be placed at their disposal by their customers, would be an important improvement



ment upon our present practice of banking. Commercial capitalists would by this means be furnished with safe depositories for such small balances as would be required for conducting their daily transactions; the aggregate of these balances would afford a supply of capital for the purpose of discounting good bills of exchange; and the credit of joint-stock companies would secure the resources of these institutions from being crippled by the influence of those circumstances which so often induce the customers of private banks to withdraw their balances with the abruptness of terror. But although this would be a great improvement on our subsisting practice, it would still fall infinitely short of the efficiency and utility of the system which, for upwards of a century, has prevailed on the other side of the Tweed: and, in spite of old Hesiod's maxim, no statesman, who is master of his craft, will content himself with half an advantage when the whole is practically within his reach. No community can derive from banking all the advantages which the practice is capable of yielding, until establishments have been everywhere organized, on principles which must attract to these reservoirs the accumulated savings of each district, to be then laid out in encouraging enterprise and developing the resources of productive industry. With regard to the first of these points—

‘It is astonishing,’ observes Mr. Scrope, ‘to what shifts and expedients persons are driven in England for the utilization of whatever small sums they have saved, in consequence of the English banks not allowing interest upon deposits. The establishment of savings’-banks was of incalculable advantage in this respect; *but the amount of deposits in them being limited to one hundred and fifty pounds, the difficulty of placing out larger sums with safety has led to much destruction of capital, and great individual misery.* In a small country district, within the cognizance of the writer, two attorneys have successively failed, within a few years one of the other; the first to an amount of near one hundred thousand pounds, the second of more than two hundred thousand. The creditors of both, on examination, were found to consist almost wholly of old servants, retired tradesmen, and farmers, and the widows and orphans of such persons, who had deposited their small fortunes with either attorney *on his personal responsibility.* It cannot be doubted, that had there been a bank of acknowledged security in this district, which, like the Scotch banks, allowed a fair interest on deposits of any amount, the greater part, if not the whole, of this property would have been lodged there in safety, and hundreds of individuals preserved in a state of comfort, who are now reduced in their old age to the wretched condition of parish paupers.’

Our own experience enables us fully to corroborate this statement; we have personally witnessed several instances of a similar kind,

kind, in which either the failure of insolvent attornies, or country banks which allowed interest upon deposits, has overwhelmed a very large proportion of the inhabitants of whole districts at once with poverty and despair. But however useful the northern banks may be, as depositories for the savings of the economical classes, they are still more valuable to the public, on account of the encouragement which, through their system of cash-credits, they hold out to enterprise and industry. Their managers are impelled by the most powerful motives to exert themselves in discovering a lucrative method of laying out the capital placed in their hands: this being the only way in which they can get back the interest which they allow upon deposits. It is their prime object and business to search for instruments fit to render productive the capital entrusted to their management; and these instruments can be found only in that class of men who, possessing a reputation for integrity and industry, are destitute of the capital required for the undertakings in which their enterprise may lead them to engage. The bankers are to the full as anxious to discover persons of this description, in order to lend, as these persons themselves can possibly be to find out capitalists from whom they may borrow. It is this saving of capital on the one hand, and encouragement to industry on the other, which have mainly contributed to the advances which Scotland is acknowledged to have made in wealth and prosperity within the last hundred years. Before the introduction of the present banking system, the people of that country had no safe depositories in which they could have placed small savings; hence their savings were hoarded up, and remained unproductive, both to the owners and the community. Under the operation of the present system, every shilling which an economical member of the community is enabled to save is instantly carried to the local bank, whence it passes into the hands of some industrious and enterprising person, who will employ it profitably.

Another observation may be added in this place. Banks, which, by their credit and known solidity, have conciliated public confidence so far as to attract into their coffers the aggregate savings of each district, in the form of deposits, bearing interest, are equally useful everywhere: they stimulate to industry and economy the artisan and mechanic, as well as the agricultural labourer. But the practice of granting cash-credits appears less indispensable for the purposes of the commercial than for the wants of the agricultural classes. The little shopkeeper or tradesman of fair character can easily get goods on credit from some wholesale dealer; the want of capital does not, therefore, utterly preclude any individual belonging to this class from commencing business

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on his own account: but the farmer who wants capital has no resource of this kind; whatever improvements he may desire to accomplish must be delayed in every instance, and in the greater number of cases altogether relinquished, because he cannot command the means required to carry them into execution. It may be said that this impediment to agricultural improvement might be obviated by a loan advanced to the farmer by some private friend or by a bank; but granting that the necessary accommodation could be thus obtained, it is clear that it would be much more expensive to the party accommodated than a cash-credit of equal efficiency. Under the system of cash-credits, a maximum is fixed, above which the borrower is not allowed to draw upon the bank; but he is not obliged to take the whole of this at once, and, in consequence, pay interest upon it: he draws it out gradually, as his necessities require, and interest is charged only from the time when each particular sum is drawn out; on the other hand, he is not only allowed, but expected, to pay into the bank the proceeds of the produce of his farm, which from time to time he disposes of in the market; and on these payments interest is also allowed on the credit side of his account. Hence it necessarily follows, that the farmer who conducts his affairs with the aid of a cash-credit, never pays interest for more money than he actually employs in his business, nor keeps a pound lying idle and unproductive in his desk. This economy of capital forms a peculiar feature of the banking system of the North, and gives the industrious classes there, in all their operations, a very great advantage over ours. When an English farmer sells any portion of his produce, he has generally no alternative which can serve his purposes better than to keep the proceeds locked up in his drawer until the next rent-day. He may, it is true, lodge it in the hands of some country banker,—but then he can get no interest for it; and, besides, the banker may fail. The result of this absence of the stimulus of profit on the one hand, combined with the fear of loss on the other, is, that a very large portion of the capital employed in agriculture in this country remains, during intervals of considerable length, absolutely idle. The individual loss thus incurred by each farmer is by no means inconsiderable, and the aggregate loss to the public is, unquestionably, of very great amount. Under the operation of the banking system of our northern neighbours, on the contrary, the whole mass of capital is in a state of constant circulation; no portion, however minute, remains for the space of one day stagnant. The Scottish system of banking may therefore claim the merit of producing the greatest practicable results with the least expenditure of means. Compared with England, the amount of capital employed in productive industry in the sister kingdom, appears in-  
considerable:



considerable: but the facility as well as rapidity with which this capital circulates more than compensates for this deficiency: and taking into consideration the different extent of the surfaces over which they are spread, it may be asserted, on the best grounds, that the scanty capital of Scotland yields annually a larger produce, both to the owners and the public at large, than the much more abundant capital of England; it being well known, that under the operation of the system of deposits and cash-credits, a given extent of land may be equally well cultivated with two-thirds or perhaps one-half of the capital which would be required for a similar purpose in England, where it may be assumed that, combining time with amount, one-half of the whole farming capital remains in a state of stagnation, and, by consequence, unproductive. It is also clear, that under the Northern system, capital must be more equally diffused than it is in England; the surplus of the wealthy farmer passes without delay into the bank reservoir, whence it finds its way into the hands of his less opulent neighbour, who stands in need of temporary assistance. In England, the agriculturist who possesses capital sufficient to meet the most expensive seasons or emergencies, must at certain times have a considerable portion lying dead upon his hands; while the tillage of farms in his vicinity, occupied by less fortunate persons, languishes for want of funds. Hence a double injury: the rich agriculturist loses from an overplus, and the poor one from a defective supply of capital. Under the Scottish system, on the contrary, the supply is invariably and regularly proportioned to the wants of each individual at every season; the rich man need not be at the expense of more capital than can be profitably absorbed in his business; and his poorer neighbour, of fair reputation for honesty and industry, may always command an abundant supply.

It must at the same time be manifest, that pecuniary accommodation, by way of private loan, is not only more expensive when procured, but incalculably more difficult to be obtained, than it is under the cash-credit system of Scotland. Private individuals who lend upon personal security, incur at all times a very considerable risk of losing their money; fully occupied, in general, with their own pursuits, they have no leisure to watch the conduct of their debtors; and if they enjoyed the leisure required for this purpose, they possess no means of acquiring much information as to this point, which may be useful to them; hence it occurs that, in nine cases out of ten, money lent upon personal security is finally lost to the owner. Speaking in general terms, we may, therefore, say that the practice is unknown in England: however industrious and steady a poor man may show himself in this country, he can rarely, if ever, obtain a loan of money upon his own personal security;

security; and still more rarely can he prevail upon any persons of substance to become bound for him, if he should meet with a capitalist willing to accommodate him on these terms. But the money lent under cash-credits is advanced upon a system which almost infallibly ensures its repayment. It is the first object of a Scotch banker to ascertain the character of the person who applies to him for a cash-credit, and, from the moment in which this accommodation is granted, it becomes his regular and incessant business to watch with the utmost care the conduct and proceedings of his debtor; and to enable him to accomplish this object, he requires little further aid than that which is furnished him by his own books. By examining the accounts of any person accommodated with a cash-credit, he can tell at once and at any period whether his debtor is relaxing in industry, and whether, in consequence, any portion of the capital lent runs the risk of being lost. The moment such a person ceases to pay into, as well as draw from, the bank, the suspicions of the manager become excited; an explanation is instantly demanded, and if this should not prove satisfactory, the cash-credit is withdrawn, and the payment of the balance rigorously enforced. By glancing their eyes once or twice a week over their books, the managers can ascertain what their cash-credit debtors are about, and how they are going on, very nearly as well as if they accompanied them to every fair or market in the district. The moment any commodity is sold, the proceeds are eagerly taken to the bank: firstly, because this tends very materially to sustain the credit of the borrower; and secondly, because he is unwilling to lose, even for a single day, the interest which accrues upon deposits from the hour in which they are lodged. The managers of the Scotch banks thus constitute a species of social police, infinitely superior to anything that has been ever known in any other part of the world: they form a corps of thoroughly-organized and vigilant—what shall we call them?—spies, impelled by the strong impulse of interest to watch with the most careful attention the conduct and proceedings of the classes engaged in productive industry. The prodigious influence which such a system of vigilant inspection and control must exercise over the whole of the industrious population is far too palpable to render it necessary for us to do more than point it out to the attention of the public.

To the influence of this admirably organized system may justly be ascribed, in perhaps a more especial manner, the rapidity with which agriculture has advanced in Scotland, since the middle of the last century. Whenever the landowners of any district determined upon commencing a career of improvement, their first measure has generally been to encourage the introduction

tion of a branch bank ; and few are the instances in which the advantages anticipated from this preliminary step have not been realized. The small sums saved by the working classes were regularly deposited in the local bank, whence they found their way in larger masses among the farmers of the district. Having passed through the hands of the farmers, this capital, in the form of wages, came a second time into the pockets of the labouring classes, who added to their previous deposits every shilling which they could save from their weekly earnings. There is, therefore, good ground for asserting that a very large portion of the territory of Scotland has been reclaimed and improved not only by the labour, but also by the savings, of the working peasantry : a result which has been alike beneficial to all the parties interested in the cultivation of the soil. To the landlord it has proved the source of an augmented rent ; to the farmer it has yielded a handsome profit, over and above the interest paid for the capital which he borrowed of the bank, for the purpose of carrying on his improvements ; and to the working classes it has proved the means of furnishing not only constant employment, but a higher compensation for their labour. The capital saved and deposited in the banks by this class has enabled the farmers of every district to undertake agricultural improvements : this has created an additional demand for labour, and raised wages ; and the economy thus encouraged by banks for deposits, has produced a reaction highly favourable to the condition of the body of labourers. Nor is this, however important in itself, the only advantage which such a system of banking holds out to the industrious and valuable class of day-labourers ; for it not only improves their circumstances while they continue day-labourers, but at all times and in every district it places within the reach of all the individuals of this class who happen to possess energy and enterprise, the means of emerging from their original condition—of passing from the class which sells into that which buys labour. From the mal-organization of our banking establishments, no person belonging to the working portion of the community, whatever may be his industry and frugality, stands much chance of being able to rise from his original station : in order to effect this, he must begin by saving the capital, without which he cannot even commence his career. This, it is evident, must at all times be a difficult and tedious acquisition. The most valuable portion of his life must be consumed in scraping together the means without which he cannot even attempt to improve his condition. In Scotland, the very reverse of this is the case—there the ladder of social advancement is practically open to the poorest hind or mechanic : it is not necessary, in order to conduct him successfully and certainly to the top, that he should either inherit or



have the capital required to enable him to commence his progress ; all that he wants is the possession of that degree of resolution, industry, and frugality, which shall inspire confidence among his neighbours : if he possesses these requisites, the capital wanted for the purpose of setting him forward in life will be instantly and even eagerly placed at his disposal. We are borne out by a multitude of facts when we state that a very large portion of the most industrious and thriving of the agriculturists, as well as manufacturers ; of Scotland, consists of persons who have emerged from the class of working labourers,—who began the world without any capital of their own, and owe their present affluence entirely to the accommodation which their early good conduct secured to them, through the medium of cash-credits. This inspires the peasantry and mechanics of the north with feelings of self-respect and independence, which are seldom, if ever, found among the same classes elsewhere. According to the present arrangements of England, the productive portion of the community is divided into two great and distinct classes—the class of capitalists, who hire labour ; and the working class, who let their labour for hire. Between these is placed a great—an almost insuperable barrier ; in Scotland, on the contrary, this impediment to the advancement of the industrious does not exist. To the humblest individual the road to competence, and even to the greatest affluence, is perfectly open from the beginning ; and at every step of his progress he finds a ready supply of the means required for the prosecution of any undertaking in which he may choose to engage.

The interests of our agriculturists of every degree are deeply involved in the introduction of a sound system of banking : to the class of landowners, more especially, it is a matter of the very greatest importance : in its practical operation it would very greatly increase the competition for land, and consequently augment the revenues now derived from that species of property. It is a fact which must attract the attention of every Englishman who happens to visit Scotland, that land there yields to the owner a much higher rent, than land of equal quality and productiveness either here or in any other part of the world. It is, we believe, pretty generally admitted, that in England the rise of rents has by no means kept pace with the addition which has been made to the gross produce of the soil : the net produce, or landlord's share, bearing now a much smaller proportion than formerly to the gross produce, and consequently to the capital laid out in the improvement of tillage. Certain economists would have us believe that this is the unavoidable result of a principle which they pretend to have discovered, as applicable to capital, when  
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laid out in the cultivation of the soil: they assure us that the last 'dose of capital so employed must necessarily yield a smaller return of produce than any previous dose of equal amount, and that therefore the proportion of rent to gross produce must diminish with the improvement of tillage.' Upon this argument we beg to observe, that if the net produce or rent of land must diminish in its proportion to the gross produce, according to a general principle regulating the profits of additional capital when laid out in the cultivation of land, we might expect to find it operating everywhere alike: but this is not borne out by the experience of the practical cultivator; on the contrary, it is a well known fact, that while in England the net produce or rent of land has diminished in proportion to the gross produce, the rent or net produce of land in Scotland has in its proportion more than kept pace with the gross amount of the improved produce. The rent of land in England is generally calculated at one-fifth, seldom at more than one-third, of the gross produce; the rent of improved land in Scotland amounts generally to one-half, sometimes, we suspect, to two-thirds, of the whole produce of the soil. A part of this difference may, no doubt, be accounted for by the comparative exemption of the northern division of the empire from the payment of tithes and poor-rates; but after making the most ample allowance which can be required on account of these two charges incident to the occupation of farms in England, there will still appear a very considerable excess in the proportion of Scottish rents to gross produce, which must be ascribed to some other cause. Now we are inclined to think that this advantage—this proportionate excess of revenue derived from land—arises chiefly from the operation of the Scotch system of banking; and it arises, as we conceive, in the following manner.

In many parts of this country, estates continue still to be let on the ancient system, in small farms; the occupiers of this class of farms seldom possess the capital required for their proper cultivation, and there are no banking establishments at hand which can make up this deficiency; hence the land is imperfectly tilled, the gross produce small, and the rent low. A very considerable portion of the territory of England has, however, been re-modelled upon the modern system, and thrown into large farms. But these farms can only be occupied by wealthy capitalists, who are accustomed to live in an expensive, and sometimes even in an extravagant manner: it is manifest, that this excess of expenditure must be replaced out of the crop, and hence it arises, that although the gross produce raised on these farms is equal, perhaps, to that which is raised on land of similar quality in Scotland, still the surplus revenue of the owner is much smaller.

The rent of large farms in the south must be governed by the habits of the class of farmers who alone possess sufficient capital to occupy them: the little farmer, who possesses no capital, and has nothing to recommend him except his industry and economy, is utterly precluded from becoming a competitor for one of these farms. But mark the difference with regard to the farms of Scotland. Here the landowner has it in his power to avail himself of a competition extended throughout the whole of the class engaged in the cultivation of the soil; it is not confined, as in England, to those who are already possessed of the necessary amount of capital, but it takes in every cultivator, however humble his condition, provided he comes forward with an established reputation for good conduct and industry. These qualifications, which peculiarly fit him for the successful occupation of a farm, constitute the strongest recommendation which he can present to the managers of a Scotch bank. He cannot, therefore, be at a loss for capital to proceed with his undertaking. Farmers of this description will naturally live in a more economical manner than could be expected of men who possess a considerable capital; hence they combine every requisite which a landlord can desire in a tenant. They possess great practical skill in an avocation to which they have been regularly trained; they are perseveringly industrious—and economical to a degree which borders even upon penuriousness; and the capital of which they are destitute is readily and even eagerly furnished them out of the accumulated savings deposited in the hands of the bankers. In Scotland, the rent of land is, therefore, regulated by the amount which the command of capital enables this industrious and economical body of cultivators to pay for their farms. Industry and economy become thus the efficient regulators of rent in that part of the empire; in England, on the contrary, the expensive habits of that class of capitalists, who alone possess the means necessary for the occupation of large farms, constitute the general regulators of the surplus which falls to the share of the landlord.

It need scarcely be observed, that the cost of labour forms a very important item in the expenditure incurred in the cultivation and improvement of land. Admitting that the landowners of this country have been considerable gainers from the improvements which have been made upon their estates by large farmers, it is, we think, quite certain, that if capital to an equal amount had been laid out under the personal superintendence of small farmers, (supposing them to be possessed of equal skill and energy,) it would have been productive of a much greater effect. Experience leaves no doubt upon the mind of any person practically conversant with agriculture, that the small farmer  
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who lays out a given amount of capital in paying the wages of labour—who looks to everything himself, and who, instead of saying to his workmen, ‘Go and execute the task which is set out for you,’ says, ‘Let us go and dig together,’ will obtain for his money much more labour than a gentleman farmer. It is a fact well known to agriculturists, that the labourers of the present day perform much less work than their predecessors thirty or fifty years ago. Under the immediate superintendence of a small farmer, the labourer is furnished with no opportunity of loitering or neglecting his work; but when he works for a large farmer, under the occasional superintendence of a hireling looker, he is set free from all efficient controul, and performs for his hire just as much work as his conscience dictates. Hence it follows, that a given quantity of labour—not a given number of labourers—costs a large farmer probably twice as much as the same quantity of labour costs the small farmer; and this extra cost of labour must ultimately fall upon the landowner, and diminish the amount of his rent.

The banking system of Scotland has rendered it, in most instances, unnecessary for the landowners to have recourse to a practice which has worked so much injury to the peasantry of England—that of consolidating and enlarging farms; and even where it has been adopted, it has not been pushed to the same pernicious extent as in the improved districts of this country. A writer,\* possessed of extensive knowledge of this subject, states that, throughout a large portion of Scotland which he had personally surveyed, he found farms to vary in extent from twenty-five to four hundred acres, the average being about one hundred and fifty. But the peculiar feature of the husbandry of Scotland is the important fact, that the occupier of twenty-five acres cultivates his little farm with as much energy and intelligence as his neighbour, who holds, perhaps, four hundred. By the same authority which we have already cited we are told that even in the wilder parts of the country many farmers who, in point of hard work, mean accommodation, plain living, are on a level with, or perhaps below, the ordinary condition of an English day-labourer, still possess great agricultural skill, and exhibit remarkable examples of correct and successful cultivation; while, among the more opulent and independent farmers, who live in the easiest style, there is a very general spirit of industry, accompanied by the closest application to business. The landowners of England, when desirous to improve their estates, have in general found it necessary to remove their little tenantry, because this class of occupiers was destitute both of the capital and the knowledge indispensable for the pro-

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\* Robertson's Rural Recollections, p. 536.

secution of improvements. But among our neighbours, this change was not found to be a necessary preliminary of improvement. The accommodation furnished by cash-credits has enabled the small farmer of Scotland to become the efficient improver of his limited tract of land ; it is, no doubt, true, that some of those who occupied land under the ancient system as cottiers, have been pushed into the condition of day-labourers ; but it is equally true, that, if possessed of energy and activity, the means of emerging from this condition have been always within their reach. In the south, the changes effected in the rural economy of our improved districts have been followed by consequences of a much darker complexion : wherever the system of consolidating farms has been adopted, the whole body of ancient occupiers has been displaced, in order to make room for wealthy capitalists ; the little farmers have consequently sunk into day-labourers, and it would appear scarcely less than a miracle, that any one of them should now succeed in emerging from the pauper class to which he has been degraded.

If a sounder practice of banking had been organized in this country, it would have enabled landlords to dispense with the system which has reduced their old tenants to the condition of day-labourers. It is from the want of properly organized institutions for banking, that the capital required for the improvement of tillage has in this country become, unluckily, separated from the economical practice of this important branch of industry : the large farmers nearly monopolize all the capital embarked in agriculture ; but in its actual outlay, this capital does not go nearly as far as it would have gone, if expended under the frugal management of the class of little farmers. Hence we see, in the practice of agriculture, on the one hand, the application of capital without economy or management ; on the other, economy and management without the possession of adequate capital. If any arrangements or institutions could, therefore, be devised, which would place within the reach of the small farmer the capital which is now engrossed almost entirely by the large farmer, or confer upon the latter the ability to conduct his operations with the economy and frugality which characterize the management of the former, agriculture would gradually arrive at the highest pitch of improvement. That the large farmer, who, with the aid of a looker, contrives to occupy one thousand acres of land, should ever rival the economy with which a small farmer conducts the tillage of one hundred acres, it would manifestly be vain to expect ; the only alternative which is, therefore, left for those who are desirous to promote the improvement of agriculture, is, to organize a system of banking which will accom-

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moderate the little farmer with an abundant supply of the capital which he wants for the profitable practice of his art.

It cannot be disputed, that if the occupier of one hundred acres of land should possess sufficient capital to make his farm yield, in the gross, one-tenth part of the produce grown upon one thousand occupied by a large farmer, his more frugal habits of living, and more economical expenditure in the wages of labour, would leave a much larger surplus as the share of the landlord. It must be admitted, that the gross produce of the land not occupied by the class of small farmers, is, from their deficiency of capital, considerably less in amount than that which is grown upon an equal extent of surface by the large and opulent farmers; but even under this disadvantage their more careful management enables the race of small farmers to pay their landlords, in most cases, at least an equal rent. But supposing their capital to be in proportion to that of the large farmers, the expenses incurred in cultivation being less, it amounts to demonstration, that they could pay a higher rent for their farms.

It is, no doubt, true, that the occupation of land in small farms requires on the part of the owner an augmented outlay of capital in the construction of farm buildings: the construction of ten homesteads, for the accommodation of ten farms of one hundred acres each, being more expensive than the construction of one homestead for the occupation of one thousand acres. We rather apprehend, however, that the excess of outlay required for such a purpose is generally magnified in the minds of landowners beyond the real truth. They keep in view the expensive accommodation required for the one large farmer, and in thinking of ten homesteads they can hardly abstract their minds from similar establishments. But it is manifest, that ten farm-houses and homesteads which would answer all the wishes and necessities of ten holders of one hundred acres, might be built at an expense which would not greatly exceed the cost of one house and homestead fit to accommodate the one opulent occupier of a thousand acres. At all events, it cannot be disputed that by combining a system of banking which would place a sufficient supply of capital within the reach of the small farmers, with the subdivision of a large farm of one thousand acres into ten small farms of one hundred acres each, the owner would obtain an increase of revenue greatly overbalancing the interest of any capital which he could be required to lay out for the purpose of carrying such an arrangement into effect.

If the division of a farm of one thousand acres into a number of smaller farms should only yield an increase of revenue adequate to cover the additional expenditure incurred in the construction of farm



farm buildings, it is quite clear that this change would prove of great advantage to the owner, by affording him a much better security for the regular payment of his rent: in all times of agricultural vicissitudes, the small occupiers have invariably been found more regular and certain in their payments than the large farmers. In the periods of severe distress through which the agricultural classes have recently passed, the losses sustained by landowners arose generally from the failure of their larger tenants; seldom, or perhaps never, from that of the little farmer. This, indeed, is a consideration which acquires additional importance from the present condition of the agricultural classes. From various causes, which it is not necessary to point out in this place, the large farmers of this country have suffered a loss of capital, which threatens the contraction, if not the extinction, of the system under which they cultivate; we, in a word, see reason to suspect that in almost every district of the empire the land-engrossing system is on the point of breaking up, and that the landowners will be driven to look out for a substitute. Their own interest will thus probably force them, in the end, to adopt a sound and politic system in the appropriation of land.

It might not, perhaps, be impracticable to arrive at an approximation to a true estimate of the pecuniary advantages—of the money profit—which these two classes (the class of land-owners and the class of labour-owners) reap from the operation of the Scottish system of banking; but it would be vain to attempt a calculation of the social and political results produced by institutions which thus apply a powerful and permanent stimulus to the industry and economy of a whole community. The whole working population of Scotland live and habitually act under the impression that nothing except their own sloth and misconduct can impede their progress in the road to wealth; the desire of bettering their condition naturally results from the facility with which they can obtain the means necessary for realizing the object of their wishes; and in this manner the most powerful of human motives is brought to bear practically and unceasingly upon the morals and habits of the whole class. We therefore concur with those who ascribe the industry and economy for which the working classes in Scotland appear generally so distinguished, mainly if not entirely to the influence of these institutions. We are also inclined to ascribe to the influence of that system of banking the comparative lightness of the burdens borne by the wealthier classes, for the purpose of succouring and relieving the indigent. Like every other community, the population of Scotland contains within its bosom an abundant proportion of poor persons; but very few destitute paupers, relying for support upon contributions  
levied

levied upon others. The industrious and able-bodied population of that country, however poor, is not placed beyond the influence of hope; each individual hopes, nay, feels confident, that by industry and frugality he may better his condition; it is only in some urgent and unforeseen extremity, that he will relinquish this expectation, and, by accepting alms, forfeit that reputation for industry, and independence, which alone can enable him to command the means of rising in the scale of society. In England, on the contrary, the great mass of the industrious classes, of the agricultural peasantry more especially, have been plunged into a condition of hopeless despair: they are conscious that no degree of industry and economy can put it in their power to emerge from their original condition, because there are no institutions, like the Scotch banks, ready to assist them in the commencement of their struggles for competence and independence. Owing to this cause, the working classes in the south have been converted into a caste, like the pariahs of Hindoostan: between them and the rest of the community there is a wide gulph, which they despair of being ever able to pass; hence they are callous to those considerations which practically prove the powerful means of instigating to good conduct and industry. They become necessarily careless of all consequences, and, in a state of hopeless and discontented pauperism, consume in unproductive idleness a very large proportion of those funds which, under a better arrangement, would make an incalculable addition to their own comforts, as well as to the stock of national wealth.

We happen to be intimately acquainted with a country parish into which the modern rage for enlarging farms has not yet made its way: it contains about five thousand acres of land, divided into holdings of unequal extent, and occupied by a numerous and contented race of small cultivators; few, if any, farms containing less than fifty, and none, probably, more than one hundred and fifty acres. The labour here is executed almost entirely by the farmers and their families, aided by hired servants who live in the house, and are in every respect treated by their employers like members of their own families. They are, indeed, generally the sons and daughters of some neighbouring farmer, whose smaller occupation or numerous family renders it practicable for him to dispense with the services of some of his children. They are thus in all respects the equals of the children of those farmers into whose families they enter as domestics; hence it frequently, we may, indeed, add generally, happens that these hired servants form matrimonial connexions with the sons or daughters of those who thus become their temporary employers. In order to prepare for this event, and provide the means of stocking a small farm, both parties—the  
male

male and the female—with scarcely an exception, are found to practise the most rigid economy. It often happens that one of these small farms is well and sufficiently stocked by the savings made by a young couple of hired servants between the age of sixteen, when they go out to service, and five or six and twenty, when they may find it prudent to marry. It may well be supposed, that persons who thus begin the world with the accumulation saved from their yearly wages will seldom, if ever, be found to remit either in economy or industry, when settled upon a small farm occupied on their own account: on the contrary, they generally become, if possible, still more conspicuous for both these qualities. By dint of perseverance in their frugal and laborious career; many of them are, in the course of time, enabled to remove into a larger farm; and it not unfrequently happens that a couple who commence their life on one of the smallest farms, end it on one of the largest which the parish contains.\* Even the rent which they pay for the land appears fully equal to what the owners could obtain by throwing their estates into larger farms; but it must be also added in their behalf, that throughout the whole

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\* True it is, that in addition to the paupers already described, the parish contains a few old and infirm men, destitute of relations; they do not, however, like regularly trained vagrants, wander over the country at large; they confine themselves to the limits of their own parish, and have certain days, on which, at different houses, they regularly receive alms, sometimes in small sums of money, but mostly in provisions. They belong, in fact, to that nearly extinct class of beggars, so exquisitely described by Wordsworth:—

‘ He travels on, a solitary man;  
His staff trails with him; scarcely do his  
feet

Disturb the summer dust: he is so still  
In look and motion, that the cottage curs,  
Ere he have pass’d the door, will turn away,  
Weary of barking at him.

While thus he creeps  
From door to door, the villagers in him  
Behold a record, which together binds  
Past deeds and offices of charity,  
Else unremember’d.

Among the farms and solitary huts,  
Hamlets, and thinly scatter’d villages,  
Where’er the aged beggar takes his rounds,  
The mild necessity of age compels  
To acts of love; and habit does the work  
Of reason; yet prepares that after-joy  
Which reason cherishes.

Then let him pass, a blessing on his head!  
And while, in that vast solitude to which  
The tide of things has borne him, he appears  
To breathe and live but for himself alone,  
Unblamed, uninjured, let him bear about  
The good which the benignant law of heaven  
Has hung around him; and while life is his,

Still let him prompt the unletter’d villagers  
To tender offices and pensive thoughts.

Then let him pass, a blessing on his head!  
And long as he can wander let him breathe  
The freshness of the valleys; let his blood  
Struggle with frosty air and winter snows;  
And let the charter’d wind that sweeps the  
heath

Beat his grey locks against his wither’d face.  
Reverence the hope, whose vital anxiousness  
Gives the last human interest to his heart.

May never HOUSE, misnamed of INDUSTRY,  
Make him a captive!—for that pent-up din,  
Those life-consuming sounds that clog the  
air,

Be his the natural silence of old age!  
Let him be free of mountain solitudes,  
And have around him, whether heard or not,  
The pleasant melody of woodland birds,  
And let him, where and when he will, sit  
down

Beneath the trees, or by the grassy bank,  
Of highway side, and with the little birds  
Share his chance-gather’d meal; and finally,  
As in the eye of Nature he has lived,  
So in the eye of Nature let him die!’

extent



extent of his dominions, the king of England possesses not a more industrious, a more sober, or a more peaceable body of subjects. Penal crimes are unknown among them; the records of the county in which the parish is situate will show, that for a whole century not one of its inhabitants has been arraigned for a crime, or even imprisoned for a misdemeanour. The rates levied last year in this parish, for the maintenance of the poor, amounted to about six-pence per acre; out of this was defrayed the county rate, the remainder being given to helpless widows and orphan children. An application from an able-bodied labourer for relief, either for himself or his family, is a circumstance which never occurs; the most helpless and aged persons, who have children able to work, never fall upon the parish; their relatives would consider such an event a disgrace, which nothing could wipe out; and rather than incur it they will undergo any hardship, and submit to any deprivation. The practical result of this arrangement must, we think, more than satisfy every man who is not besotted by that misnamed philosophy of the present day, which sets gain in the front of every earthly good, and, without scruple, sacrifices to the mammon of profit the feelings and comforts of a whole community.

We must also add, that a system of banking which advances loans upon cash-credits and allows interest upon deposits, would produce a very great advantage to that class, numerous in every wealthy community, which subsists upon revenues derived from realized capital. By extending the field of productive employment, it would necessarily tend to raise the rate of interest. The value of money, like that of every other commodity, must be regulated by the proportion which the demand bears to the supply. Where an accumulation of capital takes place, without a corresponding extension of the field on which it may be productively employed, it is manifest that the interest of money, or in other words the annual revenue accruing from any given portion of this accumulated mass, must diminish in amount. On the contrary, where the channels of industry are not improperly clogged, and the opportunities for the productive employment of capital keep pace with the accumulation of wealth, the interest of money will retain its level. Hence it is clear, that whatever makes a new opening for the profitable outlay of capital must prove advantageous, not only to the parties actually engaged in productive undertakings, but also to the whole body of capitalists; by extending the whole mass over a wider surface, it will lessen the depth pressing upon any particular part of it, and tend to augment the income which the money-lender shall draw from his capital. Had it not been for the practical operation of these institutions, the accumulated savings,

male and the female—with scarcely an exception, are found to practise the most rigid economy. It often happens that one of these small farms is well and sufficiently stocked by the savings made by a young couple of hired servants between the age of sixteen, when they go out to service, and five or six and twenty, when they may find it prudent to marry. It may well be supposed, that persons who thus begin the world with the accumulation saved from their yearly wages will seldom, if ever, be found to remit either in economy or industry, when settled upon a small farm occupied on their own account: on the contrary, they generally become, if possible, still more conspicuous for both these qualities. By dint of perseverance in their frugal and laborious career, many of them are, in the course of time, enabled to remove into a larger farm; and it not unfrequently happens that a couple who commence their life on one of the smallest farms, end it on one of the largest which the parish contains.\* Even the rent which they pay for the land appears fully equal to what the owners could obtain by throwing their estates into larger farms; but it must be also added in their behalf, that throughout the whole

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\* True it is, that in addition to the paupers already described, the parish contains a few old and infirm men, destitute of relations; they do not, however, like regularly trained vagrants, wander over the country at large; they confine themselves to the limits of their own parish, and have certain days, on which, at different houses, they regularly receive alms, sometimes in small sums of money, but mostly in provisions. They belong, in fact, to that nearly extinct class of beggars, so exquisitely described by Wordsworth:—

‘ He travels on, a solitary man;  
His staff trails with him; scarcely do his  
feet

Disturb the summer dust: he is so still  
In look and motion, that the cottage curs,  
Ere he have pass’d the door, will turn away,  
Weary of barking at him.

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savings, which, to a very large amount, are now, under the management and by the instrumentality of the bankers of Scotland, spread throughout that country, encouraging and feeding its industry, would necessarily have found their way into our own money-market, and, of course, depressed still further the low rate of interest which capital already yields in this country. Without risk, trouble, or expense, the capitalists of Scotland can realize at all times, through the medium of their banks, a higher return for their money than by investing it in the public funds. The security is in every respect quite as good, the rate of interest higher, and the expense of management lower; the deposits are made by the capitalist at his own door, and there is nothing to pay for commission, agency, or postage.

It cannot be disputed, that much of the difficulty under which the agricultural classes have for the last three or four years been suffering, arose from the imperfection and consequent derangement of our practice of banking. This we believe true, that previously to 1826 a very considerable portion of the national capital had found its way into the hands of country bankers, who allowed interests upon deposits which they afterwards lent out on various securities to the productive classes of their respective districts: the panic of 1825-6,\* and the consequent failure of so many banks, together with the suppression of the one pound note circulation, have caused the capitalists to withdraw these deposits. Hence, the productive classes, and more especially the class engaged in agriculture, can no longer command that accommodation which they had been accustomed to receive from the country banks. The operations of productive industry are thus impeded by the withdrawal of that capital which used to feed them. To this cause must also be ascribed the glut in the metropolitan money market, which has rendered it extremely difficult to employ money to advantage, and has consequently reduced very greatly the rate of interest. The capital which, under the superintendence of the country bankers, used to be spread over the surface of England, and employed in small portions in promoting the various operations of industry, has been withdrawn; it has found its way into the hands of some speculator in the money market, engaged in advancing loans to foreign states, or in some mining or other undertaking in distant countries. This process is known to be in extensive though in silent operation; and the effect upon the wealth and prosperity of our native land must in the end prove highly disastrous. In his memorial on banking, Mr. Henry Burgess states, that he is acquainted with a country banker, who, till of late, generally employed all his surplus capital amongst the industrious classes in

in the neighbourhood of his own bank. He has recently, for a considerable time, lent 100,000*l.* to a wealthy agent in London at a low rate of interest, who has again lent that and other sums of a large amount to a great house in the city, engaged in working mines in Sweden. Another city firm is adopting measures for working mines in Asia. In this manner capital is withdrawn from the humble sources of industry, producing misery in the homesteads of Englishmen, to aid the distant speculation of some overgrown capitalist, the glittering evidences of ~~whose~~ wealth serve to dazzle and mislead the public mind upon this question.

To the want of that secure and profitable channel of investment, furnished by country banks established on sound principles, must, we think, be ascribed the rash speculations in which so many of our countrymen have recently embarked and sacrificed their capital. Debarred from the opportunity of employing the savings of their industry at home, they ventured upon the precarious experiment of laying them out in foreign countries. This it is which has driven the monied classes to engage in those wild enterprises which have been attended with such ruinous results. If the home field of productive industry were, by a sound system of banking, thrown open to the capitalists of this country, they would seldom go abroad in search of those hazardous enterprises, which have already inflicted such irreparable evils.

We consider it, then, as quite evident, that the *owners of money* in England are to the full as much interested as the *owners of land* and the *owners of labour*, in resisting the revival of exclusive privileges which might prevent or impede the formation of safe establishments for granting loans upon cash-credits, and receiving deposits bearing interest. Such institutions would instantly infuse new vigour into the industry of the nation, animate the drooping energies of those who are engaged in the cultivation of the soil, and open a wide field for the profitable employment of the superabundant capital of the country. But by giving a new direction, as well as a new impulse to industry, establishments of this nature would also prove the means of augmenting the national revenues. Increased productiveness would necessarily be followed by an increased consumption of taxable commodities; this would open a new source of revenue to the state, and by expanding the surface upon which taxation falls, would lessen the pressure upon that part of it which at present bears the whole burden. An increase of revenue thus obtained would enable the Treasury to remit taxes in proportion to its amount. It would thus appear that there is no class—that, with the solitary ex-  
ception

ception of the proprietors of bank stock, there is no individual in England—who would not be benefited either directly or indirectly, by the introduction and discreet extension of a sound and well-organized system of banking. Such institutions would cause the prostrate, and despairing, and oppressed class of labourers to be once more visited by the encouragement of hope; the industrious and frugal they would present with at least an opportunity of emancipating themselves from the intolerable ~~thralldom~~ and hopeless misery into which they have sunk: to the owners of capital laid out in land or in other investments, they would be found the source of an improved revenue; and finally, by multiplying the products of industry, they would yield an additional revenue to the state.

In a matter of this magnitude, where ignorance or selfishness may inflict an irreparable injury upon the community, we call upon the public to be on their guard; let them act as if they feared the worst that can happen, and be prepared to resist any attempt which may be made to continue its present monopoly to the Bank of England.

- ART. III.—1. *The Life of Reginald Heber, D D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta.* By his Widow. 2 vols. 4to. London. 1830.  
 2. *The Last Days of Bishop Heber.* By Thomas Robinson, A.M., Archdeacon of Madras, and late Domestic Chaplain to his Lordship. Madras, printed. London, reprinted, 1830.

THE name of Reginald Heber now belongs to the history of the Christian church; it takes its place among those whose canonization, in earlier times, would have been demanded by the general sentiment; and, though in Protestant Europe no earthly power is recognized as having a right to pronounce on the final state of any human being, or to demand the veneration of posterity—yet the unanimous sentence of an enlightened age may well supersede, and would certainly derive no weight from, an authoritative ratification. He whose Christian virtues have thus enshrined his memory in the hearts of the wise and good in all ranks and classes, would gain nothing to his pure fame by the solemn judgment of a public tribunal. In the admiration of this remarkable man, party and sectarian jealousies have been forgotten; while those who may wonder that, like Pope,

‘Even in a bishop they can spy desert,’

have acknowledged with cheerful readiness that here, at least, they have discovered ‘a saint in lawn’—we find a very remarkable and interesting proof of the immense sphere over which, by the propagation



propagation of the English language and opinions, the example of good men among ourselves may extend its influence, in the enthusiasm excited in America by the Christian character of Reginald Heber. His biographer records with the strong expressions of gratitude which the circumstances demand, that 'in no country has his name been more honoured than in that with which he had no connexion, and where he had few personal acquaintances; and where,' she adds, 'we may observe with no feeling but of respect for the national characteristic, there is a strong general predilection towards objects of admiration of home rather than of English growth.' Bishop Heber's Journal in India was speedily reprinted in New York, where, in the words of his widow's correspondent, 'it was read by night and by day with the most profound interest and deep enthusiasm.'

'He also told her, that the inhabitants of Canandaigua, a village situated in the interior of the county of New York, on the direct road to the falls of Niagara, were so forcibly struck with the talents and virtues of its author, and with the piety which breathes through every sentence, that they caused his name to be engraved in letters of gold on a rock of granite, which forms a part of the outer foundation of their episcopal church, as a memorial of their veneration for his character. At a subsequent period, the vestry of St. John's church, in the same village, requested Mr. Wood to superintend the erection of a monument in that church to his memory. It is composed of white marble, having an urn on the top with the following inscription in golden letters, engraven on its tablet:—"To the piety and virtues of Reginald Heber, Bishop of Calcutta, 1829." At Portsmouth, in the state of New Hampshire, through the kindness of Mrs. Abott, the lady of Professor Abott, of the college in Exeter, the words "Sacred to the memory of Bishop Heber," have been engraved on the front foundation of St. John's church, of which the Rev. Charles Burroughs is the rector.'

The volume of Bishop Heber's Sermons preached in England was republished in New York, with more than usual care as to the quality of the paper and printing. According to the preface, written by an eminently respectable clergyman of that city,—

'No expense has been spared; for the object of the publishers was not so much pecuniary profit, as to evince the respect with which the character of the late Bishop of Calcutta is viewed in this country. Few individuals of the present age, born and nurtured, and performing their important functions at so great a distance from us, have ever excited such warm and such general interest in their favour. He was, indeed, a scholar, and the republic of letters extends over the whole surface of the globe; he was a poet, and increased the literary treasures of a language which is also our mother-tongue; but, more than all, he was prominent in a cause which breaks down all

all barriers of distinction between men, and unites those who are engaged in it in bonds of the most affectionate brotherhood. A devoted friend to the cause of missions during his whole professional life, and at last a voluntary martyr to that sacred cause, it was in this character he excited our deepest interest, and in contemplating it with admiration and respect, his elegant attainments, his extensive learning, and poetical inspiration were comparatively unobserved.'

It is not often that we dare controvert one of the tritest moral axioms of our great master of nature,—

'The evil that men do lives after them;

The good is oft interred with their bones.'

So it will not be in this case. Who, on reading these observations, which, no doubt, have obtained almost unlimited currency in the United States, will presume to calculate on the effect they may produce on the general feeling? The actions performed by a good man in the centre of India, from the humblest and most unpresuming sense of duty, without the slightest view to their publicity, may not merely excite and keep up the spirit of pure Christian piety in regions separated by half the world, but even tend to soften the national jealousies of two great rival peoples. On our part we may freely confess, that the high moral sense displayed in their admiration of Bishop Heber would by no means be forgotten in our general appreciation of the American national character; and it is difficult to suppose that the strong enthusiasm excited by our Indian bishop will not, in some hearts at least, be associated with kindly feelings towards the country which gave him birth. The subject may awaken thoughts still more grave and profound. Is it not of somewhat promising omen, to those who look forward to a better state of things, to arise from the general progress of knowledge and civilization, that such high and general interest should be excited by an exhibition of the calm, and peaceful, and unpretending virtues of Christianity? The character of Heber speaks to none of the fierce and violent passions of our nature: it has nothing to commend it to political or sectarian zeal; it owes no portion of its fame to the blind and headlong vehemence of party spirit. Some may assert that private friendship has been too fervent in its encomiastic language, or that the peculiar situation of his biographer, naturally claiming indulgence, or rather exciting general interest, has thus given to the name of Heber, for the present, a relative rank and station in his age, beyond its real merits or importance; still, many able and eloquent friends have paid the most affectionate tribute to departed worth, or genius, or goodness, and many wives have borne testimony to the virtues of their husbands, without exciting any general or permanent enthusiasm.

Yet

Yet in an age which has hardly begun to breathe after the extraordinary and agitating events of our wonderful times—when our eyesight is scarcely recovered from the dazzling glare of those splendid images which have risen and sunk before us on the political, and even on the literary scene—the public mind seems to have reposed, if with calmer, with scarcely less universal admiration on a model of excellence, so totally dissimilar to those which had so long commanded and enthralled its attention. Is this but a temporary and accidental fluctuation of public feeling, or a happy commencement of times, in which gentleness, and goodness, and moderation, and charity, and conscientious exertions for the good of our fellow-creatures will at length have their day; when if not political, at least religious faction shall be put down by general consent; and the whole Christian world come to a tacit agreement, that there is a superior and a better test of real religion than uniformity of opinion; when men will rather look to the points on which they agree, than to those on which they disagree; and offences against Christian charity be esteemed of darker dye than those against any established system of Christian opinion?

To such views the popularity of Heber's religious character is full of hopeful encouragement, for the primary distinction of his piety is precisely that truly catholic spirit, which, without compromising its own steadfast convictions of the truth, was willing not merely to hope all things and endure all things, but always to put the best construction on the motives and governing principles of others. It is neither the general ability of Heber, however distinguished, nor his poetic genius, however graceful, which has won upon the universal contemporary mind,—it is the singular humility and gentleness of his disposition; his constant and studious regard for the feelings of others; the trembling apprehension lest he should wound the heart of the meanest individual; the active yet intuitive watchfulness with which he seized every occasion of doing a kind act to any human being, and the total absence of show or affectation in his laborious discharge of his duties. Yet in many of his opinions Heber (what was, perhaps, little suspected) inclined to those views which, in some minds, are supposed inseparable from bigotry and intolerance. He was a strenuous supporter of his own order; he entertained high notions of the episcopal authority, which, on one occasion, recorded in the volumes before us, he hardly refrained from exercising with considerable rigour—(and was, indeed, afterwards constrained to regret his own leniency, in not having so exerted,)—but the high-churchman was invariably subordinate to the Christian; and in the exercise of authority the struggle with his gentleness of dis-



position was so manifest, that the offender must, indeed, have been hardened who would persist in provoking the reluctant and long-suspended act of severity. Nor, though, doubtless, the prevailing passion (we use the word in no ignoble sense) for the conversion of the heathen may have heightened the general interest in the character of the Indian bishop, can it be ascribed in any great degree to this coincidence with the popular sentiment; for among the most remarkable points in his character, was the total ~~absence~~ of fanaticism. In his career there was little of that stirring excitement, that spirit of adventure, which breathes throughout most of the popular accounts of both Romish and Protestant missions. Heber, in the prospects of advancement at home, in the almost enforced abandonment of his literary tastes and pursuits, made great sacrifices; but it cannot be denied that the annals of the College de Propaganda Fide may furnish still more striking instances of men of high birth and splendid hopes, who have abandoned their ancestral homes—

‘where wild men howl around  
Their blood-stain’d altars, to uplift th’ unknown,  
Unawful crucifix;’

and in comparison with the perils and privations to which even in later days humbler men have submitted amidst the snows of Greenland, among the forests and swamps of America, and among fierce and reckless savages, we must not even name the dangers of an Indian climate, and the labours of a visitation, which, though immeasurably long and toilsome, is alleviated by the command of all the comforts which such a journey will admit. It is not, therefore, the setting forth of a man of bright talents and high hopes on a mission, such as we may call the Indian bishopric, which would of itself have created much sensation,—it is the whole tenor of Heber’s conduct when so employed, which, stimulated by fervent piety, yet tempered with the calmest good sense, has in an almost unprecedented degree called forth the general applause—and this it is, this enthusiastic reception of such a character by the age, which has induced us to encourage our favourable auguries, and to indulge in the anticipation of a wider development of the Christian spirit, than the world has yet witnessed. We deny not that there are many dark and discouraging signs,—there is much fierce, much ignorant fanaticism abroad, but we are not inclined to judge of the general temperature of the religious atmosphere by these occasional currents of hot and pestilential air; we must not judge of any sect or party, not even of our own church, by its more noisy or prominent members, but by the general tone of the public sentiment, by the silent tendency of the spirit of the age.

The volumes which have called forth these remarks contain the  
biography

biography of Reginald Heber, and many of his hitherto unpublished productions in prose and verse. They cannot be expected to possess the singular interest of his Indian journals, in which his own character was first exhibited, as it appeared during the most important and eventful period of his life ; and which had likewise the remarkable recommendation of being the first work which opened the vast region of the Eastern empire before our eyes in a lively and graphic prospect ; which placed us in the midst of the wonderful ruins, the mingled races, the strangely-contrasted manners and habits of the different provinces of India ; which described the natural scenery and the wrecks of empires with the skill of the poet,—the state and condition of the people with the acute and penetrating (though, perhaps, in some respects, necessarily hasty) observation of a philosopher ; and laid the whole before us in the vivid language and the natural, yet polished, style of a scholar. The present volumes must be content to receive a reflected and secondary lustre from the former ; yet to those who will take delight in tracing the formation of a mind in which they have already felt so much interest, and who are anxious to be admitted into the early and domestic privacy of this good man, they will possess no slight attractions ; while to the general reader, the observations of a remarkably intelligent and well-judging mind on the public affairs of a most eventful period, of a general scholar on the literary history of his day, of a man of such undoubted piety on the religious state of the country, cannot fail to afford both amusement and instruction.

We shall pass rapidly over the earlier part of the first volume, though we cannot persuade ourselves altogether to omit the striking instances of that piety and gentleness of disposition, which seemed almost instinctive in his nature. Men have been born artists, or musicians, or poets ; Reginald Heber,—we deprecate misconstruction,—seems almost to have been born a Christian.

‘ He very early became sensible of the necessity and importance of prayer, and was frequently overheard praying aloud in his own room, when he little thought himself within reach of observation. His sense of his entire dependence upon God, and of thankfulness for the mercies he received, was deep, and almost an instinct planted in his nature : to his latest hour, in joy or in sorrow, his heart was ever lifted up in thankfulness for the goodness of his Maker, and bowed in resignation under his chastisement ; and his first impulse, when afflicted or rejoicing, was to fall on his knees in thanksgiving, or in intercession for himself, and for those he loved, through the mediation of his Saviour.’

Nor did this early religion evaporate in mere emotion ; it seems to have entered into all his feelings, and mingled with all his practical

tical habits of life. There is something of extravagance in the following statement; but an extravagance which no wise parent would not rejoice to see developing itself in the disposition of his child.

‘ His natural benevolence and charitableness were fostered, and, as far as possible, directed by his parents. Though much disliking cards, he would occasionally, when at home, join in a round game with his young companions, because it was the rule of his family to give the winnings to the poor; and he was always ready to promote every plan which was suggested for such an object. Of his own money he was so liberal, it was *found necessary to sew the bank-notes given him for his half-year's pocket-money at school, within the lining of his pockets, that he might not give them away in charity on the road.* On one occasion, before that precaution had been taken, he gave all the money he possessed to a poor man, who stated that he was a clergyman, but that, having lost his sight, he lost his curacy, and his means of subsistence. This person afterwards found his way to Malpas, and from his recognition by the servant who had attended Reginald to school, this act of beneficence was made known to his parents; for of his own deeds he never boasted: and, as was remarked by the old servant who mentioned the circumstance, “his left hand knew not what his right hand did.” ’—p. 7.

His inexhaustible kindness of heart may be traced through the whole of his schoolboy days; and during the more perilous season of youth, when, though full of life and animation, and with a keen sense of the humorous, sometimes, if “college fame speak true,” he was tempted towards the dangerous ground of satire, yet it was so evidently the exuberance of a playful disposition, and so little tinged with gall, as not in the least to weaken the general impression produced by his usual conduct and demeanour.

In her selection of the few anecdotes of this early period, his biographer has shown judgment and discrimination; perhaps she would have consulted the impatient and fastidious taste of the generality of readers, if she had exercised the same self-denial with regard to the Journal of his Northern Tour, on which Heber set forth almost immediately after he had terminated his splendid academical career with his prize poem of ‘Palestine’—‘When his friends were glad to seize this opportunity of removing him from the effects of that admiration which his talents excited, and which they apprehended might, in time, injure the beautiful simplicity of his mind; an apprehension which, though natural, has proved to have been unfounded.’ The most valuable results of this tour had already been laid before the public, and received with general applause, in the first volume of Dr. Clarke’s Travels; and if the more striking passages had been selected from the remainder, we must think that the present work would



would have gained in popularity: for, unless in the case of very remote and rarely-visited regions, we seek in books of travels rather an account of the actual state of things, than of that which has just passed away, more particularly in Europe, where the changes in society during the last twenty years have been so important and complete. Perhaps few works are less read than European travels half a century old, even though written by men of the most consummate ability, and in the most agreeable style. If published at the time, we doubt not that the Journal of this Northern Tour would have commanded general attention: it must now, however, full of information as it is, depend for its interest entirely on the occasional descriptions of local scenery, which are struck off with the clear and rapid touch of a poet; and the anecdotes of manners and antiquities, which occasionally occur, and do not run the same risk of becoming obsolete, as the statistic details of countries, which are undergoing perpetual change, and accounts of individuals, most of whom have, probably, by this time, passed away from the stage of life. From this part of the volumes our extracts will not be numerous; as we are inclined to hasten to the period when the subject of our biography became more intimately connected with the opinions and events of his own country, and the literary history of his day.—There is great spirit in the following fragment of a popular Danish song,—something of the old Berserkir vein, which, if we admit Sir James Mackintosh's suggestion; that we owe some of our spirit of naval adventure and prowess to the blood of the northern pirates that flows in our veins, might show that in war songs, at least, our northern neighbours retain so much of the feelings of their ancestors as, under more favourable circumstances, might have rendered them no unworthy rivals.

‘ King Christian stood beside the mast  
In smoky night;  
His falchion fell like hammer fast,  
And brows and helms asunder brast;  
Then sunk each hostile hull and mast  
In smoky night;  
• Fly, fly! they shrieked—what mortal man  
Can strive with Denmark's Christian  
In fight?  
Niels Juel raised a warrior's cry,  
Now, now's the day!  
He hoisted up the red flag high,  
And dashed amidst the enemy,  
With blow on blow, and cry on cry,  
Now, now's the day!—  
And still they shrieked, “ Fly, Sweden, fly!”  
When Juel comes, what strength shall try  
The fray?’

It

It is obvious that Mr. Campbell had the original of this in his mind, when he poured out his grand ballad of 'Nelson and the North.'

Heber was in Russia at an eventful period—the commencement of that fierce struggle between the great northern powers and the man who, at that time, it was little expected would cause a description of Moscow, written in the year 1805, to become as obsolete as a map of London drawn before the fatal 1666. The reception of Alexander in his capital, after the melancholy reverses at Austerlitz, as given by so intelligent an eye-witness, is by no means an uninteresting historic statement; and the picture of the court, and the ceremonial of the Greek church, is strikingly characteristic of the mixture of European and Asiatic, of barbarous and civilized manners.

'His arrival (the emperor's) was perfectly sudden and unexpected: he was at Gatchina, thirty miles from hence, before his setting out from the army was known, and arrived in Petersburg about five in the morning: his first visit was paid to the cathedral of our Lady of Casan, where he spent some time in prayer; he then joined his wife and mother at the palace. The people, in the mean time, assembled in prodigious crowds before the gate; and when, about half-past nine, he came out to inspect the guard, the whole mob gave one of the most tremendous and universal shouts which I ever heard; they thronged round him, kissing his hands, his boots, and clothes, with an enthusiasm which perfectly disregarded the threats and cudgels of the police officers. Some men were telling their beads and crossing themselves; others, with long black beards, crying and blubbering like children; and the whole scene was the most affecting picture of joy I ever saw. When he was at length disengaged, he went along the line, each company, as he passed, giving him the deep-toned short cheer, which is their customary morning exclamation—Bless you, Alexander Paulovitz.

'The emperor is not the only sight we have seen, having been at court, and at a grand religious ceremony of the Tartars. We have as yet only been to court as spectators, as there is at present no English ambassador to introduce us; but, having a recommendation to the master of the ceremonies, he very kindly gave us an opportunity of seeing everything to the best advantage, and introduced us to a gentleman who explained their religious ceremonies; for all the levees and drawing-rooms begin with service in the chapel. On our first entrance into the room, we found it full of officers and foreign ministers, who ranged themselves in two lines for the empress to pass through from the inner room, followed by all her ladies, to the chapel. At the upper end stood the senators and officers of the state, then the rest of the spectators, and the lower end of the room was occupied by Cossack officers, wild, savage-looking fellows, whose long black hair, bare necks, long flowing garments, and crooked scimitars, formed a striking

striking contrast with the bags and powdered wigs of the rest of the party. The chapel was crowded, and the singing the most beautiful I ever heard: no musical instruments are allowed by the Greek Church, and never was more delightful harmony produced by vocal performers. The effect was very grand when the singing suddenly ceased, and the vast folding doors of the sanctuary were thrown open, and the gilded altar and the priests (who are all selected for their beards and stature) were discovered amid a cloud of incense. During the service the empress stood on a step in the middle of the aisle, as no seats are allowed by the Greeks in their churches. But little attention was paid to the service by the greater part of the audience, though some continued praying and crossing themselves the whole time. After the bishop had given the final blessing, I was surprised to see the beautiful young empress—for I really think her very much so—kiss his hand, which he returned on her hand and cheek; and his example was followed by the whole tribe of ecclesiastics, a race of as dirty monks as ever ate salt fish. The English clergy will, I fear, never be able to obtain a privilege like this.—p. 13.

We must not omit the description of Moscow and the Kremlin, which, if they had appeared during the well-deserved vogue which was a short time ago enjoyed by Segur's brilliant and poetical description of the Expedition to Russia, might have commanded great interest.

‘ We reached this vast overgrown village, for I can compare it to nothing else, in the moonlight, and consequently saw it to great advantage; though as we passed along its broad irregular streets, we could not but observe the strange mixture of cottages, gardens, stables, barracks, churches, and palaces. This morning we have been much delighted with a more accurate survey. Moscow is situated in a fine plain, with the river Moskva winding through it; the town is a vast oval, covering almost as much ground as London and Westminster. The original city is much smaller; it forms one quarter of the town, under the name of Kitai-gorod, the city of Kathay; it has preserved this name from the time of the conquest of Russia by the Tartars, when they seized on the city, and made the Russians quit their houses, and build without the walls, which is now called Biel-gorod or the White Town. Kitai-gorod is still surrounded by its old Tartar wall, with high brick towers of a most singular construction; the gates are ornamented in the same oriental style, and several of the older churches have been originally mosques. But it is in the Kremlin, or palace-quarter, that the principal vestiges of the khans are displayed; their palace still exists entire, and is a most curious and interesting piece of antiquity. As I walked up its high staircase, and looked round on the terraces and towers, and the crescents which yet remain on their golden spires, I could have fancied myself the hero of an Eastern tale, and expected with some impatience to see the talking-bird, the singing-water, or the black slave with his golden club.’—p. 150.

‘ We



' We now approach the holy city of the Kremlin, which is separated from the city by a vast ditch and mound, crowned with a high brick rampart, which is garnished with very tall towers of a circular form, diminishing like pagodas, and surmounted with high spires. The breast-works of the wall are in a very singular style, and seem to be intended as an imitation of palisadoes. The whole has a perfectly eastern air. The holy gate is painted red, and most of the churches have green spires; beyond the whole building is a cluster of turrets, spires, and domes. The famous church of St. Basil, built by Solarius, an Italian architect, on account of a foolish boast, is on the left hand; a strange building of painted brick, clustered with seven spires rising like a crown one above another. On the right hand is the great market, a fine range of shops under regular arcades and well disposed. You enter the holy gate by a long narrow bridge over the fosse; on the left hand is a noble view down to the river. The whole *coup d'œil* much resembled Seringapatana, as represented in Kerr Porter's panorama. . . . . Within the wall is a magnificent area on the summit of a hill, whence is one of the finest views I ever saw, of the town, the river, the bridges, and of the surrounding country, which is really very beautiful, particularly a wooded range of hills, called the Sparrow Hills; on the right hand, in the Kremlin, is the palace of the Archbishop; beyond it the senate house and several other public buildings; on the left, on the very brow of the hill, is a shed covering some ancient pieces of Eastern cannon, and the famous bell which once summoned the freemen of Novogorod the Great. Directly in front is the tower of St. John, and behind it the imperial palace, with its high stone staircase and terrace, and on each side the churches of the Assumption and St. Michael; the one where the emperors are crowned, the other where they are buried. Behind this again, and on the very termination of the triangular hill, is the ancient palace of the czars, now the treasury. The whole together forms a wonderful group, of which the Muscovites have reason to boast.'

Conceive all this lighted up with the conflagration of the city, the whole scene below bursting out with fires, rushing and roaring from all quarters; the victorious French army pent in and hemmed round in a circle of fire, like wild beasts in an oriental hunt, and the mightiest of all, the Royal Lion himself at bay, and obliged to dash for his life, as he is described by Segur, through the environing flames.

There is much curious matter in the account of the southern provinces of the Russian empire, where, on the confines of civilization, Heber had an opportunity of observing the manners and usages of the descendants of those famous Scythian tribes, which are so picturesquely and faithfully described by Herodotus, and making, as it were, their brilliant and rapid inroads into the domain of history, bear with them a sort of life and excitement singularly

singularly captivating to the mind of a scholar and a poet. The interest thus excited was, in later life, expanded into a History of the Cossacks, printed at the close of the first volume of the present work, which, though imperfect and unfinished, we are inclined to consider of no ordinary value. The dulness of an antiquarian dissertation is happily enlivened by that vivid description of manners, and familiarity with all the incidents of the wandering pastoral life, which could not be acquired except by one who had personally visited their tents; while the master-mind of the scholar, having completely at its command the entire range of classical history, unites the whole into a clear and distinct narrative, (though perhaps on a subject not of itself likely to be very popular,) and offers one of the few models which we possess of historical dissertation, in which profound and extensive information is quickened with poetic vivacity of style—a form of composition in which we are in general excelled by our continental neighbours; for our brilliant and lively writers are in general somewhat superficial, while our more profound scholars move heavily along under the weight of their learning, and, content with the intrinsic value of their commodities, disdain to tempt the reader by disposing them in an attractive form. Hence what we cannot but consider a vulgar prejudice,—the general impression that popular writers cannot be profound, and that profound writers cannot be popular. We suspect the fault to lie rather in the writers than in the public mind; and that there are really few subjects which, taken up by one who is at the same time master of his materials and of the philosophy of writing, might not be presented in such a form as to make at once a strong, a distinct, and a lasting impression on the reader. This is the more necessary now, that the sphere of knowledge is daily extending: it is not in the present day so difficult to get information as to retain it; and a vivid and striking manner of placing truth before us, not only finds us more ready to welcome it, but, united with a clear and happy arrangement, which is a main essential to such an eloquence of style, furnishes a sort of legitimate technical memory, which of itself assists in placing at our command that which otherwise we have the doubly laborious process of learning and incorporating with our recollections.—We have ventured on this short digression on account of the importance of the subject at this present period, now that so many and, in some cases, such successful attempts are made to communicate extensive information in a popular form. To write strikingly, so as forcibly to arrest the mind of the reader, and to fix deeply the more leading facts which we would impart, is not only the province of the writer of romance or of the poet,—it is compatible with the

the grave dignity of the historian, and even with the cool precision of a philosopher. A masterly French writer, who has perhaps more extensive acquaintance with our literature than has usually fallen to the lot of his countrymen, in no unfriendly spirit brings the following charge against us, which, if we are not inclined absolutely to admit its justice, we must allow, we fear, to possess a considerable tinge of truth.

— Il n'y a personne qui ne dise que les Anglais sont peu habiles à composer un livre, à le composer rationnellement et artistement tout ensemble, à en distribuer les parties, à en régler l'exécution de manière à frapper l'imagination du lecteur par cette perfection de l'art, de la forme, qui aspire surtout à satisfaire l'intelligence. Ce côté purement intellectuel des œuvres de l'esprit est le côté faible des écrivains Anglais; tandis qu'ils excellent à convaincre par la clarté d'exposition, par le retour fréquent des mêmes idées, par l'évidence du bon sens, dans tous les moyens enfin d'amener les effets pratiques.' \*

We return to Heber. His comic vein we have already noticed; but we cannot quite pass over this subject without making some extracts from a letter evidently written by one who knew him well, in which we find a very graphic description of his person and manner when at Oxford, and some very amusing instances of his humorous turn.

'He never looked up at his hearers (one of the few things, by the bye, which I could have wished altered in him in after life, for he retained the habit,) but, with his eyes downcast and fixed, poured forth in a measured intonation, which from him became fashionable, stores of every age; the old romances; Spenser; some of our earlier prose writers; of Scott's published works; or verses of his own.'

The following burlesque imitation of the old Fabliaux, to those who are acquainted with their style, will appear singularly happy, struck off, as the biographer's correspondent declares, almost extemporaneously.

*Icy commence le Roman du Grand Roy Pantagruelle.*

Le Royaume de  
Pantagruelle.

Yt is a kynge both fyne and felle,  
That hyght Sir Claudyus Pantagruelle;—  
The fynest and fellest more or less  
Of all the kynges in Heathenesse.  
That Syre was Soudan of Surrye,  
Of Æstrick and of Cappadocie;  
His Eme was Lorde I understonde,  
Of all Carthage and of Bochman Londe.  
LXX Dukes that were soe wighte  
Served him by daie and by nighte.  
Thereto he made him a lothely messc,  
Everie morning more or lesse,

Comment Pan-  
tagruelle tenait  
bonne table et  
fesoit belle  
chere;



A manne childe of vii yere age,  
 Thereof he seathed his pottage.  
 Everie knight who went that waye  
 His nose and ears was fain to paye;  
 Sothely as the Romaunts telle,  
 For the Dynner of Pantagruelle.  
 In all the londes of Ethiopee,  
 Was ne so worthy a kynge as hee.

et estoit digne  
 roy.

And so the Romaunt of the 'purple faucon' goes gossiping  
 on as how

His Ladye that hyghte Cecilee,  
 And thereto sange shee  
 Alle into Grekish, as shee colde best;—  
 Lambeth, Sadeck, Apocatest  
 Namely, "My love yf thou wouldest wynne  
 Bring with thee a purple faucon ynne."

The second fytt, like its prototypes of ancient fame, almost  
 rises into poetry.

*Icy commence le ii Chant du bon Roy Pantagruelle.*

Lysten Lordynges to the tale  
 Of Pantagruelle and hys travayle;  
 He through many a lande has gone,  
 Pantagruelle hymself alone:  
 Many a hylle most hyghe has clome,  
 Many a broade rivere has swome.  
 He paste through Carthage and Picardie,  
 Babylon, Scotland, and Italie;  
 And asked of alle as yt befelle,  
 But of no adventure herde he telle,  
 Till after many a wearie daye,  
 Lyghtly he came to a foreste graye:  
 Manie an auncient oke did growe,  
 Doddered and fringed with mysletoe;  
 Manie an ashe of paly hue  
 Whyspered in everie breeze that blew.  
 Pantagruelle hath sworne by Mahoune,  
 Bye Termagaunt and by Abadoun,  
 Bye Venus, that was so stern and stronge,  
 And Apollin with hornes longe,  
 And other fiends of Maumetrye,  
 That the ende of that foreste he would see.  
 Lysten Lordynges the soothe I tell;  
 Nothing was true that here befelle,  
 But all the okes that flourished so free,  
 Flourished only in grammarie.  
 In that same foreste nothing grewe  
 But broad and darke the boughes of yew;

Ses Voyages.

Le Serment de  
 Pantagruelle.

La Forest en-  
 chantee.

Sothely

Sothely I tell you and indede  
 There was many a wicked weede ;  
 There was the wolf-bane greene and highe,  
 Whoso smelleth the same shall die,  
 And the long grasse with poyson mixed—  
 Adders coyled and hyssed betwixt.  
 Yn that same chace myghte noe man hear  
 Hunter or horn or hounde or deer ;  
 Neither dared in that wood to goe  
 Coney or martin, or hare or doe.  
 Nor on the shawe the byrdes gay,  
 Starling, cuckoo, or popynjay ;  
 But gryphon fanged and bristled boare,  
 Gnarred and foamed his way before,  
 And the beaste who can falsely weepe,  
 Crocodilus, was here goode chepe ;  
 Satyr and leopard and tygris,  
 Bloody Camelopardalys,  
 And every make of beastys bolde,  
 Nestled and roared in that their holde. &c. &c.

This is indeed, in the words of the writer, ‘ what none but quick and clever men can write—very good nonsense.’ We can perfectly understand the reception of his *jeux d’esprit*, in the grave pages of a certain ancient magazine, in which he occasionally corresponded with himself, keeping himself down to the dulness of his model, to the infinite amusement of the few who were in the secret ; and ‘ The Solemn Enquiry from Clericus Leicestersis, into the remedy for the devastations of an insect, which peculiarly attacked spinach—the evil, the remedy, and the insect being all equally imaginary ;’ and even the reception of the sonnet on the death of Lieutenant Philip V——, who was killed at the storming of Fort Muzzaboo on the St. Lawrence, which ended—

And Marathon shall yield to Muzzaboo—  
 scarcely transcends our notion of the easy faith of that venerable journal. But that Sylvanus Urban should receive five pounds from the uncle of a real Simon Pure, an actual Philip V——, in return for this glowing eulogium on his lost nephew’s valour, we confess does somewhat stagger our belief.

‘ His powers of imitation and of humour,’ proceeds our amusing correspondent, ‘ were not confined to his own language. Once, as Reginald was on his way from Oxford, he stopped at the Hen and Chickens, at Birmingham, in order to take a coach thence on the following morning. There happened to be in the inn a ball, which not only assembled persons from a distance, who consequently had engaged all the beds, but kept up such a noise throughout the night, that he could scarcely sleep even in his sitting-room. He employed

and

and amused himself, therefore, in writing in Homeric verse a description of his situation: annexing a translation, after the manner of Clarke, and subjoining the usual proportion of notes, he sent it to Lord Ebrington, then at Brazennose College, who kindly gave me a copy; and he fully permits you to insert it. It shows to equal advantage Reginald's scholarship and his humour.

‘ 510. Ω ποποι η μεγα πενθος οδοιπορω εσsetαι ανδρι,  
οσπερ ευκτιμενον ποτ’ επερχομενος πτολιεθρον,  
η κλεινην Λυκιην, η Βιλστονα, η Βρεμιχαμον  
χαλχοπολιν, φιλον οικον αγανορος Ηφαιστοιο·  
και τοτε δη μεγαλην επιτηδευουσιν εορτην,

‘ Pro Deos ! certe magnus dolor peregrino erit viro  
Quicunque bene-habitatam aliquando adveniens civitatem  
Aut nobilem Lyciam, aut Bilstonem, aut Bremichamum  
Æris-civitatem, charam domum ob virtutem-mirabilis Vulcani.  
Et tunc quidem magnum cum-studio-parant festum

NOTÆ.

‘ V. 510. Οδοιπορω ανδρι. Quis fuit ille peregrinus non adhuc satis constat. Herculem Scholiastes, Thesea alii intelligunt. Non animadvertere scilicet boni interpretes de seipso Poetam hæc loqui, quem Poetam Iaspida fuisse Anglo-Phœnicem infra demonstravi: Excurs. i., v. 17, hujus libri. Et tamen cl. Turnebo Moses his versibus innui videtur: quam verè, judicent alii.

‘ V. 512. Ubinam sit illa Lycia mihi hæret aqua. Lyciam Asiaticam faciunt vet. Schol.; absurdè: de Anglicanis enim civitatibus agitur, neque πτολιεθρον Lycia. Λευκην Hemsterhusius legit, nullis annuentibus Codd. Nescio an a lupis nomen habens, nunc etiam ore vernaculari Wolverhampton audit. De Bilstone et Bremichamo etiam in celeberrimo Jacobo Thomsono Bremicham invenimus:

Thy thundering pavement, Bremicham.

‘ V. 514. Non hospitalem, ut videtur, festum paravere Bremichamenses, exclusum enim fuisse advenam satis constat. Ergo Bonæ Dæe tunc agi sacra Clarkius existimat: falso; istiusmodi enim sacris omnes excludebantur viri, et tamen, v. 518. ανερes ευκονιεντες invenimus. Ut obscœnæ essent saltationes, monente Abreschio, vix crederem, etsi nudis mamillis exilique veste saltasse puellas ab omnibus fere accepimus. Talia vocant festa Galli, “bal paré.” Anglice, “an assembly.”

‘ τεκτονες ανθρωποι, μεγα πλουσιοι, οis μαλα πασι  
χαλκος ενι μεγαροιςι θεος και χρυσον εδωκε·  
ενθ’ αρα παννυχιοιςι χοροις τερπουσι φιλον κηρ  
κουραι ευζωνοι τε, και ανερes ευκονιεντες·  
σεισμος υπερθε ποδων γινεται μεγας, ευ γαρ εκαστος  
σκιρτα, πολλ’ υδιων, κνισση δ’ εις ουρανον ηκει·  
εκ δε λυρων χεεται γλυκερον μελος ηε συριγγων·  
αλλ’ ο ξεινος ενερθε καθιζεταμαχνημενος κηρ,



διφρω αειχελίω κλινθεῖς, κενεῇ τε τραπέζῃ,  
χειλεσιν οὐτ' ἐπὶ δειπνον ἔχων, οὐτ' ὀμμασιν ὕπνον.

κ. τ. λ.

‘ Fabri viri, multum divites, quibus valde omnibus  
Æs in ædibus Deus (Vulcanus sc.) et aurum dedit.  
Inde ergo per-totam-noctem-durantibus choris delectant  
suum cor

Virgines bene cinctæ, et viri pulchro-modo-pulverulenti:  
(sc. *pulverosum habentes caput*)

Motus sub pedibus fit magnus, bene vero unusquisque  
Salit, multum sudans, odor vero nidoris ad cœlum ascendit.  
Lyrarum vero effunditur dulcis sonus aut tibiæ—  
Advena vero infra sedet dolore-affectus cor  
Sedili inhonesto reclinans, vacuâque mensâ,  
Labris neque cibum habens, nec oculis somnum, &c.

V. 518. *ανερες ευκονιεντες*. De barbarico capitis ornatu tantum innotuit ut tritum fortasse et tenue argumentum videar aggressus; *ἀλλ' ὁμως ειρησεται*. Noscant juniores quod inter plurimas barbarorum gentes Hottentotas sc. et Caffros et Anglos mos erat patrius, lardo, nidore ursarum et similibus, collinere crines, et deinde albo quodam pulvere conspergere et conserere. *ευκονιεντες*, Gallice, “bien poudré.” Anglice, “well-powdered.”

V. 522. Non in infernis regionibus, ut insomniavit bonus vir, editor Glasguensis, at inferiori camerâ, pedibusque saltantium subjectâ.

V. 524. Observandum est, quam mirâ arte Poeta sui viatoris patrium innuit pudorem. Si nempe Scotus fuisset Hibernusve, mirum esset ne innatâ fretus audaciâ, Anglice “sporting a face,” cœnam sibi, et gratis, comparasset. Cum vero et Anglus sit et ingenui pudoris puer, manet immotus *μαινομενος περ* dum empto taroque coquorum auxilio sibi cibus paratur. De Anglorum modestiâ vide cl. Marklandum ad hunc locum.

Heber is not the only scholar in whom the University of Oxford prides herself, who has amused an idle hour in adapting Homeric language to modern incidents. Were it not forbidden to violate the sanctity of a private press, our readers might be amused with a parallel specimen of the success with which one of the strongest and most accomplished minds of our times has indulged in this amusing play of scholarship. The verses of the noble person to whom we allude, certainly in correctness, we think also in elegance and the happy comic ease with which Homeric words are adapted to modern ideas, would bear the palm; the drollery of Heber's *jeu d'esprit* lies rather in the Latin translation and the notes, in which the style of Clarke's Homer (and with Clarke's Homer what schoolboy is not familiar?) is kept up with such solemn mock gravity.

We pass to higher matters: the life of Heber, when, having married

married and accepted the family living of Hodnet in Shropshire, he commenced, in a more obscure sphere, that career of professional usefulness, which was terminated on a scene so much more public and important. It is a picture which is strikingly characteristic of that which distinguishes the English church from the ecclesiastical establishments of all other countries, both Roman Catholic and Protestant,—that of a man, by his connexions and friendships standing on an equality with the landed aristocracy of the country; by his abilities exercising an influence over the literature of his age; yet at the same time discharging the humblest duties of a village pastor, in a remote province, with conscientious and exemplary assiduity. In most other countries these important offices have been left to an inferior class of the clerical body—men not seldom of primitive and apostolic piety; but in acquirements, connexions, and habits of life, far nearer to the peasants among whom they lived, than to the highly-born or highly-educated of the land. In the Roman Catholic church the well-born usually took at once their station in the high places of the ecclesiastical order, to which great abilities raised many of humbler birth; the scholars were found either in the universities or the monasteries. In Protestant countries, it is by no means so usual for men of rank, or connexion, or high abilities, to devote themselves to the clerical function. We will not pretend to say of the English church, with regard to Heber,

Sparta hath many a worthier son than he :

few, probably, can approach to his standard; but still there are many who live and die in no loftier station than that of the parochial clergy, perhaps in very obscure parts of the kingdom, who are of the same class, gentlemen by birth, scholars in the highest sense, and whose minds, instead of sinking into sloth and inactivity—the great danger, when they are so much above the intellectual level around them—keep up with the advancing spirit of the age. We are far from giving this as the general character of the clerical body, which, of course, must be formed from men of far more ordinary station and acquirements, and which, therefore, will move slowly in the wake of general improvement; will present a resolute, some may be inclined to say, bigoted resistance to all innovation; and can scarcely, occupied as they are with professional duties, in retired situations, where books are few, even in this age of book-societies, keep pace with the rapid development of literature and knowledge. Still, though such men are, undoubtedly, exceptions to the general character of the clerical body, they are, we are persuaded, by no means rare or uncommon; where they exist they are of the highest utility, as giving a better, and at once a more intellectual and moral tone

to

to the society in which they move ; and raising the clerical profession generally in the estimation of the better order. On the other hand, connected, as they sometimes are, with the landed proprietors, or at least on a level with them, as gentlemen and men of education, their intercourse with the poor in the zealous discharge of their functions may tend to keep up that kindly feeling between the two classes, now unhappily in so many cases dying away, under the baneful influence of pauperism, which, by a new and almost more degrading and pernicious villainage, is at once attaching the labourer to the soil, and disconnecting him from all feelings towards the landed proprietor, but those of opposite and conflicting interests.

Heber, while he was laboriously officiating among the peasants of Hodnet, was at the same time cultivating his own literary tastes, enlarging his stores of theological knowledge, and keeping up a lively and constant interest in all that related to the religion, the politics, and the literature of his day. His correspondence was evidently not intended to meet the light ; but written to friends, many of whom mingled actively in the busy world, and alive with his habitual animation, it cannot fail to furnish many interesting details and anecdotes, which will be invaluable to the lovers of literary gossip, and, even may admit the profane, in some degree, into the secret mysteries of the *Quarterly Review*. We shall proceed to select some of the most characteristic passages, which will show at once the share which Heber took in the literary pursuits of his day, his general occupations, and his sentiments on important religious, civil, or literary questions. His active mind and quiet feelings are well developed in the following extract from a letter to Mr. Thornton :—

‘ I feel myself obliged to tell you that I have been really pressed hard during the last month with different reasons for writing. I have had an infirmity sermon, a long article for a review, and am now engaged in a charity sermon, besides the weekly demand for sermons in my own parish, and the almost daily calls of parochial duty : nor am I idle in other pursuits ; for I read Plato, and am, though slowly, making progress in a poem, which, if it does not miscarry, will be longer than any of my preceding ones : it is, however, but too probable that when my summer rambles and hedge-row walks are stopped by sleet and mire, I shall, as has been generally the case, find my Pegasus in a “ Slough of Despond : ” nor are my labours as a clergyman such as to make me find it altogether play. Do not think, however, that I fancy myself anything but what I am, in truth, a prosperous man, who has unremitted causes of gratitude, and whose principal apprehension ought to be that he has a greater share of earthly happiness than he knows how to manage. I only mention these little drawbacks to remind you of the novel remark of our friend

B.—



B.—Ah! Mr. Thornton, perfect happiness is not the lot of man. That you have as much as is good for your eternal interests, and that my gratitude may increase daily for the great share of quiet and prosperity with which I am blessed, is my earnest prayer, and I think I may add, my hope.'

The literary schemes of Heber, as might be expected from such a mind, teemed with the greatest rapidity, and many, of course, never ripened into perfection. We find him meditating poems, reviews, theological works of great extent and labour. If we should endeavour to arrange these various visions of usefulness, and present them in systematic order, we should by no means give a just picture of the mind in which they originated; which, however conscious of its strength, did not set forth deliberately to march, like Kehama, along eight roads at once, to the temple of Fame; but rather, as new subjects of interest arose, started aside from the objects which he had before selected, and to which he returned with new zeal after these excursions. To follow the course of the book, therefore, however it may give our observations an appearance of disorder, will be the best means of following the mind of the subject; and we shall enjoy the pleasant privilege of ranging 'from grave to gay, from lively to severe.'

Heber early meditated the volume of hymns, which has been already noticed in our journal; there are some observations, however, which develop a common sentiment so much more forcibly than we remember to have seen it expressed before, and as coming from a man of such undoubted piety, may carry so much weight where such remonstrances are most wanted, that we are desirous of giving them the greatest publicity:—

'In one respect, at least, he (the author) hopes the following poems will not be found reprehensible; no fulsome or indecorous language has been knowingly adopted; no erotic addresses to Him whom no unclean lips can approach; no allegory ill understood, and worse applied. It is not enough, in his opinion, to object to such expressions that they are fanatical; they are positively profane. When our Saviour was on earth, and in great humility conversant with mankind; when he sate at the table and washed the feet and healed the diseases of his creatures, yet did not his disciples give him any more familiar name than Master or Lord. And now, at the right hand of his Father's Majesty, shall we address Him with ditties of embraces and passion, or in language which it would be disgraceful in an earthly sovereign to endure? Such expressions, it is said, are taken from the Scripture; but even if the original application, which is often doubtful, were clearly and unequivocally ascertained, yet, though the collective Christian church may be very properly personified as the spouse of Christ, an application of such language to Christian believers is as dangerous as it is absurd, and unauthorized. Nor is it

going too far to assert, that the brutalities of a common swearer can hardly bring religion into more contempt or more scandalously profane the name which is above every name in heaven and earth, than certain epithets applied to Christ in some of our popular collections of religious poetry.'

Among his poetic schemes, which appear to have afforded a splendid promise, we are inclined to wish that he had followed up one, of which he gives a brief outline in a letter to Mr. Thornton, and for which we would gladly have sacrificed the whole of the *Morte d' Arthur*, among the least successful, we think, of his poetical attempts; or even the unfinished *Masque of Guendolen*. The former wants the stirring life of romance: the fancy of the latter is deficient in case and lightness. Indeed the genius of Heber seems to have been suited to moral or didactic, rather than to tragic or narrative poetry. He is graceful, correct, full, harmonious, eloquent, but neither daring, passionate, inventive, nor, in the highest sense, imaginative. He would have had ample scope for the poetical qualities which he possessed, and have less needed those to which, from all his extant compositions in verse, he does not seem to have been entitled, if he had devoted himself to the completion of a plan suggested in the sketch to which we allude.

'Apropos of Persia and Russia,—I have been at different times, during the summer, projecting a half religious, half descriptive poem, to be called *The Desert*, giving an account of the wilder features of nature as displayed in different latitudes. Much might be said about the steppes, which we ourselves have traversed, and the fine woods of Oesterdal and Dovre; and Bruce affords some noble painting of the wildness of tropical climates. One might, too, find Cossacks, Laplanders, Arabs, Mohawks, and Israelites, as moving objects in the picture, in their several compartments, and describe the hand of Providence as displayed in the support and comfort of each. What will come of it, I, as yet, hardly know.'

In the disputes which distracted the Church of England, Heber seems at first to have taken his stand on neutral ground; and by the general respect for his talents, and the uniform suavity of his temper and his demeanour, to have, in a great degree, escaped that which is often the portion of the more candid and moderate in such affrays,—the hostility of both. His practice and his opinions were alike untinged by the slightest austerity.

'Although his mind was deeply imbued with religious feelings, he considered a moderate participation in what are usually called "worldly amusements," as allowable and blameless. . . . He thought that the strictness, which made no distinction between things blameable only in their abuse, and practices which were really immoral, was prejudicial to the interests of true religion; and on this point his opinion remained unchanged to the last.'

The gentle and amiable mind of Heber shrunk from all opinions repugnant to the universal benignity and goodness of the Deity. We find here an interesting letter on a pamphlet, which is circulated to a great extent, and enjoys unlimited popularity among a peculiar class of readers,—the *Force of Truth*, by the late Thomas Scott. The sum and substance of this work, which is written with great earnestness and sincerity, is that, after passing through various vicissitudes of belief, the author at length embraced, and adhered to the end of his life to, those views which are usually called moderate calvinism. It is hence intimated, that these opinions, adopted after so much diligent investigation, and perpetual prayer for the divine guidance, must therefore be true. The enthusiastic admirers of the writer draw an inference, from which his own pious humility would no doubt have shrunk, if laid before him in plain and unequivocal terms, but which, however disguised, is in fact the argument of the whole tract; that it is inconceivable that so good and sincere a man, so anxious to find out the truth, should be permitted to remain in error. Heber could not but instantly detect and calmly expose this fallacy, by which the truth or falsehood of speculative opinions would rest, not on their own evidence, but solely on the piety, the sincerity, and the virtues of those who have entertained them. As then it would not be difficult to prove that the wildest and most extravagant notions have been advanced by men of the strongest piety, the utmost candour, the most serious and earnest desire of attaining the truth, the most contradictory tenets would thus have equal claims on our belief. Not merely, upon precisely similar grounds, must we embrace the Arminianism of Heber himself, but with many most holy and humble men, we must bow in humble submission to the infallible decrees of the pope; we must believe in transubstantiation with Borromeo or St. Francis de Sales; we must jansenise with Pascal; we must mysticise with Fenelon; or, on the Protestant side, we must cut off our collars, and deny ourselves the use of the plural pronoun, with William Penn and his followers; we must liberalise with Grotius: indeed we scarcely see why we are not to philosophise with Franklin, or descend even lower, with many serious, and wise, and humble men; unless we claim, as indeed in some instances seems virtually the case, an inward confirmation of our opinions, in answer to our prayers, which it is difficult to discriminate from revelation. The refutation, however, of Mr. Scott's work is by no means the most valuable part of the long letter from which it is extracted. The latter part is full of calm and Christian reflections on the existing disputes and controversies within the church. 'To reconcile or soften these unhappy differences, as far as my age and situation



situation has given me opportunities, has been through life the object constantly in my view, and the cause of several earnest and fruitless labours.' The rules which follow are alike characteristic of the piety and good sense of the author. They speak as John Hales, or the subject of Heber's biographical labours, on which he entered with the veneration of a kindred spirit, Bishop Taylor, would have spoken, if their language were to be accommodated to the feelings and opinions of the present day.

Yet this calm and peaceful man could not pass through life, without, in his turn, being exposed to obloquy. In his Bampton Lectures some questionable positions were certainly advanced; but these were assailed, not in the language of temperate discussion, or with courteous respect to the character and talents of the author, but in that tone which is so much more likely to make a heretic than to cure one; and, addressed to a mind of less equable passions or less calm judgment, would rouse all the energy of resistance, and make it a point of honour not to depart from statements, to abandon which, would be to give an easy triumph to an insolent and overbearing antagonist. How many men, the more fiercely the storm has raged and the rain pelted, have the more sturdily wrapped round them their obnoxious opinions, which a little soft sunshine would have made them drop, or tempted them to cast away, without the slightest resistance. The controversy excited no sensation; it did not find its way into any of those publications which command general circulation; the subject was abstruse; and as the assailant, no doubt, looks back with anything but satisfaction to the subject, we dismiss it at once; nor indeed should we have alluded to it, but for its obvious moral, that even so rare a character as Heber must not expect to escape—yet, after all, will suffer little in, such encounters.

But we must turn away from the dusty field of polemics to lighter and gayer matters. Though prevented, by his various professional avocations, from steadily devoting himself to any considerable poetical work, there are many compositions in the volume, struck off at different periods of life, and, of course, of very different degrees of merit. From these we select the following translation, or rather versification, from the *Moallakat* of Hareth. It is one of the most pleasing pieces of Orientalism which have been transfused into our language.

‘ And Asma, lovely sojourner, wilt thou forsake our land,  
 Forgetful of thy plighted vows on Shamama's glittering sand?  
 No more in Shoreb's rugged dell I see thee by my side—  
 No more in Katha's mead of green, where vocal waters glide:  
 In Ayla and in Shobathan all lonely must I go,  
 And therefore sleep has fled my soul, and fast my sorrows flow?  
 Yet

Yet am I loved, and yet my eyes behold the beacon light  
Which Hinda kindles on her hill, to lure me through the night.  
Broad as the dawn from Akeh's brow, its ruddy embers shine,  
But Hinda's heart may never meet an answering glow in mine;  
And I must seek a nobler aid against consuming care,  
Where all the brethren of my tribe the battle bow prepare.  
My camel with the mother bird in swiftness well may vie,  
Tall as a tent, 'mid desert sands, that rears her progeny;  
That lists the murmur of the breeze, the hunter's lightest sound,  
With stealthy foot, at twilight fall, soft gliding o'er the ground.  
But not the ostrich speed of fire my camel can excel,  
Whose footstep leaves so light a mark, we guess not where it fell;  
Now up, now down, like withered leaves that flit before the wind;  
On her I stem the burning noon that strikes the valiant blind.  
Yes, we have heard an angry sound of danger from afar;  
Our brother's bands of Tayleb's seed have braved us to the war;  
The good and evil they confound, their words are fierce and fell;  
Their league, say they, is with the tribe that in the desert dwell.  
Their men of might have met by night, and as the day began,  
A proud and a disdainful shout throughout their army ran,  
And horses neigh'd, and camels scream'd, and man cried out on  
man.'

The following lines, if they are not already familiarized to the reader by the very spirited music to which they have been 'married,' may deserve notice, from what we would call their picturesque effect.

'I see them on their winding way,  
Above their ranks the moonbeams play;  
And nearer yet, and yet more near,  
The martial chorus strikes the ear.  
They're lost and gone—the moon is past,  
The wood's dark shade is o'er them cast;  
And fainter, fainter, fainter still,  
The low march warbles up the hill.  
Again, again, the pealing drum,  
The clashing horn—they come, they come;  
And lofty deeds, and daring high,  
Blend with their notes of victory.  
Forth, forth, and meet them on their way;  
The trampling hoof brooks no delay;  
The thrilling fife, the pealing drum,  
How late, but oh, how loved they come.'

The fragment of a poem on a similar subject with Montgomery's *World before the Flood*, seems little likely to have escaped that fault which may be fairly charged, notwithstanding many sweet passages, on its more finished prototype. Neither of  
them

them keeps up that sort of vague and mysterious conception of grandeur which religious or poetic minds associate with the antediluvian ages of the world; and on these religious and poetic associations their interest entirely depends. According to all such associations, 'there were giants in those days;' the face of nature, the animal and vegetable productions, the stature, the longevity, the passions of men, were of a vast and majestic growth, unknown in the later and more feeble days of our ordinary world. Hence, from a poet who throws himself back into those times, we make the unreasonable demand, that he should keep the scenes and persons whom he introduces to our notice sufficiently allied to our common sympathies to excite our interest, while at the same time they must appear as almost belonging to another earth, and a different race of beings. We imperiously require that degree of reality, without which no poetry can become lastingly popular; yet that reality must be far removed from all our ordinary notions; the region visited by angels must be formed of the same elements, yet possess a totally distinct character from that which we inhabit: the sons and daughters of men, who enjoyed familiar intercourse with a higher race of beings, while we are to feel for them as akin to ourselves, must partake in some degree of the unearthly nature of their celestial visitants. To this at once real and unreal world, among this human yet at the same time almost preterhuman race, we must be transported by the imagination of the poet; and the slightest incongruity, the most insignificant vulgarism, or modernism, or even too great similarity to the ordinary features of nature, breaks the charm at once, and destroys the *character* of the picture, as a faithful representation of the primeval earth and the mighty race which nature bore while yet in her prime of youth. Among all the wonderful excellencies of Milton, nothing surpasses the pure and undisturbed idealism with which he has drawn our first parents, so completely human as to excite our most ardent sympathies, yet so far distinct from the common race of men as manifestly to belong to a higher and uncorrupted state of being. In like manner, his Paradise is formed of the universal productions of nature—the flowers, the fruits, the trees, the waters, the cool breezes, the soft and sunny slopes, the majestic hills that skirt the scene; yet the whole is of an earlier, a more prolific, a more luxuriant vegetation; it fully comes up to our notion of what the earth might have been before it was 'cursed of its Creator.' This is the more remarkable, as Milton himself sometimes destroys, or at least mars, the general effect of his picture, by the introduction of incongruous thoughts or images. It has not, without justice, been said, that sometimes

'God the Father turns a school divine;'

and



and it is impossible, now and then, not to regret the intrusion of the religious controversies of modern days. The poet's passions are, on occasions, too strong for his imagination, drag him down to earth, and, for the sake of some ill-timed allusion to some of those circumstances, which had taken possession of his mighty mind, he runs the hazard of breaking the solemn enchantment with which he has spell-bound our captive senses. Perhaps, of later writers, Lord Byron alone has caught the true tone, not so much in his *Cain*, who (we speak now only as poetic critics) is far too evidently deep-read in Bayle and modern free-thinking metaphysicians, but in his short drama called *Heaven and Earth*. Here, notwithstanding that we cannot but admit the great and manifold delinquencies against correct taste, particularly some perfectly ludicrous metrical whimsies, yet all is in keeping—all is strange, poetic, oriental; the lyric abruptness, the prodigal accumulation of images in one part, and the rude simplicity in others—above all, the general tone of description as to natural objects, and of language and feeling in the scarcely mortal beings which come forth upon the scene, seem to throw us upward into the age of men before their lives were shortened to the narrow span of three-score years and ten, and when all that walked the earth were not born of woman. We would by no means assert that our author, in the progress of his poem, might not have expanded and risen with his subject, but if the whole had been finished in the same equable, elegant, and somewhat monotonously harmonious style with the specimen before us, we scarcely think it would have made a very profound impression on the public mind.

We return to the general opinions and feelings of Heber, as developed in his letters. In one to the Rev. Mr. Oxlee, he enters upon a subject which, from its importance, may justify some further notice.

‘ You, my dear Sir, have chosen a severe and thankless line of study, which, as few ordinary scholars care to grapple with to any extent, has been most unjustly depreciated by the vain and trifling part of the literary world. It is, indeed, remarkable that England is, of all Protestant countries, that where the importance and riches of Hebrew literature are least known; but I cannot help hoping that the tide may be turned: and I shall sincerely rejoice to see your labours take the place in public estimation, to which their soundness, good sense, and originality, in my opinion, entitle them.’

We write (we are ashamed to say) without acquaintance with the works of Heber's correspondent, but cannot help being struck with the remarkable fact which this letter establishes—the present almost total neglect of Hebrew literature in this country. Nor is it the study of the Talmudic writings alone—which may have fallen

fallen into disuse from an impression that it would ill repay the labours which must be expended upon it, or that it has been exhausted by Lightfoot and his followers, but likewise that which may throw light on the writings of the Old Testament. Even the Talmud has not daunted the insatiate spirit of inquiry which prevails among continental scholars; and Mr. Jost, of Berlin, is not the only, though perhaps the most diligent student who has gone to the depth of that mine from which, we more than suspect, independent of the interest which belongs to the history of the most remarkable of all peoples, much curious information might be derived on the origin of the customs, opinions, and superstitions of the middle ages. But it is not a little extraordinary, that at a period of so much religious excitement, and while the Scriptures are disseminated and translated into foreign languages with such unceasing and meritorious activity, our Hebrew biblical learning should be at so low an ebb: we might almost assert, that a single Leipsic fair produces more Hebrew critical works than have issued from the English press for half a century. In all other branches of Eastern literature, England holds a high and acknowledged rank: with Sir George Staunton, Morrison, Davis, in Chinese, to oppose to Abel Rémusat, and the highest names on the continent; with Colebrooke, and Wilkins, and Hayman Wilson, and a host of our East India Company's servants, to contest the honourable palm of Sanscrit literature with the Schlegels, and Bopp; and Kosegarten, in Germany—and with De Chezy and Bournouf in Paris; with the whole array of names which have already appeared as able contributors, or have promised their valuable services to that most useful institution, the Oriental Translation Fund,\* for which the country is deeply indebted to Colonel Fitzclarence, Sir Alexander Johnstone, and its other managers; we confess, with no slight humiliation, that we are at a loss for names to cast into the scale against those of Rosenmüller, Gesenius, (we select a few, and only as they occur,) and De Sacy. There may, indeed, be much latent Hebrew knowledge in the country, too modest to venture on the light; but we speak of that which is before the public: we scarcely know where to look for a Hebrew scholar who has obtained any-

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\* Of the works which have hitherto been sent out by this Institution, we would mention, as of superior interest, the very curious Travels of Ibn Batuta, translated by Professor Lee; the History of the Afghans, by Dr. Bernhard Dorn; and the Autobiographical Memoirs of the Emperor Jahangueir, by Major Price—historical documents of great value; the strange Manual of Cingalese Demonology and Witchcraft; the Chinese Novel and Tragedy by Mr. Davis, and the Adventures of Hatim Tai, which, in the days when it was worth while

‘To turn a Persian tale for half a crown,’  
would have made a fortune with its inexhaustible fertility of wonder, and the high tone of wild oriental morality.

thing like an European reputation.\* Have we, indeed, an introduction to the Old Testament which aspires to a much higher character than that of a compilation, or a better order of school-book?—many of these are good and sensible works in their way, but with no pretensions to high and various scholarship. Have we a general commentary, since that of Patrick, which, abounding as we do in practical and devotional works, is that of an eminent and acknowledged scholar?† Nor, indeed, neither forgetting that model of finished taste, the Prelections of Lowth, nor the labours of Kennicott, have we many works which throw a strong light on the character or history of the people whose language we are discussing, except the great, though somewhat suspected work of Spencer, and the splendid paradox of Warburton.. In the mean time, the activity of continental learning pours forth comment after comment, introduction after introduction, of different degrees of critical boldness, from Michaelis to De Wette, few of which do not proceed from writers who have made themselves masters of the vast and extensive subject on which they have entered. The philosophy of the languages of Asia, the genius of the various oriental nations, the whole course of history, sacred and profane, have been brought to bear on every point of biblical learning, more particularly that of the Old Testament.

This great school of Hebrew literature, the only one in Europe, it is well known, has adopted a system of interpretation in diametrical, and, it is generally esteemed, dangerous opposition to that which has long and universally prevailed in this country. Not that there is any uniform or acknowledged system of opinion among these critics; they differ widely, and debate strenuously among themselves. Some, as the younger Rosenmuller, having set out with a bolder, have adopted in the later editions of their works, a more cautious tone; others, as is always the case, when opinion has taken a new turn, have followed its course to a more extravagant length. We are far from desiring to set ourselves up as arbiters in this great controversy: our only object is, to express our regret that the opponents of this school do not take higher ground, and meet their antagonists more fairly in the field. It surely would be a more dignified course, instead of passing a hasty and sweeping

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\* The late Dr. Nicholl is the one brilliant exception; and we cannot but entertain a sanguine hope, that we may one day assert of his chair

‘ uno avulso non deficit alter

Aureus ;’

and no doubt, if the universal oriental scholarship of Dr. Lee of Cambridge were centered in this branch of study, in which he has already sent forth a grammar, he might do much to redeem our endangered reputation.

† Perhaps the two which display most acquaintance with the original tongue are those of Gill, a learned Baptist of an older school; and that of Dr. Adam Clarke, a Wesleyan, of the more modern.



condemnation on the whole school, and placing all their works in an index expurgatorius, to array ourselves in their armour,—to wrest their weapons from their hands, and so, in fair fight, win the field from adversaries, to conquer whom, might certainly do honour to the most redoubted champion of learning. These writers are, many of them, men of very extraordinary talents and acquirements, and they, in the face of all Europe, pretend to rest the ground-work of their system on a more profound and accurate criticism of the original writings, on a larger acquaintance with oriental literature, more particularly the cognate languages; on a more extensive and philosophical study of the history of man, particularly in the East; on a deep investigation of the mythic and symbolical forms under which the Asiatic nations have couched their high and mysterious truths,—and on a more strict discrimination between that which is the poetic form, and that which is the real hidden doctrine. All this is imposing, and it is high time to cope manfully with such antagonists. These pretensions should be argumentatively as well as authoritatively condemned; at all events, authority would gain acknowledged weight and influence, if, with the power of truth, it would condescend to ally an equal strength of learning; if it would combat philological erudition with philological erudition, historical research with historical research, philosophy with philosophy,—at all events, it is high time that the more profound theological student in this country should be provided with works of instruction, which shall embody all that is intrinsically valuable in the investigations of these writers; that he should be enabled to advance with his age, and not linger behind the general state of European literature: for these opinions are spreading not only in Germany (where, indeed, many well-informed persons conceive that the more extreme and offensive theories are losing, rather than gaining, ground); or, in the north of Europe; they are rapidly incorporating themselves with the more learned literature of France. It is a great mistake to suppose that the anti-Christian Voltairism or Encyclopedism is the predominant doctrine of the more instructed of the French nation. The infection of that fatal epidemic is still working to a most pernicious extent among the lower classes; but the language of the more influential writers of the liberal party concerning the Christian religion, the Guizots, Villemains, Victor Cousins, though such as may cause somewhat of a cold shudder to run along the walls of the Sorbonne, where they now deliver their historical or philosophical lectures, is nevertheless in some decidedly friendly, in all uniformly respectful; and these are the writers, who, in the estimation of the educated classes, are superseding the Condorcets and the Volneys. Nor is the French press by any means barren of writings

writings bearing more directly on the subject of our discussion ; we could name several works deeply imbued with the German mode of thinking, and scarcely inferior in research and erudition ; we have even recently seen a proposal for a French translation of the whole of the Talmud. To many ardent, even to many sensible Christians in England, all this may be appalling rather than cheering or consolatory ; we may be in error, but we think far otherwise.

Before we leave the subject which has tempted us into this digression, we cannot refrain from making a short quotation from a letter of the present accomplished primate, then Bishop of London, on the difficulty of giving a poetical version of the Psalms, at once faithful and spirited. It is an instance of the happy facility with which a mind of real taste and judgment can strike off, in a single sentence, the real point of difficulty about which a more coarse and ordinary critic would have written a long chapter, and at last, perhaps, left the knot almost as intricate as ever.

‘ On consideration, I am not of opinion that any publication of this nature (the volume of hymns projected by Heber), however well executed, will obtain sanction from authority ; and I am not sure whether such a measure ought to *precede* the general approbation of the public. Perhaps it will be impossible to suit every taste ; it may be doubtful whether the common people have any relish for ornamental poetry. The sublimity of Milton on sacred subjects has, I believe, few admirers among the illiterate. *The common poetical forms which the paucity of rhymes makes necessary in our language, are almost inconsistent with the genius of Hebrew poetry, which seems in a great measure to derive its effects from the small number of words it employs, and the incorporation of the particles, prepositions, and pronouns, with the nouns and verbs. Hence arise a simplicity and rapidity, which give the ideas in full force, and immediate succession to the mind.* You will judge of the propriety of my observations, and will see the inferences I should draw from them. It is, however, far from my intention to discourage you. You have no reason to be frightened by difficulties, and I am persuaded that whatever you may think proper to publish, will both deserve and obtain applause.’

Whoever has attempted to adapt the brief and pregnant, and often abrupt phraseology of Hebrew lyric poetry to English metre and rhyme, will feel at once the truth and justice of these observations.

We approach the important epoch of Heber’s life—his acceptance of the Eastern bishopric. Before his appointment to the preachership of Lincoln’s-inn, a situation no doubt obtained chiefly by the fame of his talents, which authorized the strenuous exertions of many attached and zealous personal friends in his behalf,

behalf, the abilities of Heber had not been very munificently rewarded. His living was a family one; and he held likewise a small prebend at St. Asaph, by the appointment of the late bishop, Dr. Luxmoore. It is not without interest to trace the struggle in his mind, when this new and vast sphere of usefulness was first opened before him, and when the fearful questions of the effect which an Indian climate might have on his own health and that of his wife and children were to be resolved, and all the important considerations, preliminary to a step on which the colouring of his whole future life was to depend, were to be weighed and balanced. Heber had long felt a deep and lively interest in the fate of the Christian missions; his beautiful hymn, 'From Greenland's icy mountains,' may be considered as the poetic, but real expression of his feelings.

But 'besides the concern which he took in the religious state of the East, these regions had a romantic charm in his mind; he loved to contemplate human nature in every varied form, and his imagination was keenly alive to the terrible natural phenomena of tropical climes, to the magnificence of their scenery, and the beauty and variety of their animal productions. With the Editor he had frequently traced on the map long journeys through countries which he afterwards visited, as well as through those more distant regions of Australasia and Polynesia, with which, had a longer life been granted him, he would, in all probability, have also become acquainted.'

There was one motive which, however not the most exalted, might nevertheless fairly be expected in such a mind as Heber's to have operated very strongly, but which, from the letters before us, seems, rather to our surprise, scarcely to have entered into his account. His connexion with the family of Sir W. Jones, and his strong predilection for oriental learning, might naturally have thrown a powerful literary, as well as religious interest, over a situation which might place within his 'reach the vast and as yet imperfectly explored treasures of Indian poetry, mythic history, and philosophy. But to this subject there is scarcely an allusion.

'These feelings (he observes, alluding to temporal and domestic considerations) would at once have decided me to be of the same opinion which C. W. Wynn expresses, were I quite sure whether I should not do God more acceptable service by going, than by staying here. In the acceptance of *this* bishopric, I should be, at least, sure that I was not actuated by secular or unworthy views. I verily believe and hope that I should be of considerable use there by moderating between the two missionary societies, and directing their efforts in accordant and useful channels; and by a removal into an entirely new sphere of action, we should both have the advantage of, in some measure, beginning life anew, unfettered by previous habits and intimacies, and only studious how we might best live to God, and to the  
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good of his creatures. Yet here, again, I cannot be sure that I am not drawing a picture to myself, which I should find utterly imaginary. If I am idle and fond of society in England, I shall be still more disposed to both in a relaxing climate, and in the bustle of a government town. I cannot, without ridiculous vanity, say, that my services are *necessary* to the India church, or that plenty of persons may not be found as fit, or fitter, to undertake the duty. It is not an unpopular or an unprofitable post; many are anxious to obtain it. Perhaps if I went there, I should keep out some man whose knowledge of eastern language and customs makes him far better adapted for it; and perhaps, even if I remain as I am, and where I *hope* I am really useful, I am labouring in my vocation more steadily than in searching out new spheres of duty.'

The same tone is kept up in another letter to Mr. C. W. Wynn, whose friendship for Heber, and honourable sense of public duty, in desiring to commit the 'millions of India' to so excellent a spiritual guardian, do equal credit to his heart and his judgment:—

'Though I do not pretend to be indifferent to the power of raising a provision for my wife and child, and though this is the first point on which I should request you to judge for me, I trust you will believe me when I say that there is a second, in my eyes of far greater importance—I mean my probable comparative usefulness in India or in England. It has, indeed, been for several years a favourite day-dream of mine to fancy myself conducting the affairs of an extended mission, and, by conciliation and caution, soothing the difficulties, and appeasing the religious quarrels and jealousies which have hitherto chiefly opposed the progress of Christianity in the East. Yet I will confess, now that my chateau en Espagne is brought nearer to me, I begin, not unfrequently, to doubt the correctness of my former views, and to hesitate whether I may not possibly be doing more substantial good, and be engaged in a task for which I am better qualified, while filling my pulpit at Lincoln's Inn, and with that chance of further openings of usefulness and advantages which, some time or other, good conduct in that situation has usually met with. Will you permit me, now that you know my circumstances and my feelings, to ask whether you would be still disposed to give me the same advice which you did when I first expressed my wish for the appointment? And might I further ask, as the greatest instance of friendship which I can hope for from you, that you would put yourself in my place, and decide for me as for yourself under similar circumstances?'

Such were the motives on which this single-minded man acted in this crisis of his life; and, in the words of his biographer, 'took that important step which, to the unwise, may seem to have ended "in misery," yet is "his hope full of immortality."'

We trust that this high view of his 'heavenly calling' can excite in no bosom deeper admiration and sympathy than in our own. This entire devotion of his whole soul to its one great purpose

pose is worthy of all praise; still we may be permitted to embody a 'day-dream' of our own, which, under other circumstances, and had divine Providence been pleased to spare his valuable life, might, to a certain degree at least, have been realized. Had it been possible, in two or three years, to have brought the affairs of the diocese into order; established a spirit of harmony and zealous co-operation among the various functionaries, so that the precious time of the bishop should not be wasted in reconciling paltry quarrels and jealousies—in short, had the Bishop of Calcutta been allowed those periods of relaxation which ought to be assigned to every public man, and which, instead of interrupting, would but restore him refreshed and reanimated to the discharge of his peculiar duties, so ardent and universal a scholar as Heber might have found time at least to encourage, if not to extend, the study of that ancient literature, in which we do not yet despair of finding a key to some of the most interesting questions connected with the history of man. It would have been no ungratifying sight to see an Indian bishop take the place of Sir William Jones, of Sir James Mackintosh, or Mr. Colebrooke, and direct, if not assist, the inquiries of less occupied scholars in the study of the primitive language and antiquities of Hindostan; a study which, now that European scholars are grown out of the leading-strings of mercenary pundits, and are secure from their deceptions, may bring forth, if not more attractive, at least more genuine fruits.

It is not now the place to enter upon this subject, over which, in this country, the frauds practised on Sir W. Jones himself, and the more imaginative and credulous Wilford, have cast no little suspicion and uncertainty. His first lessons in the native languages opened to the mind of Heber glimpses, at least, of the philological interest which belongs to those studies. 'Even in these remote tongues,' he observes, in a letter to Mr. Blunt, 'there are several circumstances of interest and curiosity, as establishing, beyond all doubt, the original connexion of the languages of India, Persia, and northern Europe, and the complete diversity of all from the Hebrew and other Semitic languages.' Heber would most likely have found 'metal more attractive,' had he proceeded in his knowledge of the Eastern languages, than mere philological questions. Nor can we persuade ourselves that such studies would have been without direct and important advantages to the sacred cause in which he was embarked. The national character, the superstitions, the moral state of the native population, cannot but be intimately connected with their religious and civil antiquities. In many respects, the Indian mind is exactly in the state in which it is described by the historian of Alexander's invasion: the faquir moved the wonder of the Roman philosopher; and Propertius describes

describes a suttee with elegant accuracy. The more profound knowledge of the primitive and sacred language would, perhaps, be of still greater importance, where the dissemination of Christianity is not, without reason, expected to be greatly advanced by the translation of the Bible into the various vernacular dialects of the country. As most, if not all, of these are lineal descendants of the Sanscrit, the knowledge of the holy and poetic parent might be of infinite value in keeping up that elevated and sacred style in which religious books must be rendered, in order to retain their reverential character. Probably the great danger of these necessarily somewhat hasty versions is their falling into low and vulgar idioms, against which, perhaps, there would be no safer corrective than the study of the original and sacred books of the people, though in a more ancient dialect. Yet we must fairly acknowledge, that to calculate on a bishop of 'all India' possessing either leisure or relaxation, is as wild a speculation as can enter into the mind of man. We will not say, to discharge the duties, but even to go through the mechanical drudgery of the office, must so entirely fill up all the time which the most elastic mind in such a climate can devote to business, or to thought, that it is more likely to be weighed down and subdued unto lassitude and inactivity, than to seek for enjoyment in the more gentle yet still exciting interest of literary pursuits. It is impossible to look into the memoirs of either of the three successive bishops without most painful and distressing feelings at beholding vigorous and active minds overburthened and almost broken down, not only with the solemn sense of the arduous responsibility of the situation which they have filled—not with the discharge of the higher and more exclusively episcopal functions—but with the petty details of office, the interminable correspondence, which must accumulate to such an extent, during the absence of the bishop on his visitations, as to render the period of stationary residence more fatiguing than the toilsome journey of thousands of miles. That such business must be done, is no doubt necessary—that it must be done by the bishop himself, may be equally so; but how far it is necessary to heap on one head so much as must almost inevitably crush it to the earth, may fairly be questioned. We doubt not but able and efficient men will be found to supply the honourable post as often as it may become vacant, and cheerfully to venture on this forlorn hope of episcopal dignity; but we much doubt both the wisdom and the humanity of making such a situation an object of trembling apprehension to those who accept it, and of the deepest anxiety to their friends, not merely from the unavoidable dangers of the climate, but still more from the wearing and exhausting duties of the office. It is not wise to appeal perpetually to the  
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earlier ages of the Christian church, and to cite precedents from times in which the circumstances of Christianity were so totally different; still, we may be permitted to suggest—what, in primitive days, would have been thought of a bishopric, extending in distance as far as from the foot of the Himmalaya to Cape Comorin, to say nothing of the summer relaxation of a visit to Australasia, to assume the episcopal superintendence of another continent?\*

- We are the last to join in the vulgar cry against the East India Company—whose worst enemies, however, can hardly charge her with want of munificence to her servants; nor are we insensible to the financial objections against loading an exchequer, already quailing under its immense expenditure, with unnecessary burdens; but the expediency of placing our Indian possessions under episcopal jurisdiction having been fully recognized, it does seem abso-

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\* We have before us a memoir of Heber's successor, the last Bishop of Calcutta, drawn up with great neatness and good sense by his brother, the Rev. E. James, Prebendary of Winchester. It is too brief to admit a formal notice, but we must not omit the opportunity of bearing testimony to the virtue and piety of this highly accomplished and amiable man, whose sole misfortune is, to be almost forced into a comparison, after a still shorter career of fame, with Middleton, who was certainly one of the first scholars which the church of England has, in late years, produced, and with Heber, whose poetic genius alone would have thrown a peculiar lustre around his name. Bishop James seems to have exercised his functions with great moderation and good sense: his measure of assigning, where it was possible, parochial districts and a definite sphere of duty to the clergy in Calcutta, appears extremely judicious; and, in all his intercourse with his brethren, his gentleness and conciliation seem to show that he was no unworthy successor to those who preceded him. It is sickening to discover that, among the difficulties of his situation, it was not the opposition of the luxurious and opulent, or the indifference of the lower orders—not the bigotry of the natives, nor the obstinacy of the old Indians, of which we have heard so much, and probably so much exaggeration—that embarrassed the measures, and harassed the sinking mind of the bishop, when he was in the last extremity of disease, but the miserable sectarian jealousies of those on whose cordial co-operation, both with each other and with their spiritual head, we should have supposed that he might have implicitly relied. Surely, if the Memoir of Bishop James should be read, as doubtless it will be in such quarters, the following passage must excite shame and compunction:—

‘Nor ought it to be entirely concealed that the delicate nature of the anxiety, which had pressed most heavily upon him, was peculiarly unfavourable to that mental repose necessary for his recovery from the attacks of illness with which he had been afflicted soon after his arrival. That serious differences should have arisen amongst those whom he trusted to find united in heart as well as in purpose, and dwelling together as companions and brethren in love, was, indeed, a source of painful disquietude—it was bitterness to his soul; nor would he rest till he had restored peace, and brought them to “take sweet counsel together, and walk in the house of God as friends.” His papers show how anxiously and unceasingly he laboured to accomplish this end; how he was “in weariness and painfulness” by day, and in “watchings often” by night, till he had succeeded; having, “besides those things which were without,” that which also “came upon him daily, the care of all the churches.” These unhappy differences, while they lasted, he felt were against the sacred cause he had at heart. It was his advice to his clergy on every occasion—it was his constant prayer for the Indian church—the very last supplication he uttered, in concluding his charge at Calcutta, that amity and “peace might be within her walls.”’

This was the language of a Christian bishop; but it is melancholy to think that it should be called for under such circumstances.

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lutely necessary to make the establishment effective for its purpose. This, however, cannot fairly be said to be the case as long as one individual has so much to do, as would at least endanger the physical strength of the most vigorous constitution; while, as already in three instances, a long time must elapse before the vacancy can be filled from England, during the whole of which episcopacy is in abeyance, and the business accumulating, in order to fall with double weight upon the devoted successor. We are fully aware of the wisdom, we might say the necessity, of supporting, in such a country as India, the dignity of the head of the church, by an allowance which would enable him to maintain the state expected from him; still it would be better, at a small increase of stipend, to erect the archdeaconries into suffragan bishoprics, and to devolve the duties of the archdeacons on the bishops' chaplains, than to persist in the present system, which is chargeable with the worst wastefulness, that of the lives of good men, and without attaining its object. Even if separate bishoprics cannot be endowed, something like a coadjutor in Roman Catholic countries might be appointed. We have declined entering at length into the utility of the episcopal establishment, recognised by the appointment of Bishop Middleton; but, unquestionably, the great change which is slowly working in the public mind, in all classes throughout our Indian possessions, confirms the wisdom of that measure. Not to mention the right of the military and civil servants of the Company, who might in justice demand that they should not be cut off from the rites, the sacraments, the instruction of the religion in which they have been born and bred, and who, by the constitution of society, could not, if they would, provide themselves with instructors, it should seem no less the policy than the duty of the government to hold up the national religion to the respect and veneration of all classes. To leave the vast mixed population, which their system of rule may be fairly said to have called into being, with no religion at all, or even to leave them to the ardent and well-intentioned zeal of missionaries unconnected with the establishment, would be equally perilous. The first will inevitably be the case to a great extent, unless the establishment is made effective: for in a state of society where everything emanates from the government, Christianity, without that sanction, is not likely to make a very profound impression; and even if the irregular and unauthorised system of teaching were likely to succeed to a much greater extent than appears, at first sight, probable, religious and sectarian jealousies are not wanted to add to the elements of disunion and discord already rankling in the bosom of society. Nor is it unreasonable to suppose that this new kind of distinction of caste between the European and Indo-European

racés may, perhaps, be in some degree allayed by the equalising bond of church membership. It is surely desirable that there should be one day and one place in which the whole various population of Christian descent should assemble on equal and fraternal terms. To this class of the community Bishop James looked for the supply of a more numerous and efficient clergy, and to such candidates for the sacred function we trust that the Bishop's College will afford a liberal and suitable education.

As to the native population, it now seems almost universally admitted that little progress is likely to be made by direct conversion; while it is impossible to calculate the slower results of European intercourse, and the general advancement of education. There is an interesting passage in the Memoir of Bishop James, which shows the manner in which these innovating principles are working—we trust, for good.

‘Meanwhile, though he had not personally visited them, he was no inattentive observer of what was going on in the Hindoo and Mahometan Colleges in Calcutta, both of which are largely assisted by the government from the annual supply for public instruction. The object of these two colleges is to instruct the Hindoo and Mahometan youth in English literature—but, alas! without the Scriptures. The exhibition of the students of the former institution, at the public distribution of their prizes, in January, had recently attracted much notice: they had acted scenes from Shakspeare with great success; and the astonishing progress they had made had been the subject of frequent discussion among the wealthier Hindoos. The Bishop, lamenting deeply the fear which caused the exclusion of the Scriptures, saw, from all that was passing around, that both these institutions, in their parent state, obviously led to deism; still, as he observed that it was deism not directly opposed to Christianity, but to Hindoo polytheism, he could not but regard it as tending to remove the main bulwark of their idolatrous superstitions, and gradually opening a way for the admission of the *truth and the life*.’

How singular a spectacle—Shakspeare performed by Gentoos and Mahometans on the shore of the Ganges! It is altogether a very curious indication of the deep root which English manners and opinions are taking in the minds of the Asiatics; and it may be fairly expected that they will smooth the way for the reception of the religion of England. The silent undermining of the ancient edifice will give room for the new one to arise upon its ruins. The most effective measure for this great end will be the open, and public, and general respect paid to Christianity by those whose arts, and accomplishments, and military prowess, the natives have already learned to respect. Let the natives perceive that the European and Indo-European races have a religion about which they are themselves in earnest, and curiosity, even if no better motive, will



will lead to inquiry; and the spirit of inquiry once excited, the Christian need not fear the result. That this means has not yet been tried to its full extent we may acknowledge, without going the full length of Burke's well known and passionate declamation.

'With us,' said the indignant orator, 'no pride erects stately monuments which repair the mischiefs which pride had produced, and which adorn a country out of its own spoils. England has erected no *churches*, no hospitals, no palaces, no *schools*;—England has built no bridges, made no high roads, cut no navigations, dug out no reservoirs. Every other conqueror of every other description has left some monument, either of state or beneficence, behind him. Were we to be driven out of India this day, nothing would remain to tell that it had been possessed, during the inglorious period of our dominion, by any thing better than the ourang-outang or the tiger.'\*

Not to adopt this magnificent exaggeration as a just statement, particularly of what might fairly be expected from an empire which, even when Burke spoke, had scarcely ceased to struggle for its existence, and might perhaps be driven back and reduced to scarcely a more ample space than that which but a few years before had contained within four walls almost the whole of the British power in India—the black hole at Calcutta,—it can scarcely now be denied that if expelled even at a later period, posterity would have found it difficult to judge, from any public monument or vestige of influence on the public mind, what had been the religion of the English rulers in India, or whether, in fact, they had any religion at all. Now, however, if our empire should last half a century longer, or even if it should be swept away within a much shorter period, we trust that we shall not leave that question altogether problematical: even in ruins our churches will testify that it was a Christian government which bore rule over that vast portion of the universe; even if British authority should decay, the history of India will return a proud and satisfactory answer to the criminating charge of the same great orator:—

'What are the articles of commerce or the branches of manufacture which those gentlemen have carried hence to enrich India? What are the sciences they beamed out to enlighten it? What are the arts they introduced to cheer and to adorn it? What are the religious, what the moral institutions they have taught among that people as a guide to life, or as a consolation when life is to be no more?'†

Already, we apprehend, are the first clauses of what this consummate statesman, as well as great orator, considered the duty of a wise and beneficent government, manifestly making rapid pro-

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\* Speech on Mr. Fox's East India Bill.

† Burke—Speech on the Nabob of Arcot's Debts.

gress. The last and more important will advance with scarcely less rapidity, if that which we repeat is alone likely to be an effective instrument for this sacred purpose—the church establishment, meet with munificent support from the ruling powers—support which we are inclined to think it would amply repay, even in its political usefulness, in the highest sense, by disseminating wise and moderate, and virtuous and enlightened principles among all orders, by uniting the discordant elements of society, by pursuing the most effectual means of making good subjects—the making good men.

We have already entered so much at length into Heber's Indian career, that we shall content ourselves with but few extracts from the parts of the present volumes which relate to that period of his life. We cannot, however, refrain from giving our readers one passage, which may relieve the somewhat less amusing discussions into which we have been betrayed: it is a truly Oriental anecdote, and was suppressed in his journal from motives of personal consideration to individuals implicated in the narrative.

‘Many whimsical stories are current in Lucknow respecting the foibles and blindness of the poor king, and the rascality of his favourite. His fondness for mechanics has been already mentioned. In trying some experiments of this nature he fell in with a Mussulman engineer of pleasing address and ready talent, as well as considerable, though unimproved, genius for such pursuits. The king took so much delight in conversing with this man, that the minister began to fear a rising competitor, as well knowing that the meanness of his own birth and functions had been no obstacle to his advancement. He therefore sent the engineer word—“if he were wise, to leave Lucknow.” The poor man did so, removed to a place about ten miles down the river, and set up a shop there. The king, on inquiring after his humble friend, was told that he was dead of cholera; ordered a gratuity to be sent to his widow and children, and no more was said. During these last rains, however, the king sailed down the river in his brig of war, as far as the place where the new shop stood. He was struck with the different signs of neatness and ingenuity which he observed in passing, made his men draw in to shore, and, to his astonishment, saw the deceased engineer, who stood trembling, and with joined hands, to receive him. After a short explanation, he ordered him to come on board, returned in high anger to Lucknow, and calling the minister, asked him again if it were certain that such a man was dead. “Undoubtedly,” was the reply; “I myself ascertained the fact, and conveyed your majesty's bounty to the widow and children.” “Harumzada,” said the king, bursting into a fury, “look there, and never see my face more!” The vizier turned round, and saw how matters were circumstanced. With a terrible glance, which the king could not see, but which spoke volumes to the poor engineer, he imposed silence on the latter; then turning round again to

to his master, stopping his nose, and with many muttered exclamations of "God be merciful!" "Satan is strong!" "In the name of God, keep the devil from me!" he said, "I hope your majesty has not touched the horrible object." "Touch him," said the king, "the sight of him is enough to convince me of your rascality." "Istufirallah!" said the favourite; "and does not your majesty perceive the strong smell of a dead carcass?" The king still stormed; but his voice faltered, and curiosity and anxiety began to mingle with his indignation. "It is certain (refuge of the world)," resumed the minister, "that your late majesty's engineer, with whom be peace! is dead and buried; but your slave knoweth not who has stolen his body from the grave, or what vampire it is who now inhabits it, to the terror of all good Mussulmans. Good were it that he were run through with a sword before your majesty's face, if it were not unlucky to shed blood in the auspicious presence. I pray your majesty dismiss us: I will see him conducted back to his grave; it may be that when that is opened, he may enter it again peaceably." The king, confused and agitated, knew not what to say or order. The attendants led the terrified mechanic out of the room; and the vizier, throwing him a purse, swore, with a horrible oath, that "if he did not put himself on the other side of the Company's frontier before the next morning, if he ever trod the earth again, it should be as a vampire indeed." This is, I think, no bad specimen of the manner in which an absolute sovereign may be persuaded out of his own senses.'—vol. ii. p. 258.

To revert to graver matters: however the enthusiasm of Heber in this new and stirring scene of action might take a more ardent turn, it never degenerated into fanaticism; it was constantly tempered by calm good sense; and it would perhaps be difficult to combine greater fervour of zeal with more dispassionate judgment. Among the most embarrassing questions which can occur to those who are employed in the conversion of polytheists, none can be more delicate, or require a more nice discrimination, than how far their usages are, in fact, religious, and how far Christianity ought to interfere in the details of private life and manners. The letter which we are about to extract seems to us to have held, with singular wisdom, the middle course between that compromising pliancy which is attributed to the Jesuit missionaries, and the stern austerity of puritanism. It is a question of infinite importance: the opinion of such a man is therefore of high value, and has a right to be heard.

*' To the Reverend D. Schreivogel.*

*' REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,*

*' I wrote yesterday to Dr. Cæmmerer, to express my regret at not being able to visit you at Tranquebar. Since that time, having again looked over your letter to me, as well as that which you sent on the subject of distinctions of caste, and of other customs yet remaining among the native Christians, which you reprobate as heathenish and improper,*



improper, I have been led to wish for some explanation of those customs, and of your reasons for objecting to them, of which the latter, as expressed in those papers (to deal freely with you), do not seem to me satisfactory. With regard to the distinctions of caste, as yet maintained by professing Christians, it appears that they are yet manifested in desiring separate seats in church; in going up at different times to receive the holy communion; in insisting on their children having different sides of the school; in refusing to eat, drink, or associate with those of different caste.

‘ Now it is desirable to know whether these are insisted on as *religious*, or as merely *civil* distinctions; whether as arising from a greater supposed purity or blessedness in the soodras over the pariahs, or whether they are not badges of nobility and ancient pedigree, such as those which, in Spain, even among the poorest classes, divide the old Spaniards and Castilians from persons of mixed blood—and, in the United States of North America, entirely exclude negroes and mulattoes, however free and wealthy, from familiar intercourse with the whites: also, whether the Christians of high caste adhere to these distinctions, as supposing that there is any *real value* in them, or merely out of fear to lose the society and respect of their neighbours and relations? If these questions are answered in the affirmative, (as they have been very solemnly by the Rev. Christian David, in answer to my repeated inquiries,) I confess that I do not think the evil so great as to be insufferable, or to justify the ministers of Christ in the repelling from the communion those who adhere to them; though it may be that the spirit of pride (from which they flow) should, by gentle means, be corrected as far as possible. We all know that, in Europe, persons of noble birth or great fortune claim and possess precedence in our churches; and I have already observed that the whites take the same priority to themselves in America: but there is no reason for this but custom, inasmuch as a gentleman and a beggar are as much equals in God’s sight as a soodra and a pariah. The reason why a Christian gentleman conforms to these rules is, because, by acting differently, he would lose influence with those of his own degree in society; and a soodra may say the same thing, and does say it. It seems, then, to me, that this distinction of castes in church may still be allowed to continue, provided due care is taken to teach our congregations that they are all naturally equal.

‘ With regard to their private meals and social intercourse, it seems to me that we have still less business to interfere. “For meat and drink destroy not him for whom Christ died.” In the schools, indeed, and among the children, taking places, &c., must be arranged, as it appears to me, without regard to caste; but even here caution should be observed to disgust no man needlessly.

‘ I perceive you object very strongly to certain ceremonies usual in marriages, such as going in procession through the streets with music, erecting a pandal, &c. On what grounds of reason or scripture do you object to these? Are they idolatrous?—are they necessarily or usually attended with uncleanness or indecency? In what respect

respect do they essentially differ from those ancient ceremonies which are known, on the like occasions, to have been practised among the Jews; to which both the prophets and our Saviour make repeated allusions, without ever blaming them; and which, judging from analogy, must have been practised at that very marriage of Cana which our Lord sanctioned by his presence?

‘ Again, it appears that one of your principal causes of complaint against the Danish government has been, that they would not sanction the sentence of excommunication pronounced against a person who had dancing-girls in his house, and another who had acted a theatrical part. Now here, too, I want much information. Were the dances indecent in themselves? Were the performers persons of notoriously indecent character, prostitutes, or servants of some heathen temple; or did you object to the dancing itself as unchristian, and a fit ground for excommunication? In like manner, was the acting on a public stage, and for money—was the drama indecent or immoral? or was it (as, from the little which I yet know of Indian customs, I am led to suspect) one of those masked fooleries in which the common people of Germany and England often indulge at Christmas and harvest home; and which, though they may sometimes be abused, are not regarded as in themselves criminal, or worthy of ecclesiastical censure?

‘ My reasons for asking information on these subjects will be plain, when I mention, that the question of caste, and of such practices as these, has been referred to my consideration both by the Christians and missionaries of Vepery; and that, in order to gain more light on the subject, a select committee of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge has been, at my desire, appointed. In the mean time I am anxious to learn from every quarter, especially from a Christian minister of your experience and high character, the real truth of the case. God forbid that we should encourage or suffer any of our converts to go on in practices either antichristian or immoral; but (I will speak plainly with you, as one brother in Christ should with another) I have also some fears that recent missionaries have been more scrupulous in these matters than need requires, and than was thought fit by Schwartz and his companions! God forbid that we should wink at sin! but God forbid, also, that we should make the narrow gate of life narrower than Christ has made it, or deal less favourably with the prejudices of this people than St. Paul and the primitive church dealt with the almost similar prejudices of the Jewish converts.

‘ It has occurred to me, that if either you or Dr. Cæmmerer (to whom pray offer my best wishes and respects) could find time on Easter Monday to come over to meet me at Tanjore, my doubts might be the better cleared one way or the other; and other matters might be discussed, in a few words, of much advantage to the cause of missions in this country.

‘ I remain, Reverend and dear Sir,

‘ Your faithful and obedient Servant,

‘ REGINALD CALCUTTA,’

Tanjore,

Tanjore, where his expected arrival is above alluded to, was almost the closing scene of the Bishop's labours. We have presented one interior of an Indian court, where all was on the old decrepit system of Asiatic despotism, and the blindest superstition and ignorance: we must contrast it with that of an Indian sovereignty, where the light of Christianity has been permitted to shine. Tanjore, it is well known, was the missionary province of Schwartz—a man than whom a more apostolical character has not addressed the heathen since the days of the apostles—a man whose memory is enshrined in the grateful reverence of all ranks and classes, and whose monument is adorned by an English epitaph, written by no less than a royal poet, the rajah himself. As a literary curiosity, the Epitaph on a Christian Missionary, by a Gentoo Prince, is worth preserving.

‘ Firm wast thou, humble and wise,  
 Honest, pure, free from disguise;  
 Father of orphans, the widow's support,  
 Comfort in sorrow of every sort;  
 To the benighted dispenser of light,  
 Doing and pointing to that which is right;  
 Blessing to princes, to people, and me,  
 May I, my father, be worthy of thee,  
 Wishes and prayeth thy Sarabojee.’

But this is not the only evidence that in this province intellectual improvement has gone hand in hand with Christian instruction; and although the rajah is not himself a Christian, and is still encircled by his bramins, yet, as the avowed patron and friend of the Christian missionaries, it is impossible not to ascribe to his amicable intercourse with these wise and excellent men, much of his progress in the arts and sciences of Europe. At all events, from the durbar of the monarch of Lucknow to the library of the rajah of Tanjore, how striking the transition!

‘ *March 30.* The Bishop paid a private visit to the rajah, who received us in his library, a noble room, with three rows of pillars, and handsomely furnished in the English style. On one side there are portraits of the Mahratta dynasty, from Shahjee and Sivajee; ten bookcases, containing a very fair collection of French, English, German, Greek, and Latin books, and two others of Mahratta and Sanscrit manuscripts. In the adjoining room is an air-pump, an electrifying machine, an ivory skeleton, astronomical instruments, and several other cases of books, many of which are on the subject of medicine, which was for some years his favourite study. He showed us his valuable collection of coins, paintings of flowers and natural history, with each of which he seemed to have considerable acquaintance, particularly with the medicinal virtues of the plants in his hortus siccus. When we took our leave, his minister showed us a noble statue



statue of the rajah, by Flaxman, which stands in the great hall which was used by the ancient Hindoo court before the conquest of the Mahrattas. The pedestal is a remarkably large and fine slab of black granite, eighteen feet by sixteen and a half. His stables contain several fine English horses; but that of which he is most justly proud, as the rarest curiosity of an Indian court, is an English printing-press, worked by native Christians, in which they struck off a sentence in Mahratta, in the Bishop's presence, in honour of his visit.\*

At Tanjore—where the mantle of Schwartz seems to have fallen on his successors, the missionaries in the same connexion, that of the venerable Society for promoting Christian Knowledge—in a church, adorned by another statue of Flaxman's, to the memory of Schwartz, a congregation of thirteen hundred native Christians was assembled. Archdeacon Robinson, who attended the Bishop, thus describes the scene.

‘I have seen no congregation in Europe by whom the responses of the Liturgy are more generally and correctly made, or where the psalmody is more devotional and correct.’ The effect was more than electric: it was a deep and thrilling interest, in which memory, and hope, and joy mingled with the devotion of the heart, to hear so many voices, but lately rescued from the polluting services of the pagoda, joining in the pure and heavenly music of the Easter hymn and the hundredth psalm, and uttering the loud Amen at the close of every prayer. For the last ten years I have longed to witness a scene like this, but the reality exceeds all my expectations. I wished that some of those (if any of that small number still remain) who deem all missionary exertion, under any circumstances, a senseless chimera, and confound the humble and silent labours of these devoted men with the dreams of fanaticism or the frauds of imposture, could have witnessed this sensible refutation of their cold and heartless themes. The Bishop's heart was full; and never shall I forget the energy of his manner, and the heavenly expression of his countenance, when he exclaimed, as I assisted him to take off his robes, “Gladly would I exchange years of common life for one such day as this!”

On the 26th of March these words were uttered: on the 3d of April he who uttered them was a lifeless corpse; his years were at an end; and the next day he was laid in his grave, on a remote shore, by the care and kindness of strangers.

Mr. Robinson, whose expressions sometimes appear to tremble on the verge of propriety and good taste, yet who may be pardoned by every candid mind, if his attachment and gratitude to his friend, and the profound emotions excited by his sudden and awful end, shall have betrayed him into language which to calmer readers may appear exaggerated, does not scruple to name his departed prelate the Apostle of the East. This magnificent title has al-

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\* Archdeacon Robinson's *Last Days of Bishop Heber*, p. 166.

ready been assigned to the missionary of another church, the celebrated St. Francis Xavier; nor would it be an uninteresting or unprofitable task, for a liberal and philosophic mind to compare the lives and characters of these two distinguished men, who might fairly be taken as representatives each of their respective age and form of Christianity. The calm good sense, the truth, the simplicity of Heber's life, would contrast, in a most striking manner, with the splendid religious romance into which that of Xavier has been wrought out by the zeal of his fraternity. The biography of the latter, which we have at hand, is that of Father Bouhours, translated by Dryden: and if we discard the poetical machinery of miracles, many degrees more extraordinary and frequent than those of the genuine Acts of the Apostles, and all that is purely and manifestly legendary, the characters of the two individuals might be placed in no uninteresting apposition; though, perhaps, in some respects, that of Schwartz might present a fairer parallel. The ascetic spirit of the Roman Catholic, his mortifications, (for 'Xavier bore constantly with him the instruments of penance—haircloth, chains of iron, and disciplines pointed at the ends, and exceeding sharp,') the occasional assertion of the unbounded power of his church, when he caused in one place the governor to be excommunicated—compared with the easy and unaffected manner in which the Protestant mingled with the world—the total absence of austerity, the terms of affectionate intercourse on which he lived with all the highest temporal dignitaries of the country, might appear to make an irreconcilable difference; yet there are many points on which they meet—the profound humility, the complete devotion to their cause, the extraordinary power of conciliating all classes to their persons, and the facility of access, (for of Xavier it is said that 'he broke off his very prayers when the most inconsiderable person had the least occasion for him; and ordered, when he was in the deepest of his retirements, that if any poor man, or even a child, should desire to be instructed, he might be called from his devotions.')

'Believe me,' says Xavier to one of his fellow-labourers, 'nothing is to be done by haughtiness and choler, when it cannot be accomplished by modesty and mildness.' 'Take heed of yourselves,' he says in another place, 'my dearest brethren. Many ministers of the Gospel, who have opened the way of heaven to others, are tormented in hell for want of true humility, and for being carried away by a vain opinion of themselves: on the contrary, there is not found in hell one single soul which was sincerely humble.' In these sentences we recognize at once, if not the words, at least the spirit of the Protestant Bishop.

How much, then, of that which is the essence of Christianity—zeal  
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for the glory of God, and love of their fellow-creatures—did these two men, separated apparently to so wide a distance, nevertheless possess in common! and who shall presume to say that, born in Spain in the sixteenth century, Heber might not have been the Xavier of his day; or Xavier, educated in the liberal and rational Christianity of England in the eighteenth, a counterpart of the Protestant Bishop? There are one or two points of coincidence which may almost tempt a smile. ‘The Saint also composed devout hymns, and set the Lord’s Prayer in musical numbers, to be sung together with the Angelical Salutation and the Apostles’ Creed:’ and whoever is familiar with Heber’s hymns will remember one which he recited, on a lovely summer evening, to Mr. Robinson—

‘I praised the sun, whose chariot roll’d  
On wheels of amber and of gold;’

and read, not without interest, the following evidence of the poetical temperament of Xavier:—‘In countries where yet there were no churches built, he passed the night in the open air; and nothing so much elevated his soul to God as the view of heaven, spangled over and sowed, as it were, with stars:’ and this we have from his own relation.

But we must break off a parallel which might terminate in melancholy reflections. Of the conversions made by Xavier, of the churches which he founded, scarcely a vestige remains: they have fallen with the mighty Indian empire of Portugal, under whose protection they were built. May Providence avert the omen; and, as both have been founded on principles more wise and liberal, grant to the dominion of England, and the Christianity disseminated under her auspices, at once a more extensive influence, and a more permanent duration.

ART. IV.—*Principles of Geology, being an attempt to explain the former Changes of the Earth’s Surface, by a reference to causes now in operation.* By Charles Lyell, F.R.S. 2 vols. Lond. 1830.

**I**F the rank which a science should hold in general estimation is to be determined by the immediate applicability of its discoveries to purposes of utility, perhaps we should be wrong in claiming a very exalted station for Geology; though it would be still less correct to undervalue the advantages which the arts have already derived, or may fairly anticipate from a scientific acquaintance with the nature and disposition of the inorganic constituents of the earth. If, indeed, we consider for a moment the various useful purposes to which minerals are



are applied—whether looking to the cultivable soils, whose different qualities are all derived from circumstances which geology alone reveals to us—to the quarries of harder materials employed for domestic purposes, such as the various building and lime stones, slates, marbles, clays, earths,—or to the yet richer, though not more serviceable, deposits of coal, salt, gypsum, sulphur, metals, and gems, we shall perceive at once that the cultivation, of a science that makes us acquainted with the general laws under which these various matters have been distributed, and the processes by which they were formed, must be expected, sooner or later, to contribute very powerfully to the progress of the arts, to which the supply of these substances is of the first importance.

But such is surely not the only light in which science should be regarded. Without disparaging those claims which are founded on economical utility, we may also be allowed to estimate intellectual pursuits by other and higher characters,—by their tendency to interest the noblest feelings of humanity—to enlarge the views of mankind as to the extent, the diversity, and the richness of created nature—to fill the understanding with sublime and instructive ideas, and elevate the mind to the contemplation of the infinite source of all being, by the knowledge of the grandest and most imposing of His works. In this respect, we cannot allow that even astronomy presents a nobler field of study for rational beings than the science we are at present considering. The former, though one of the subfinest subjects for human meditation, offers but few data upon which to ground any but the simplest and most barren propositions, or else the most shadowy conjectures—and presents to our contemplation ideas of such vague and illimitable vastness, as rather to fatigue than satisfy our curiosity, to damp than encourage our search after knowledge. But, while the student of geology is rewarded by views of equal grandeur, the infinity of *time* communicating to the discoveries of the one the sublimity which is conferred by the infinity of *space* on those of the other, the objects contemplated admit of a distinctness of comprehension—are brought before him with a vividness and reality, which is owing as much to their analogy and close connexion with his daily and ordinary impressions, as to the multiplicity of converging facts through which his conclusions are deduced.

Geology, too, has the advantage of bringing its follower into acquaintance with the noblest objects and phenomena of nature. It is among the grand features of mountain scenery—the towering alpine summit, the eternal glacier, the deep cleft-like ravine, the abrupt waterfall, the river—now tumbling and foaming through a narrow gorge, now gently rippling over an expansive vale, now slowly winding through wide alluvial plains to the bosom of the  
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mighty ocean;—it is amidst the yet more exciting spectacles of the earthquake and the avalanche, the volcano and the flood, that the geologist pursues his study of the changes which have occurred upon our globe, and of the destroying and renovating powers by which they were effected. These powers he watches in their momentary operation, and multiplies them in his imagination by the effects of ages: he traces them equally on the grandest and on the minutest scale—now rounding a pebble, now laying the foundations of future continents. But, above all, he observes with delight the constant progress of *animated existence*, ever varied, but ever adapted to the circumstances which attend it, and sees in all the arrangements, whether of the organic or mineral world, the sure marks of a First Cause, acting by uniform, invariable laws—bringing order and utility out of the seeming elements of chance and confusion—connecting the peak of the mountain and the bottom of the ocean in one chain of mutual dependence, and rendering the whole subservient to the existence of that abundance of life and enjoyment for which all has been beneficently contrived. What nobler pleasure can the mind receive than is afforded by these views? It is amidst such impressive scenes and studies that, in the words of one of our sublimest poets—

‘ Præsentio rem conspicimus Deum,  
Per invias rupes, fera per juga,  
Clivosque præruptos, sonantes  
Inter aquas, nemorumque noctem.’

The time, indeed, is not far distant when natural theology will receive a great accession from the proofs of a Designing Intelligence which geology can unfold.—And yet the cry has been raised against this science, of its leading directly to infidelity and atheism! The *accursed* epithet has been applied to the student of this department of the Divine creation, and the terms geologist and sceptic have, in some minds, been inseparably connected!

We trust we need not, at this day, dwell on so painful a subject as the errors of those well-meaning persons who have thought to fight the cause of religion by assailing such as are really amongst her most effectual supporters; to vindicate the book of Revelation by impeding the examination of the book of Nature; to justify the God of Truth by opposing the study of His works! We need not, in this age and country, recall the fact, that the discoveries of Newton are yet, in some Catholic states, accounted rank heresy. All are now sufficiently aware of the danger and impropriety of bringing the discovery and arrangement of facts, in the physical sciences, into competition with subjects of faith. To the scriptures, true knowledge has never been hostile, nor is it possible that they, when properly interpreted, should ever be enemies

enemies to it. The latitude of interpretation, which has been always allowed by divines on particular passages, may be safely conceded to all those which are connected with the sciences. The history of the introduction of *man* upon the globe was evidently the sole object of the first chapters of Genesis, and not any revelation of facts in natural history, or of physical events, which, being unaccommodated to the notions of the age, would have withdrawn the attention from those truths as to the moral destinies of mankind, which it was the great purpose of the inspired writer to reveal.

To bring forward the scriptures as the foundation of geology, or geological hypotheses as a support to the scriptural relations, is to degrade the sacred writings, as well as to impede the progress of knowledge—to stake their credit upon the most fallible of all interpretations, that of a rising science, not yet sufficiently furnished with facts—to couple the unchangeable dictates of Revelation with what has hitherto been constantly liable to change. Whenever this has been attempted, the result has been injurious to both science and religion, and the history of geology, up to the present hour, teems with instances of this truth. The first theorists sought to penetrate into the nature of that *chaos* from which the Almighty, by his fiat, created the universe; others left the mysteries of creation untouched, but applied themselves to account for the *deluge*, by suspending the laws of cohesion and gravity, altering the position of the earth in its orbit, and introducing a comet amid some storm in the planetary system. Around any fanciful idea of this kind, the facts known in the mineral kingdom were arranged as its support; and, these being far from numerous, and even uncertain, each theorist resorted to the sacred books for additional proofs of his opinions. The weaker that these were, the more ardent was the zeal for maintaining them, and the controversies between the contending parties more exasperated. The march of science successively overthrew them all, and entailed much disgrace and discredit, in many minds, on the subjects which they pretended to illustrate. Yet, to this hour, some are found who, true to the unphilosophical mode of deduction employed by Burnett and Whiston, continue to vamp up and send forth their stale and ridiculous theories as scientific commentaries on holy writ, and to write on geology as if this branch of knowledge had no other end but to afford conclusions respecting the Mosaic chronology and the phenomena of the deluge. Revering the Christian religion, and believing it to be degraded by the supposition that its eternal truths require any confirmation from such crude and ill-digested physical theories, we cannot but feel some shame and much astonishment at these attempts. Their character



character has been long since stamped in the dignified and oracular censure pronounced by the great Bacon on the physico-theologists of his day :—‘ *Tanto magis hæc vanitas inhibenda venit et coer-cenda, quia ex divinorum et humanorum malesanâ admixtione, non solum educitur philosophia phantastica, sed etiam religio hæretica.*’ ‘ This vanity merits castigation and reproof the more, as, from the mischievous admixture of divine and human things, there is compounded at once a fantastical philosophy and an heretical religion.’

Abstractedly from this stumbling-block, the method of reasoning employed on this subject has almost invariably been the reverse of that which could alone lead to a knowledge of truth. When the theories are examined which have at different times been given out to account for the production and distribution of the mineral masses which compose the known surface of our continents, it becomes evident that the usual method employed in their fabrication, was, after collecting a very limited number of facts, to guess at the causes which could have produced them. If, among the suggestions of a fertile imagination, any one was hit upon seeming to answer the conditions of the problem, it was at once decided to be the true cause; the theory was completed; fresh facts, as they presented themselves, were disciplined to support its credit, or negligently slurred over when they resisted that process, and the hypothesis triumphed for a time, till the opposition of some stubborn discovery, that could neither be overlooked nor reconciled with it, gave rise to doubts, the fabric tottered, and fell at length before the novelty and brilliance of some equally baseless and transient invention. Such speculations, too, were naturally coloured by the professional prejudices or predilections of their inventors. Thus the chemist supposed all rocks to be either precipitations from an universal solvent, or the oxygenized crust of a metallic nucleus. The cabinet mineralogist decided that the globe was formed by the laws of crystalline affinity, and is in fact but a huge crystal, of which the mountain slopes are the facets, and the strata the planes of cleavage. The astronomer, on the other hand, considers the planet a condensed nebula, and refers its several changes to the nutation of its axis, or the influence of comets; while he who, by his obstinate blindness and prejudice, degrades the name of theologian, could insist that they all are direct interferences of the Almighty, and that the globe, with all its variety of minerals, its strata full of bones, shells, impressions, and even fæces, of animals, was created exactly in its present condition by the Divine fiat a few centuries ago!

This defective mode of reasoning on such subjects is likewise in great part owing to the almost instinctive propensity by which mankind

mankind are induced to refer to some extraordinary and supernatural cause every event but a little removed from their habitual experience—the same fondness for the marvellous which once erected altars to fortune, which armed the witch and the conjuror with their magic powers, and even yet supplies crowds of votaries to every miracle-working sanctuary. But for this unfortunate predilection, a better method of arguing from effects up to causes would have been substituted for *à priori* reasoning; investigation would have been less uniformly directed to what *might be*, rather than to what *is*. To illustrate by an example: Suppose we were desirous of ascertaining the process by which a manufactured article of a novel description had been made. By taking it to pieces, examining it in all lights, and guessing at every possible mode of fabrication, we might possibly, after many wrong suppositions and useless trials, succeed in discovering the real method; but how much more securely and expeditiously should we arrive at this knowledge, if we could be admitted to the workshop of the manufacturer, examine his implements and machinery, and witness the process as actually conducted by him. Exactly so is it with the geologist, whose object is to discover the mode employed by nature in the production of the principal classes of rocks on the surface of the globe. He may ransack his imagination for hypothesis after hypothesis, with more or less of plausibility attached to them, but surely the simple and proper mode of inquiry would be to watch the processes which nature is still carrying on in her vast factory, and closely examine the operations by which mineral masses, bearing an analogy to those whose origin he is in quest of, are daily elaborated. If, neglecting these obvious researches, and in complete ignorance of the extent and character of the changes that are actually in progress on the surface of the earth, he has recourse for the explanation of such earlier changes as we can trace upon that surface to the supposition of unexampled causes, differing from all known phenomena, and implying a variation in the laws of nature, is he not a worthy associate of the philosophers who determined the fly in the telescope to be an elephant in the moon?

‘Of those who greedily pursue  
Things wonderful instead of true;  
Make natural history a gazette  
Of tales stupendous and far-fetched;  
Hold no truth worthy to be known,  
That is not huge and overgrown,  
And explicate appearances,  
Not as they are, but as *they* please.’\*

The necessity of closely studying the changes still going on in

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\* Butler.—Elephant in the Moon, line 609.

the inorganic kingdom of nature, as a first step in geology, would seem so obvious, that it is almost incredible in how great a degree the mass of geologists have, up to this time, neglected what must be reckoned the alphabet of their science. The effects of meteoric agency, the action of rain, rivers, floods, currents, and tides, in wearing away the solid materials of the earth's surface, and re-disposing them in the form of beds of clay, sand, gravel, or solid rock—the new mineral deposits continually produced, by springs impregnated with earthy matters, by the labours of zoophytes, or by volcanic eruptions from the interior of the globe—the agency of earthquakes in fissuring rocks, and altering the superficial levels—have been hitherto reckoned matters foreign to geology, and belonging rather to a subordinate department of geography, than to that science which professes to examine into the physical events of past ages, and almost uniformly with a noble disregard of such physical events as are taking place at the present day!

A disposition to adopt a sounder, and more rational system of inquiry has fortunately shewn itself of late, though in this country its appearance has been tardy, and its progress hitherto slow. This may be accounted for through the prejudices excited in the beginning of the century, by the imputed tendency of the arguments urged by Professor Playfair in his able illustrations of the Huttonian theory, the first systematic work, at least since the days of Hooke, in which the solution of the problems of geology was sought in an examination of existing changes. The injustice of such prejudices, and the injury they are calculated to inflict on the cause of knowledge, as well as of religion, have been sufficiently dwelt upon—and indeed are now all but universally acknowledged. Rejoicing in this salutary change, and holding the opinions we have expressed on the true methods of observation and reasoning, by which alone this interesting science can be advanced, we hail with the greatest satisfaction the appearance of Mr. Lyell's work, which henceforward, we can hardly doubt, will mark the beginning of a new era in geology.

The title of the book shews that it is an attempt to place the study of the science on its true basis,—‘to explain the former changes of the earth's surface by reference to causes now in operation.’ The mode in which this undertaking has been so far executed, for the first volume only has yet appeared, is most satisfactory, and confirms the high reputation Mr. Lyell enjoys for zeal and accuracy in observation, and an intimacy with many of the branches of science and natural history which bear upon geology. It exhibits also, together with much literary research and elegance of language, a luminous arrangement, and powers of analytical reasoning which we should be glad to meet



with more frequently in the contributions to our scientific knowledge. Incorporated with his arguments, and the details extracted from other sources, Mr. Lyell has, moreover, communicated a great body of original observations of much interest, collected during the tours he has recently made for scientific purposes on the continent.

The volume commences with an able review of the progress of geological study. One of the most striking points in this history is, the acquaintance which the ancients are shown to have possessed with the immense antiquity of the globe, and the powers of nature in destroying and renovating the surfaces of our continents. In the Institutes of Menù, the sacred volume of the Hindoos, to which Sir W. Jones ascribes an antiquity of at least eight hundred and eighty years before Christ, the alternate destruction and recreation of the world with all its inhabitants, after an existence during each successive period of many thousand years, seems to imply that the sages even of that early day had noticed those appearances of alternate revolutions and periods of tranquillity which form the groundwork of almost every geological theory. The hymns of Orpheus, as reported by Plutarch, attest the same ideas to have prevailed from the earliest times in Egypt. The *annus magnus*, or great cycle of planetary revolutions, was supposed to be the period assigned for the duration of each successive world, and was variously estimated by Orpheus at 120,000, by Cassander and others at 360,000 years. The sect of stoics afterwards adopted the notion of catastrophes, by which the world is destroyed at certain intervals, alternately by fire and water. Pythagoras, if we may judge of his doctrines from the poetic sketch given of them by Ovid, taught the constant destruction and renovation of the surface of the globe, and illustrated his doctrine by an appeal to the great physical changes obviously going on at present,—such as the conversion of land into sea, and sea into land, the excavation of valleys by rivers and floods, the growth of deltas, and the effects of earthquakes and volcanos in convulsing and elevating land. Aristotle participated in these ideas, and seems to have considered the agents of change now operating in nature, as capable of bringing about in the lapse of ages a complete revolution. The frequent occurrence of marine shells in the interior of continents and on the summits of mountains, naturally engaged the attention of the ancients, and many hypotheses were formed to account for them. Strabo, in particular, enters at large into these opinions, and after discussing and rejecting many, proposes one of his own, the profoundness of which, modern geologists are only at this day beginning to appreciate—namely, that all land was originally formed beneath the  
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sea, and had been elevated from that situation by earthquakes. Notwithstanding these rare instances of just observation and reasoning, it is, however, clear that the ancients had made no real progress in the study of the ancient history of the globe, and entertained but an imperfect idea of the powers of nature in varying the circumstances of its surface.

Except the work of an Arabian writer, Omar, 'on the retreat of the sea,' which procured for him the persecution of the doctors of the Mahomedan law, owing to his making the world older than it is declared to be in the Koran, no traces are met with of attention having been directed to geological appearances till the beginning of the sixteenth century, when, in Italy, the cradle of all the sciences, a very animated controversy sprung up concerning the true nature and origin of fossil shells, and other organic remains. Among the rest, Fracastoro, in 1515, declared his opinion that the shells had all belonged to animals which had formerly lived and multiplied where their exuviae are now found. He exposed the absurdity of having recourse to a certain 'plastic force,' which it was said had power to fashion stones into organic forms; and, with no less cogent arguments, demonstrated the futility of attributing the situation of the shells in question to the Mosaic deluge.\* From this time, however, the current of geological opinion set strongly against any reference to modern analogy in the explanation of former events; and on its surface the most extravagant and fantastical theories were borne along for a season, as for example,—

'Falloppio of Padua conceived that petrified shells had been generated by fermentation in the spots where they were found, or that they had in some cases acquired their form from "the tumultuous movements of terrestrial exhalations." Although not an unskilful professor of anatomy, he taught that certain tusks of elephants dug up in his time at Puglia, were mere earthy concretions, and, consistently with these principles, he even went so far as to consider it not improbable, that the vases of Monte Testaceo at Rome were natural impressions stamped in the soil. In the same spirit, Mercati, who published, in 1574, faithful figures of the fossil shells preserved by Pope Sixtus V. in the Museum of the Vatican, expressed an opinion that they were mere stones, which had assumed their peculiar configuration from the influence of the heavenly bodies; and Olivi of Cremona, who described the fossil remains of a rich Museum at Verona, was satisfied with considering them mere "sports of nature." —pp. 25, 6.

In our own country the doctrine of fossil shells and fishes being merely *lusus naturæ* generally prevailed. Dr. Plott and

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\* Lyell, *ib.* 24.

buted them to a plastic virtue latent in the earth. Lister appears to have given in to this idea, but has the merit of being the first who became aware of the continuity over large districts of the principal groups of strata, and who proposed the construction of regular geological maps. Dr. Hooke, in his posthumous work which appeared in 1705, entertained more enlarged views on the subject of fossil remains, leaning to the opinion that they belonged to extinct species, and even suggesting that they may have disappeared in consequence of changes in the surface of the globe, wrought by earthquakes in former ages, to which he attributed the elevation from the sea of the strata containing marine remains. Ray, the celebrated naturalist, a contemporary of Hooke, enlarged upon these suggestions. He first drew attention to the powerful action of running water on the land, and the encroachments of the sea upon its shores. Burnett now published his '*Sacred Theory*,' 'a fine historical romance,' as Buffon called it,—admirable as a work of imagination, but the climax of absurdity as pretending to profound philosophy. Next, Whiston introduced his comet to deluge the world with the vapours of its tail; and John Hutchinson put forth his '*Moses's Principia*.' He and his numerous followers were accustomed to declaim loudly against human learning, and they maintained that the Hebrew scriptures, when rightly translated, and interpreted, of course, by themselves, comprised a perfect system of natural philosophy, for which reason they objected to the Newtonian theory of gravitation, as not to be found there. In 1680, Leibnitz published his theory, the principal feature of which, the original incandescence of the whole globe, its gradual refrigeration, and the condensation of its vapours into an universal ocean, were adopted by Buffon and Deluc, and, under different modifications, have been reproduced in a number of succeeding systems up to the present day.

The geologists of Italy still, however, maintained their pre-eminence. The works of Vallisneri, published in 1720, are rich in original observations. He attempted the first general sketch of the marine deposits of Italy, their geographical extent, and most characteristic organic remains; and was followed in the same studies and views by Moro, Generelli, Marsilli, and Donati. It must be owned that the Italian naturalists had at this time entered on the true path of geological inquiry, while those of other countries,—too many of them at least,—were soaring in the regions of invention, with an utter disdain for facts and existing analogies. Towards the middle of the last century Buffon published his *Theory of the Earth*, in which he indulged his imagination somewhat freely at the expense of his judgment.



judgment. The theologians of France were not, however, prepared to allow that the present continents are due to secondary causes; and the Sorbonne forced Buffon to recant formally. Between 1750 and 1760 Targioni and Arduino contributed much to the advancement of sound ideas on geological subjects: the former by his copious observations and just conclusions on the power of rivers, floods, and the bursting of lakes in excavating valleys, and on the evidence of Italy having been once inhabited by the elephant and other quadrupeds, whose remains are so frequent in its lacustrine deposits: the latter by his remarks on the ancient submarine volcanic eruptions of the Vicentin, Veronese, and Paduan territory, and the distinction he was the first to draw between the primary, secondary, and tertiary rocks—a division which has been of essential service in facilitating the study of the superficial formations. Fortis, Desmarest, and Odoardo followed up and confirmed these observations. Soldani minutely investigated the correspondence of the Mediterranean testacea and zoophytes with the fossil species, and was the first to remark the alternation of marine and freshwater formations in the Paris basin. Testa, Cortesi, and Spallanzani laboured in the same useful line of study, and in the examination of the active and extinct volcanos of Italy, and the effects produced by earthquakes; while their contemporaries in England and Germany, Galcott, Whitehurst, and Wallerius, were wasting their strength in endeavours to support the exploded hypothesis, that all the strata were formed by the Noachian deluge. Our countryman, Mitchell, however, Woodwardian Professor at Cambridge, had in the meantime advanced several original and philosophical views on the effects of earthquakes in fracturing, contorting, and elevating the strata of mountain chains; views which in so remarkable a manner anticipate the theories established forty years afterwards, that Mr. Lyell thinks his writings would probably have formed an era in the science, if his retirement on a college-living had not put an extinguisher upon his researches. Raspe also, a Hanoverian, published in Latin, in 1763, a work of great merit on the same subject, and containing views very similar to those of Mitchell. He adverts to the apparent indications of a higher temperature in the former climate of Europe, and to the occurrence of changes in the species of plants and animals inhabiting it; and urges the examination of the new volcanic islands, for the sake of studying ‘nature in the act of parturition.’ It is, indeed, astonishing that, after the correct views entertained by the authors we have lately cited, the science should have relapsed during the next half-century into the old errors of substituting hypothetical dogmas for observation and analogical reasoning.

Towards

Towards the close of the eighteenth century Pallas and Saussure contributed much to the collection of geological facts, and to the separation of the mineral masses of our globe into separate groups, bearing many general, if not universal, relations towards each other. The systematic and chronological arrangement of formations was soon carried much further, indeed very far beyond its due limits, by the celebrated Freyberg professor of mineralogy, Werner. His eloquence and enthusiasm attracted an extraordinary degree of attention to the study of the relative disposition of mineral masses, which he termed *geognosy*; and, in the disciples who flocked to him from all quarters, he excited a zeal proportionate to his own, giving a stimulus to geological investigations in every corner of Europe, the effect of which has scarcely yet subsided. Werner, however, unfortunately, knew no other country than the small district in which the Saxon mines are situated; and, generalizing from these narrow data, he believed, and, strange to say, persuaded others to believe, that the whole surface of the globe, and all its mountain chains, were formed exactly on the model of his own province. What was still more deplorable, when the ingenuity of his scholars had tortured the phenomena of distant countries, and even of another hemisphere, into conformity with his theoretical standard, it was discovered that 'the master' had misinterpreted and mistated many of the facts in the immediate neighbourhood of Freyberg.\* In theory, Werner was yet further from truth. His leading doctrine on the invariable order of superposition, has been shown, in a vast variety of instances, to be erroneous; and his hypothetical ideas on the *chemical precipitation of universal formations*, including *basalt* and *pumice*, from an aqueous menstruum, or 'chaotic fluid,' exceeded in wildness all the imaginings of earlier cosmogonists, and are such as would be now passed over as the dreams of a disordered intellect, but for the extraordinary contagion with which they affected the minds of his contemporaries, and the numerous schools of geology by which they were adopted, as established principles of science! This passage, indeed, in the history of geology, presents an interesting problem for those who study the philosophy of the human mind, and an humiliating lesson on the danger of allowing authority and enthusiasm to supersede rational inquiry. When sound opinions had for twenty years prevailed in Europe concerning the true nature of the ancient trap-rocks, Werner, by his dictum, caused a retrograde movement, and not only overturned the true theory, but substituted for it one of the most unphilosophical ever advanced in any science. The continued ascendancy of his dogmas on this subject was the more astonishing, because a variety of new and

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\* Lyell, p. 57.

striking facts were daily accumulated in favour of the correct opinions first established. Desmarest had closely traced the exact analogy of the volcanic remains of France, their cones, craters, and lava-streams, with the older basaltic rocks of that and other districts,—the igneous origin of which was denied by the school of Freyberg. Dolomieu, Montlosier, and other writers, accumulated facts and reasonings in support of the same conclusions. The disciples of Werner were prepared, however, to maintain, in opposition to all evidence, the fulness of their faith in his opinions.

‘Blinded by their veneration for the great teacher, they were impatient of opposition, and soon imbibed the spirit of a faction; and their opponents, the Vulcanists, were not long in becoming contaminated with the same intemperate zeal. Ridicule and irony were weapons more frequently employed than argument by the rival sects, till at last the controversy was carried on with a degree of bitterness, almost unprecedented in questions of physical science. Desmarest alone, who had long before provided ample materials for refuting such a theory, kept aloof from the strife, and whenever a zealous Neptunist wished to draw the old man into an argument, he was satisfied with replying, “Go and see.”’—p. 60.

England, and more particularly Scotland, shared in this war of opinions. The Vulcanists acquired here a powerful support in Dr. Hutton, and his eloquent illustrator, Playfair. The *Theory of the Earth*, published by the former in 1795, was the first general attempt to give sound and fixed principles to geology. The igneous origin of granite was first put forth by Hutton, and satisfactorily demonstrated by its analogy to many crystalline volcanic rocks, and its sending veins into, and altering the stratified rocks with which it comes in contact; a decisive observation which Hutton was also the first to make. The experiments of Sir James Hall came in support of these conclusions, and they were ably illustrated by the remarks of Professor Playfair, on the gradual wearing down of the land by rivers and currents, and the deposition of its ruins in the bed of the ocean, as materials for future continents when the elevatory action of earthquakes should take that direction. There were doubtless some defective parts in that theory, as, for instance, the reference of the consolidation of the older strata to the action of subterranean heat; but the fierce opposition which the Huttonian doctrines excited, and the acrimonious controversy which arose upon them, is only to be explained by the circumstance of their militating against certain theories which were then most rashly supposed to have the authority of Scripture in their favour.

Among the writers by whom Hutton was most pertinaciously



and virulently opposed, Kirwan and Deluc are conspicuous, from the influence they exercised over the public mind. The former, a chemist of some merit, was an uncompromising defender of the aqueous precipitation of all rocks; while Deluc reiterated the charge of infidelity against Hutton and his followers, objecting most particularly to the high antiquity attributed by them to our present continents, and the slow process by which valleys are supposed to have been excavated. 'At that time the numerous successive changes that have occurred in organic life, prior to the creation of the existing species, had not been fully recognized; and without this class of proofs in support of the immense age of the globe, the indefinite periods demanded by the Huttonian hypothesis appeared visionary to many; and some, who unfortunately deemed the doctrine inconsistent with revealed truths, indulged very uncharitable feelings and language towards its author.' Mr. Lyell might have mentioned some external circumstances but too well fitted to support and nourish these unhappy prejudices, in the midst of which the contention of the rival factions was carried to such a height, as produced at length a re-action, in which all theory whatever was forsworn. A new school arose, who discountenanced speculative views, confined themselves strictly to observation of facts, and, carrying their scepticism to the opposite extreme, scarcely allowed an opinion to be formed where no reasonable doubt could exist. To collect and record observations was, however, at this epoch, the great desideratum, and to this end the institution of the Geological Society of London, founded in 1807, contributed very powerfully. Nor were the continental geologists idle. In particular the study of organic remains was advanced by them to a great degree of accuracy.

'It was found that, by the careful discrimination of the fossil contents of strata, the contemporary origin of different groups could often be established, even where all identity of mineralogical character was wanting, and where no light could be derived from the order of superposition. The minute investigation, moreover, of the relics of the animate creation of former ages, had a powerful effect in dispelling the illusion which had long prevailed concerning the absence of analogy between the ancient and modern state of our planet. A close comparison of the recent and fossil species, and the inferences drawn in regard to their habits, accustomed the geologist to contemplate the earth as having been at successive periods the dwelling-place of animals and plants of different races, some of which were discovered to have been terrestrial, and others aquatic—some fitted to live in seas, others in the waters of lakes and rivers. . . . The adoption of the same generic, and, in some cases, even the same specific names for the exuviae of fossil animals, and their living

living analogues, was an important step towards familiarizing the mind with the idea of the identity and unity of the system in distant eras. It was an acknowledgment, as it were, that a considerable part of the ancient memorials of nature were written in a living language. The growing importance, then, of the natural history of organic remains, and its general application to geology, may be pointed out as the characteristic feature of the progress of the science during the present century.'—pp. 72, 73.

Having arrived at the era of living authors, Mr. Lyell concludes his sketch of the progress of opinion in geology, and he then passes in review the chief circumstances by which it has been so strikingly retarded. The strongest and the most lasting prejudices against which geology has had to struggle, are those connected with the supposed age of the world, and the date of the first creation of animated beings. Even yet they are not wholly eradicated; and it is possible that there are some amongst our readers who may be startled by the assurance, that no doubt can at present be entertained, from the evidence of organic fossils alone, exclusive of other cumulative proofs from the igneous and stratified rocks, that before the creation of any of the existing species of animals, of which MAN seems to be the most recent, the earth had been inhabited by innumerable other species, and other genera, successively created and extinguished during a lapse of time wholly immeasurable, but which *must* have comprehended millions of ages rather than of years.

'It must always have been evident to unbiassed minds, that successive strata, containing, in regular order of superposition, distinct beds of shells and corals, arranged in families as they grow at the bottom of the sea, could only have been formed by slow and insensible degrees in a great lapse of ages; yet, until organic remains were minutely examined and specifically determined, it was rarely possible to prove that the series of deposits met with in one country was not formed simultaneously with that found in another. But we are now able to determine, in numerous instances, the relative dates of sedimentary rocks in distant regions, and to show, by their organic remains, that they were not of contemporary origin, but formed in succession. We often find, that where an interruption in the consecutive formation in one district is indicated by a sudden transition from one assemblage of fossil species to another, the chasm is filled up, in some other district, by other important groups of strata. The more attentively we study the European continent, the greater we find the extension of the whole series of geological formations. No sooner does the calendar appear to be completed, and the signs of a succession of physical events arranged in chronological order, than we are called upon to intercalate, as it were, some new periods of vast duration. A geologist, whose observations have been confined

to England, is accustomed to consider the superior and newer groups of marine strata in our island as modern, and such they are, comparatively speaking; but when he has travelled through the Italian peninsula and in Sicily, and has seen strata of more recent origin forming mountains several thousand feet high, and has marked a long series both of volcanic and submarine operations, all newer than any of the regular strata which enter largely into the physical structure of Great Britain, he returns with more exalted conceptions of the antiquity of some of those modern deposits, than he before entertained of the oldest of the British series.'—pp. 87, 88.

'There is not one great question relating to the former changes of the earth and its inhabitants into which considerations of time do not enter; and so long as the public mind was violently prejudiced in regard to this important topic, men of superior talent alone, who thought for themselves, and were not blinded by authority, could deduce any just conclusions from geological evidence.'—p. 302.

The part of our author's volume at which we are now arrived, contains a discussion of great interest on the uniformity of the physical laws influencing the surface of the globe, but which, perhaps, is introduced rather prematurely. The object of the work being to account for geological appearances by existing processes of change, we think the description of those processes should naturally precede any discussion on the propriety of supposing former variations in their nature or intensity. For this reason we shall defer for the present our notice of these topics, and proceed to follow our author's interesting relations of the changes now actually in progress on the earth's surface, by which some rocks are destroyed and others produced before our eyes. This portion of the subject is naturally divided into—1. Changes wrought by the action of water in motion, as by rain, springs, rivers, and currents of the ocean. 2. Changes brought about by subterranean forces of an igneous character, as volcanos and earthquakes. The changes in organic nature are deferred to a subsequent volume.

The aqueous and the igneous agents of change may be considered almost as antagonist forces: the first incessantly labouring to reduce the inequalities of the earth's surface; the latter to restore them, partly by the protrusion of new matter, partly by upheaving or letting down portions of the solid crust of the globe. Many different agents frequently combine, so as to produce results of a complicated character, and this must be kept in view while, for the sake of arrangement, they are separately treated of.

Mr. Lyell first considers the action of running water on the surface of the land. He justly mentions as a powerful agent of destruction, the enormous expansive force of water, when, after having made its way into the pores and crevices of rocks, it expands  
or



or shatters them on freezing. There is another agent of superficial erosion omitted by Mr. Lyell, and indeed seldom sufficiently noticed,—namely, the direct descent of rain. Any one who has observed the waste of an exposed surface of clay, sand, or fine gravel, from a single sharp storm of rain, and considers that this effect is not, like that of rivers and torrents, confined within a narrow compass, but extended over the whole face of a country, will readily believe that, upon districts composed of such friable materials, the amount of degradation occasioned in a lapse of ages by this seemingly insignificant force must be far from inconsiderable. We are inclined to rank it among the most powerful agents of destruction; and we are led to this by two general observations that speak strongly to the purpose. It is a universal fact, that wherever groups of the softer strata, as of clay, sand, marls, &c., crop out from below others of a harder material, the former are worn down to a much lower level than the latter, generally so much as to produce a longitudinal valley; though it is not often that rivers flow along the depression, the course of the drainage having been apparently determined when the friable strata possessed a greater elevation. Our second remark is, that whenever projecting eminences rise from a district composed of the softer formations, they are almost invariably *capped* by a hard stratum or knot of rock, to which their preservation is obviously owing. The well known aspect of basaltic platforms and peaks is a familiar illustration. But the *only* erosive force from which a vertical capping can protect a mass of strata, is that of the direct descent of rain. It is this, then, chiefly, that must have worn away the enormous quantity of matter by which such tabular hills were once connected. The most convincing and beautiful example of the powerful agency of rain is the spot called the Pyramids, near Botzen, in the Tyrol, where a large ravine, or rather valley, since it is at least a mile in width, has been excavated in a coarse conglomerate. From the bottom rise a great number of high and needle-shaped cones of gravel, each of which owes its preservation to a large boulder, in most cases remaining upon the apex, often nicely balanced upon a very narrow point, which it overhangs on every side almost like an umbrella. When the stone at length falls, the pyramid soon wastes down to the general level of the valley. It is evident that the boulder capping can have been no protection against the erosive force of a rivulet or torrent, which would have easily undermined it. It follows that the whole of this great ravine must owe its excavation (and it is evidently but of recent formation) to the force of vertical rains. But this power must have been equally active where the effects are not so obviously referrible to it alone,—over every other part of the Alps, and

and of all lands, in proportion to the quantity and violence of the rain which annually falls on them, and the more or less yielding nature of their surfaces.

With regard to running water, no stream, whatever its size, from the smallest rill to the mightiest river, flows for any space straight onwards in the direct line of its general descent. Its *bias* continually oscillates from one side to the other, through the necessary inequality of the lateral resistances. On that side towards which the bias or force of the current sets, lateral erosion takes place, in proportion to the momentum of the stream, and the solidity of the materials of the bank. The talus formed by deposits of sand or gravel, or by the fall of matter from an undermined bank, assists in deflecting the bias of the stream, and temporarily shifting its direction. From this oscillatory mode of progression all streams of water tend to wear themselves channels in a zig-zag, or rather a serpentine form, and where the matter excavated is sufficiently uniform, as in alluvial bottoms, the curves eaten out alternately on the right and left bank, correspond with almost geometrical exactness, owing to the angle at which each thread of water is deflected everywhere equalling the angle of incidence, and the force with which it shoots across the channel to impinge upon the one bank corresponding to that with which it has already been urged against the other. When these flexures become extremely deep, the aberration from the direct line of descent is often corrected at once by the river cutting through the isthmus which separates two neighbouring curves on the same bank. But besides the *lateral* abrasion exercised by running water on its banks, it possesses an almost equally active *vertical* force of abrasion, by which the channel is deepened at the same time that it is widened, or shifted on one side. When earthy matter becomes intermixed with running water, a new mechanical power is obtained by the attrition of sand and pebbles borne along by the stream, and impinging with the momentum they acquire against its banks or bottom. The specific gravity of many rocks is not more than twice, very rarely more than three times, that of water; so that the fragments propelled by a stream lose from a third to a half of what we esteem their weight, and are much more easily put in motion than we might imagine. The velocity of a stream determines the size and weight of the solid particles it can either keep in suspension, or drive with a rolling motion along its bottom. It is by the latter mode of action that running water exerts the greatest power in deepening its channel. Every stream, when swollen by sudden rain, or the melting of snow, carries along much fine matter in suspension, and drifts coarser particles, as gravel, pebbles, or boulders, along its bottom. During floods there

there is a continual travelling of drift ; the whole bed of the stream being in motion from one end to the other. Stones and gravel are propelled in this way, a greater or less distance, stopping at intervals at the bends of the channel. The bias of the stream is there obliquely deflected to the opposite side, while the superior momentum of the rolling drift carries it into the stiller water beyond, which being incapable of keeping it in motion, it accumulates in a projecting talus exactly corresponding to the concavity excavated in the opposite bank. It is the momentum they possess when once set in motion by water that causes enormous blocks of stone to be rolled by floods, as we sometimes observe them, up inclined banks at the turnings of rivers. The heaviest boulders are, from this cause, often carried furthest, and reach the highest elevation. Part of the drift so deposited remains as a permanent and increasing gravel or sand bank, the stream deserting the talus by eating its way still deeper into the opposite bank ; part is taken up again, and carried on further by the next flood. Meantime, by their attrition against the bed of the stream, the transported fragments wear it down, and are themselves rounded and diminished in size, till, if their course be sufficiently long, they are reduced to sand or silt, borne into the sea, and deposited there to await still further changes.

These laws are equally exemplified in the windings of a petty brook, and in those of a Mississippi. Nor do they apply only to the course of streams flowing through valleys composed of soft materials. The valleys of the Moselle and Meuse, among many, may be cited as instances of extreme sinuosity on the largest scale, being from six to eight hundred feet in depth, and often a mile or two in width, excavated through an elevated platform of transition slate and limestone ; yet these valleys wind to such a degree, that the rivers occasionally return, after a circuit of fifteen or seventeen miles, to within a few hundred yards of the point they passed so long before. It has been justly remarked that such windings prove valleys, however large, to have been entirely excavated by slow fluvial erosion. Any great debacle, or *diluvial* current, might produce a straight trough-shaped channel, in the direct line of descent ; but the idea of a sudden and violent rush of water excavating a channel in which it must have frequently wound its way back, in lazy flexures, towards the point from which it started, is absolutely unintelligible. We may mention the curvatures of the Wye, particularly that beautiful bend which almost encircles the promontory of Lancaut, opposite Piercefield, as an instance, nearer home, of the same convincing character. The general question, as to the origin of valleys, which is still much disputed, is one of a complicated nature, from the usual concurrence of many



many distinct causes. But when we have considered more fully the power of rain, rivers, and floods, to wear away and carry off the substance of the land, there will remain, we think, little doubt that this, aided by the occasional bursting of lake barriers, and changes of levels through earthquake, has been the main agent in effecting whatever alteration valleys have received from the force of running *water*, since the land rose above the sea. 'The multiplication of the lateral shiftings of a river tends to obliterate all traces of its ~~earlier~~ channels, and reduce the general excavation to a more or less straight trough; for the instances must necessarily be rare in which the bias of a stream has remained so constant for ages to one direction as to give a sinuous form to the whole valley. But in all cases the sum of its lateral workings is the general width of every excavated valley (or, according to the popular phrase, valley of denudation), as its depth may be expressed by the sum of the river's vertical erosion. The vast power of running water, in moving stones and heavy fragments of rock, is illustrated by Mr. Lyell from the effect of the storms which last year devastated the north-east of Scotland.\*

' The river Don forced, on one point, a mass of four or five hundred tons of stones, many of them two or three hundred pounds weight, up an inclined plane rising six feet in eight or ten yards. A large stone, of three or four tons, which Mr. Farquharson had known for many years in a deep pool of the river, was moved about one hundred yards from its place. By a mere rivulet in the Cheviot hills, flowing with a moderate declivity, several thousand tons of pebbles and sand were transported to the plain of the Till; and a bridge, then in progress of building, was carried away, the arch-stones of which, weighing from half to three quarters of a ton each, were propelled *two miles* down the rivulet. On the same occasion, the current tore away from the abutment of a mill-dam a large block of green-stone, weighing nearly two tons, and transported it to a distance of a quarter of a mile. Instances are related, as occurring repeatedly, in which from one to three thousand tons of gravel are, in like manner, removed to great distances in one day. When we consider how insignificant are the volume and velocity of the rivers and streams in our island, when compared to those of the Alps and other lofty chains, and how, during the various changes which the levels of different districts have undergone, the contingencies which give rise to floods must, in the lapse of ages, be multiplied, we may easily conceive that the quantity of loose, superficial matter, distributed over Europe, must be very considerable. That the position, also, of a great portion of these travelled

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\* Mr. Lyell would, probably, have enlarged more on this subject had the very lively account of these devastations by Sir Thomas Lauder Dick been sooner published. We cannot at present ~~do more~~ than direct attention in a passing manner to a volume which will be found full of instruction and interest, and illustrated by spirited etchings, which make every statement clear to the least scientific reader.

materials

materials should now appear most irregular, and should often bear no relation to the existing water-drainage of the country, is a necessary consequence, as we shall afterwards see, of the combined operations of running water and subterranean movements.'—p. 175.

Some proofs, afforded by the volcanic districts of central France, of the power recently exerted by running water in excavating the hardest materials, basalt and granite, were given in a former Number of this Journal. Mr. Lyell confirms these from his own observations, and adds some similar facts from rivers flowing at the foot of Mount Etna: one of them, the Simeto, has, in the course of about two centuries, eroded a channel, from fifty to several hundred feet wide, and from forty to fifty deep, through a mass of compact lava, which flowed into and obstructed the valley in 1608.

'On descending into this exceedingly recent excavation in a modern rock, a geologist,' Mr. Lyell observes, 'who is accustomed to associate the characteristic features of the landscape with the relative age of certain rocks, can scarcely dissuade himself from the belief that he is contemplating a scene in some rocky gorge of a primary district. The external forms of the hard, blue lava are as massive as any of the most ancient trap-rocks of Scotland. The solid surface is, in some parts, smoothed and almost polished by attrition, and covered, in others, with a white lichen, which imparts to it an air of extreme antiquity, so as greatly to heighten the delusion.'—p. 179.

The fall of Niagara is an instance of the power running water may exercise in altering the features of a country. It is calculated that, by the sap and fall of the hard limestone rock, over which the river is precipitated into a softer shale formation beneath, the cataract retrogrades towards Lake Erie at the rate of fifty yards in forty years. The distance already travelled by it, from the lower opening of the narrow gorge it has evidently cut by this process, is seven miles, and the remaining distance to be performed, before it reaches Lake Erie, is twenty-five. Had the limestone platform been less extensive, this enormous basin might have been already drained, as it must ultimately be, when the fall has receded to its margin, its average depth being far less than the height of the cataract. The changes going on in the basin of the Mississippi, through the action of that magnificent river, afford Mr. Lyell equally striking examples in favour of his principles. His description of the deep and symmetrical curves of the river, the *cut-offs*, the immense erosion going on upon its borders—'several acres, thickly covered with wood, being precipitated at a time into the stream'—the islands and banks formed lower down by the accumulation of these materials, and again washed away, perhaps, by the next flood, to be again deposited still nearer to the ocean, confirm and illustrate our remarks. One of the most interesting features of this river is the enormous rafts of drift timber it floats towards the

the sea, occasionally depositing them for a time, together with vast beds of mud and gravel, in some of its deserted channels. One of these rafts is described by Darby, in 1816, as *ten miles* in length, about two hundred and twenty yards wide, and eight feet deep. It is continually increasing by the addition of fresh drift-wood, and rises and falls with the water on which it floats; evidently waiting only an extraordinary flood to bear it off into the gulf of Mexico, where far greater deposits of the same kind are in progress at the extremity of the delta. The Mississippi offers an example of a remarkable hydrographical law, namely, that the width of a river is by no means proportioned to its volume of water, but, on the contrary, after the junction of two or more confluent, the united stream often occupies less space than *either* of them did before; the increase of depth and velocity, caused by the greater volume, compensating for the diminished surface.

'The Mississippi is a mile and a half wide at its junction with the Missouri, the latter being half a mile wide; yet the united waters have only, from their confluence to that of the Ohio, a medial breadth of about three-quarters of a mile. The junction of the Ohio seems also to produce no increase, but rather a decrease, of surface. The St. Francis, White, Arkansas, and Red rivers, are also absorbed by the main stream, with scarcely any apparent increase of its width; and, on arriving near the sea at New Orleans, it is scarcely half a mile wide.'

Its depth there, however, is enormous, being no less, at the highest water, than one hundred and sixty-eight feet. Those who have remarked how widely streams spread themselves when they drift much fragmentary matter of a large size (like the Var, the Durance, the Trebia, &c.), and, on the contrary, their habitual depth and narrowness when flowing through vales formed of very fine alluvium (as the Garigliano, the Tiber, the Severn, &c.), will attribute the power possessed by the Mississippi, and most other rivers, of deepening their channel, and, consequently, lessening their surface, to the greater subdivision of the matter through which they flow the nearer they approach to the sea.

The basin of this mighty stream exhibits, also, the co-operation of subterranean movements with the power of water, in altering the surface of continents. So late as 1812, the whole valley, from the mouth of the Ohio to that of the St. Francis, was convulsed to such a degree, as to create new islands in the river, and lakes in the alluvial plain, many of which were twenty miles in extent. Yet, however great the scale on which alterations are here daily going on before our eyes—however enormous must be their combined result during a series of ages—there is no region more richly endowed with the powers of supporting both animal and vegetable life.

\* Innumerable



‘Innumerable herds of wild deer and bisons feed on the luxuriant pastures of the plains. The jaguar, the wolf, and the fox, are amongst the beasts of prey. The waters teem with alligators and tortoises, and their surface is covered with millions of migratory water-fowl, which perform their annual voyage between the Canadian lakes and the shores of the Mexican gulf. The power of man begins to be sensibly felt, and the wilderness to be replaced by towns, orchards, and gardens. The gilded steam-boat, like a moving city, now stems the current with a steady pace—now shoots rapidly down the descending stream through the solitudes of the forests and prairies. Already does the flourishing population of the great valley exceed that of the thirteen United States when first they declared their independence. Such is the state of a continent where rocks and trees are hurried annually, by a thousand torrents, from the mountains to the plains, and where sand and finer matter are swept down by a vast current to the sea, together with the wreck of countless forests and the bones of animals which perish in the inundations. When these materials reach the Gulf, they do not render the waters unfit for aquatic animals; but, on the contrary, the ocean here swarms with life, as it generally does where the influx of a great river furnishes a copious supply of organic and mineral matter. Yet many geologists, when they behold the spoils of the land heaped in successive strata, and blended confusedly with the remains of fishes, or interspersed with broken shells and corals, imagine that they are viewing the signs of a turbulent, instead of a tranquil and settled state of the planet. They read in such phenomena the proof of chaotic disorder, and reiterated catastrophes, instead of indications of a surface as habitable as the most delicious and fertile districts now tenanted by man. They are not content with disregarding the analogy of the present course of Nature, when they speculate on the revolutions of past times, but they often draw conclusions concerning the former state of things directly the reverse of those to which a fair induction from facts would infallibly lead them.’—pp. 189, 190.

We have not space to follow Mr. Lyell in his description of the effects produced by floods, and the bursting of lakes, caused through the damming up of a valley by landslips, avalanches, earthquakes, or volcanic ejections; and must refer our readers to the work itself for several very interesting examples, of a late date, in North America, Switzerland, and Italy. Indeed the far greater number of the illustrations our author produces throughout his whole volume of the alterations in progress on the surface of the globe, are drawn from accounts of *very recent* occurrences, mostly within the last half century; and this, in truth, is a matter of necessity to one who rejects all ill-authenticated facts, since it is but of late that the attention of men of science, or of travellers competent to describe them correctly, has been drawn to such natural operations. But hence the reflection continually arises,—

if, with our still most imperfect means of information, such is the extent of the changes observed within so brief a period, how vast must they have been even since the introduction of man upon the earth, and what ought we not to expect of the same forces acting through the countless ages which have certainly elapsed since the primary elevation of the continents we inhabit from the bosom of the deep?

The next chapter treats of the abundance of mineral matter brought to the surface of the earth by springs, in a state of solution, and precipitated, on exposure to the air, either along the course of rivers, or in the marshes, lakes, and seas, into which they are discharged. Mineralized springs abound generally in the vicinity of active or extinct volcanos, and are probably, for the most part, owing to the condensation of vapours rising from the subterranean reservoirs of intensely heated matter, whose existence is attested by the volcanic phenomena. Calcareous deposits are the most plentiful of any. The travertin of Italy is still produced, on a prodigious scale, in the valley of the Elsa, at San Vignone and San Filippo in Tuscany, and in the Campagna of Rome, near Tivoli. At San Filippo, a hard stratum of stone, about a foot in thickness, is deposited by the stream every four months, and has, within a short period, produced a mass stretching down the hill on which the baths are situated, a mile and a quarter in length, the third of a mile in breadth, and in some places two hundred and fifty feet thick at least! This recent rock is highly crystalline, and exhibits in places the globular-concretionary, the cellular, and the laminated structures, exactly in the manner of the magnesian limestone of Sunderland. These tufas, or modern limestones, occasionally envelop reeds, leaves, shells, and other organic matters, and preserve their impressions when the substance decays and is carried off by infiltrations, which frequently replace it by fresh mineral matter. In the marshes of Hungary, extensive horizontal beds of such travertin are continually deposited, and are quarried largely for building-stone. Near the shores of the Lake Urmia, between the Black Sea and Caspian, a *marble*, much used in ornamental architecture, is *hodie*, produced rapidly from a thermal spring. The quantity of calcareous rock deposited by mineral waters in volcanic districts, conspicuous as it is, must be considered insignificant in comparison with that which is conveyed by rivers to the sea, or produced by springs issuing out into the low levels occupied by the ocean.

Our inability to observe subaqueous accumulations resulting from this source, is one of many causes of our inadequate conception of the changes now in progress on the earth's surface. It has often been supposed, that the greater part of the coral reefs in the Indian and

and Pacific oceans were based on submarine volcanos,—which seems indicated by the circular shape so frequently assumed by them; but perhaps a still stronger argument in favour of this theory might be deduced from the great abundance of carbonate of lime required for the rapid growth of zoophytic and shelly limestones,—an abundance which could only be looked for where there are active volcanos and frequent earthquakes, as amongst the isles of the South Pacific. We may confidently infer, that the development of organic life would be promoted in corals, sponges, and testaceous mollusca, by the heat, carbonic acid, lime, silica, and other mineral ingredients in a state of solution, given out by submarine springs, in the same manner as the vegetation was observed by Sir H. Davy to be quickened in the lake of the Solfatara, in the Campagna di Roma.'—pp. 211, 212.

Calcareous rocks are dissolved by spring water percolating through them, particularly when charged, as nearly all springs are, more or less, with carbonic acid; and to this cause are to be attributed the innumerable subterranean cavities and winding passages which exclusively occur in limestone formations, in our own as well as in other countries. A subterranean rill of water flowing through the frequent fissures of such rocks must gradually have enlarged them into caverns or galleries, which, after the stream had shifted to some other channel, afforded a retreat to wild animals. Should any further change, occasioned by the processes of excavation or elevation going on in this district, have permitted the waters of any neighbouring rivulet or river to find their way into these winding caves, the animals will have been expelled, mud washed in, and after the water had again drained off, covered with the stalagmitic incrustation that drops from their roof. Thus simply may we explain the bone caves of limestone districts, which have generated so many wonderful theories. Springs which deposit *silex* are exclusively thermal, and only met with near active volcanos. Vegetable and animal matter is not merely enveloped by them, but by degrees completely silicified. The Geysers of Iceland are noted and copious sources of this mineral. Should such break out, as is probable, in a region of submarine volcanos, we may expect beds of chert, and layers and nodules of *silex*, to be spread far and wide over the bed of the sea, and interstratified with shelly and calcareous deposits, or with matter derived from the wasting of cliffs or volcanic ejections. Iron is held in solution by most springs, and acts as a frequent cementing and colouring principle in the subaqueous deposits now in progress. 'When we find, therefore, that so many sandstones and other rocks in the sedimentary strata are bound together or stained by iron, it presents us with a striking point of analogy between the state of things at very distant epochs.' Brine springs are also common in the vicinity of volcanic rocks,



as well as sources of bitumen and naphtha ; and the bituminous shales and limestones of earlier formations seem to attest the former impregnation of the waters of lakes and seas from similar sources. We may, indeed, remark generally, that a large portion of the finer particles and the more crystalline substances found in sedimentary rocks of different ages, are composed of the same elements as are now held in solution by springs, just as the coarser materials bear an equally strong resemblance to the alluvial matter deposited in the beds and deltas of torrents and rivers, and, as far as we can observe them, in the basins of existing lakes and seas.

Mr. Lyell next proceeds to the consideration of these alluvial formations, or, according to his division of the subject, the *reproductive* effects of running water. The formation of *deltas*, that is, deposits of alluvium at the openings of rivers into *stagnant* water, goes on equally in lakes as in the ocean, with this difference only, that they tend much more rapidly to fill up the former, from the inferiority of their area and depth. The completion of this process transforms the lake into an alluvial plain, watered by the river, which previously deposited all its drift and sediment there, but now carries them forward into some lower lake, which it proceeds to fill by the same process, or, in default of such, into the sea. The lake of Geneva is thus being gradually filled up by the deposits of the Rhone, which have created a tract of land, a mile and a half in width, between the ancient town Port Vallais, once, as the name implies, on the lake, and its present margin. Mr. Lyell's remarks on the ascertained horizontality of these and similar alluvial beds, and their division into layers or strata, are important, but we cannot find room for them. Almost every transverse valley in mountainous countries affords proofs of its having once consisted of a string of lakes, which have been filled up, one after the other, in this way, and now appear as so many basins containing an expanse of flat alluvial land, separated from each other by narrow and rocky gorges, in which we trace the former barriers of the lakes. At these points, the river is gradually wearing down the rocks it runs over, by help of the detritus drifted from the plain above ; and as fast as the barrier is cut through, the lowering of the river channel above takes place, and remnants of the alluvial beds of the former lake are left in a series of terraces, at different heights, above the actual water level. This filling up of hollows, and cutting through of rocky barriers, is the universal process by which running water ever labours to produce a more uniform declivity. Though the Rhone has not yet obliterated, as it sooner or later will, the Lake of Geneva, many *hundreds* of alluvial tracts of equal, and some of greater

greater area, once evidently lakes likewise, may be seen as we follow up this river and its principal tributaries to their sources.\* Mr. Lyell justly remarks on the absurdity of Deluc and Kirwan, who brought forward the marine deltas, and particularly that of the Rhone, as exact chronological data for measuring the time that has elapsed since the birth of our continents. It is evident, that till every lake along the course of a river has been filled up, its whole transporting power will not operate in enlarging the delta at its opening into the sea. After this process has been accomplished, the stream may in a few years carry to the sea as much matter as it previously conveyed there in as many ages.

The shores of the Baltic, and still more of the gulf of Bothnia, are rapidly gaining upon those seas by the accession of new land. To this gradual shallowing of the water near the shore is probably to be attributed the opinion that the surface of the whole Baltic is being annually lowered, an opinion which, in spite of the powerful support of Von Buch, has been at length satisfactorily refuted. The delta of the Rhone advances fast into the Mediterranean. Places which were islands in the ninth century are now two leagues from the sea; and a tower, erected as a lighthouse, on the shore, so lately as 1737, is now a mile from it. The deposit of this river consists chiefly of *solid rock*, not loose matter. In the museum of Montpellier is a cannon, taken up from the sea near the mouth of the Rhone, imbedded in a crystalline limestone. An arenaceous rock, cemented by calcareous matter, including multitudes of broken unmineralized shells, is also taken up in large masses, for use as building stone. The delta of the Po is pushed forward still more quickly. Adria was a seaport in the time of Augustus—it is now *twenty miles inland*. Donati, by dredging the bottom of the Adriatic, between Dalmatia and the mouth of the Po, found the new deposits to consist partly of mud and partly of rock, the latter calcareous, and inclosing shells. He ascertained, also, that particular species of testacea are grouped together in certain places, and are becoming slowly incorporated with the mud or calcareous precipitates. In fact, there seems to be a complete identity of composition between the beds now slowly forming in the Adriatic and the strata of the sub-Apennine hills. From the abrupt manner in which the high land bordering this gulf rises from the alluvial flats on its coast line, Mr. Lyell suggests the probability that its basin was at first of great depth, and that the sedimentary beds which have accumulated over its bottom equal in mass the tertiary marls of Parma, or the conglomerates of Nice, which measure a thousand feet in thickness.

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\* Lyell, p. 224.

The delta of the Nile offers circumstances of equal interest ; but that of the Ganges is yet more remarkable, from the extensive scale and vast rapidity of its transformations. Its coast line is two hundred miles in length, and, according to Major Rennell, the most newly formed portion of it, a wilderness of islands and creeks, inhabited by tigers and alligators, equals alone in area the whole principality of Wales. So great is the quantity of mud and sand poured into the gulf in the flood season, that the sea only recovers its transparency at the distance of sixty miles from the coast, and the mud is found, by soundings, to be carried at least sixty miles further. Here, then, is a marine formation now in progress, horizontally disposed over an area of at least two hundred miles by one hundred and twenty ! In the branches and at the *mouth* of this mighty river, new islands are constantly forming, and old ones swept off. Mr. Colebrook mentions tracts of land *forty square miles in extent*, and more than one hundred feet in thickness, as having been washed away within a few years, in one locality. Some of the new islands, says Rennell, formed within a very short period, rival in size and fertility the Isle of Wight. No sooner are they thrown up to the level of the highest floods, than they are overrun with reeds, long grass, and shrubs, composing jungles, where tigers, buffalos, deer, and other wild animals, take shelter. Crocodiles also swarm on the mud banks and islands at the extremity of the coast. It is easy to perceive that both animal and vegetable remains must be continually imbedded in the sediment which subsides in the delta. How uncalled for, then, are the general catastrophes and revolutions resorted to by cosmogonists, to account for the entombing of successive races of animals in the older strata, when the same process is obviously going on at present amidst the general tranquillity and order that reigns throughout the rich and populous delta of Bengal !

The delta of the Mississippi, as might be expected, increases rapidly. It has advanced many leagues since New Orleans was built. Great submarine deposits are also in progress, stretching far and wide over the bottom of the sea, which is become very shallow throughout a vast area. Opposite the opening of the Mississippi large rafts of drift timber are met with, matted into a network, many yards in thickness, and stretching over *hundreds of square leagues*. They afterwards become covered with a fine mud, on which other layers of trees are deposited the year ensuing, until numerous alternations of earthy and vegetable matter are accumulated. The geologist will recognize in this relation of Darby the type of the formation of the ancient lignites and coal-fields.

The immense deposits of mud and sand at or near the mouths  
of



of great rivers will not astonish us, if we reflect on the large proportion of sedimentary matter which their waters carry down, and which never finds its way back again; while the water, on the contrary, is eternally raised by evaporation, and returned in rain upon the land. Manfredi, the celebrated hydrographer, calculated the average proportion of sediment in all the running water on the globe to be  $\frac{1}{175}$ . Supposing this to be correct, in every 175 years a quantity of sedimentary matter would be carried into the ocean, equal in bulk to the aggregate volume of water contributed to it in a year by all the streams of the world, which every one will perceive must be enormous. But the late Major Rennell actually reckoned the quantity of mud held in suspension by the Ganges during floods, as one-fourth of its bulk. If this were true, as well as the estimate the same eminent hydrographer formed of the volume of the Ganges, this river alone, during the flood season, carries down *daily* into the Indian ocean upwards of 8641 millions of cubic feet of mud! Even if we suppose this greatly exaggerated, there will remain enough to prevent our continuing to make light of the prodigious formations hourly accumulating at the sides and bottom of the ocean, or of the power of running water to excavate and carry off the materials of the land. Few geologists would be found any longer to speak of the actual erosive agency of water as insignificant, were the immense volume of matter carried into the sea in a given time duly ascertained, since all must admit that the whole, with slight exceptions, is subtracted from *valleys*; in other words, that ancient valleys have been excavated, and new ones formed, to the extent of the space which the new deposits, when consolidated, would occupy.

When torrents flow directly into a sea or lake, as along all mountainous coasts, the transported matter consists of coarse gravel, pebbles, and boulders. Vast deposits of this kind are probably forming at present in the deep sea, at the base of the Ligurian Alps, for example, and levelled by the marine currents and waves which wear away this rocky coast. By periodical changes in the rapidity and volume of rivers, or in the direction of marine currents, such coarse deposits are often made to alternate with finer. When two rivers meet in one mouth, the common delta is often successively the receptacle of different sediments derived from the converging streams, whose periods of flood do not always coincide. The one is perhaps charged with calcareous, the other with argillaceous matter, or one may sweep down sand and pebbles, the other mud. These differences may be repeated with considerable regularity, until a thickness of hundreds of feet of alternating beds is accumulated. Again, among the infinite shiftings which occur at the mouths of deltas, it must frequently happen

happen that the same area is alternately, during a considerable period, covered with salt water, and with fresh ; and hence occasional alternations and admixtures of fluviatile and marine deposits must be expected in such situations.

Mr. Lyell next proceeds to give instances of the destroying and transporting effect of marine currents, whether caused by tides, or by the heaping up of the surface-water in the direction towards which it is impelled by constant or periodical winds. Though these forces are permanent in their nature, they are variable in their direction, depending, in great measure, on the actual configuration of the land, the breadth and depth of channels, the position of shoals and banks accumulating at the bottom of seas ; in a word, on a combination of circumstances which are made to vary continually by many igneous and aqueous causes, and, among the rest, by the erosive and cumulative power of the currents themselves. The amount of excavation and accumulation carried on by marine currents is considered by Mr. Lyell to exceed very greatly that of running water on the land. We have not space to follow his survey of the rapid degradation which the east and south coasts of this island, from the Shetlands to the Land's end, are at present suffering, full as it is of the most interesting and striking details,—many of them collected from personal observation. It is astonishing how deficient as yet is our information on this and the correlative subjects, notwithstanding their importance in an economical no less than in a scientific sense. We think the attention of some of those zealous members of the Geological Society, who have again and again examined and mapped, with praiseworthy, though perhaps excessive, minuteness, the groups of secondary strata, with all their subordinate beds which compose our island, might now be directed with the most beneficial effect to the collection of facts as to the extent and nature of the changes going on upon our coasts ;—the encroachments of the sea, the parallel additions to the land, together with the result of soundings to some distance from the shore, and details on the rapidity, direction, and variations of the tidal currents, which are the agents in these operations, so as to enable us to refer the several changes to their specific and local causes.

Proofs of the great power of the waves of the sea in removing masses of rock of enormous weight, are found in the Shetland isles, which are both battered by the waves of the Atlantic, and ground down by a strong current. A block of nine feet by six, and four feet thick, is described by Dr. Hibbert as having been, in the winter of 1818, hurried up an acclivity to a distance of 150 feet, with many other equally striking facts of the same nature.

nature. Indeed, the erosive force acting on the western coasts of Britain and Ireland is far more powerful than that which attacks the other side; though the coast being composed of harder rocks, the degradation is perhaps not so rapid. The remarkable ragged sea-line of the western isles, the Shetlands, Orkneys, and the west coast of Scotland and Ireland, as well as of Norway, is no doubt chiefly attributable to their exposure to the violence of the westerly swell of the Atlantic, and the equally powerful north-west current that sets directly against them. Hence these coasts are worn to a mere skeleton, the hardest rocks offering the longest resistance, and projecting in bluff capes and islands, or clusters of needle-shaped rocks, the last shreds of masses once continuous. Even these appear, from the observations of Dr. Hibbert, to suffer perceptible degradation by almost every storm. We learn from the same source that lightning co-operates on this coast with the violence of the ocean in shattering solid rocks, and heaping them in piles of enormous fragments both on dry land and beneath the water.

‘We cannot but admit,’ says Mr. Lyell, ‘that a region which shall be the theatre, for myriads of ages, of the action of such disturbing causes, will present at some future period a scene of havoc and ruin that may compare with any now found by the geologist on the surface of our continents; raised, as they all have been in former ages, from the bosom of the deep.’

In the isle of Sheppey fifty acres of land, from sixty to eighty feet above the sea, have been swept away within the last twenty years. The church of Minster, now near the coast, is said to have been in the middle of the island only fifty years ago; and it is computed that, at the present rate of destruction, the whole of the island will be annihilated in another half century! The tradition that the Goodwin Sands were once the estates of Earl Goodwin, points, no doubt, to the former existence of an island or extension of the coast in that direction, which, like Sheppey, has been washed away;\* and the idea of the former union of England with France gains an appearance of probability from the proofs of rapid degradation still occurring on our coasts, collected by Mr. Lyell. The French side of the channel is equally corroded by the violence of the great tidal current which flows up this passage in the manner of a vast river.

As a general rule, wherever cliffs or steep escarpments form the shore, there, we may be confident, abrasion is, or has lately been, going on, and also that a current sets along the coast, by which its detritus is carried into deep water. The beating of the waves alone

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\* Mr. Lyell does not seem to know that one of the prebends in St. Paul's takes its title from these lands now ‘*sub mare*.’



may wear away and break up a rock, but without a current to sweep off the debris, they would accumulate into a permanent talus, which must entirely prevent the formation of a cliff. But, by the shiftings of currents, it often happens that the sea retreats, and leaves a talus or a flat shore of sand or mud beneath the cliffs it once undermined; towards which it may return again, when another change occurs in the circumstances by which the direction of currents, and consequently their erosive and accumulative forces, are locally determined.

The existence of currents and tides in the sea at the points where rivers are discharged into it, produces a remarkable effect on the character of their embouchures. We have traced the production of deltas, those flat alluvial projections, by which the detritus carried down by rivers tends to obstruct their mouths when they enter *stagnant* water, such as inland lakes, or *currentless* seas. But when, on the contrary, they flow into seas where a current sweeps along the coast, the transported matter is hurried away before it can be permanently deposited, and the coast line is prevented from increasing. When, in addition to a current, high tides ascend the mouths of rivers, instead of being obstructed, they are continually enlarged; excavation goes on in lieu of accumulation, and an *estuary*, or inlet of the sea, what Rennell calls a minus delta, is produced, in place of a projection. It is easily seen how a tidal wave, alternately flowing up the mouth of a river, and ponding back its waters, and then returning with double violence through the added momentum of these waters themselves, must scour out the channel, and wear away the land on either side of the mouth. Thus were produced the great estuaries of the Thames, the Severn, and the Solway, of the Seine, the Gironde, the Tagus, the Elbe, the Delaware, the Chesapeake, and of numerous other rivers flowing into tidal seas, which, but for this circumstance, would probably have, long since, filled up the great submarine valleys which they indicate, instead of keeping them open, and indeed widening them daily, as they are observed to do now. Where a current flows by the mouth of a river, though the whole of the drift matter is not permanently deposited, yet at the line of junction between the fluvial and marine current, where they neutralize each other, a certain quantity subsides, and a *bar*, or lengthened bank, is the result, extending across the mouth of the river. The extent and depth of this bar, and the position it takes in the opening of the river, are determined by the comparative force and direction of the antagonist currents of the sea and river. The latter almost always preserves an opening for its issue through the bar, at the further extremity from the direction of the marine current; but where

where the force of the river is comparatively trifling, the bar is completed, and the stream either percolates through it, or, being dammed up into a lake within, overflows it on one or more points, which are occasionally worn into channels of communication, admitting the sea-water, and then again closed up, so as to occasion the lake to be alternately salt and fresh. Bars and shoals are also formed at the conflux of two marine currents holding sedimentary matter in suspension, or of a current and an eddy, or along the boundary line of a current bordered by stagnant water. The direction of every current depends chiefly on the form of the coast past which it flows; and it is deflected by projecting headlands, banks, and shoals, just in the manner of a river. Hence behind such projections the water is undisturbed, except by the eddy occasioned in it through the friction of the current sweeping by. The boundary line of the current and stagnant water is determined by the momentum and previous direction of the former, and the projecting resistances it meets with, but uniformly assumes a more or less regular curvature according to these circumstances. It is along this sweeping line that the matter drifted by the current subsides, as the momentum of its particles carries them beyond the line which limits the transporting power of the stream; and thus every current, after rushing past opposing headlands, tends to form out of their detritus a coast-line corresponding with the curve they have impressed on it. The Etangs of the south of France, the Halls of northern Prussia, the Fjords of the west coast of Denmark, and the great Lagoons of the gulf of Mexico, are examples, on a large scale, of the stagnant pools of water shut out from the sea by bars of drifted matter so deposited along the boundary curve of a great marine current. The long narrow line of coast and string of islands which skirt the north of Holland, seem to have once formed an extensive bar of this kind, from the mouth of the Scheldt to that of the Elbe, having one or more large lagoons within; but the bias of the marine current, for some time past, has set in with violence against the land (owing to the increase, perhaps, of some of the vast shoals which are forming in the German ocean), and these islands have in consequence, for some centuries, been rapidly worn away. The Rhine and the ocean are here opposed to each other, each disputing the ground occupied by north Holland; the one striving to shape out a ~~curved~~ line of coast, the other to form a delta.

'There was evidently a period when the river obtained the ascendancy, and the greater part of Holland is the result of its depositions, but for the last two thousand years, during which man has witnessed and actively participated in the struggle, the result has been

been in favour of the ocean, the area of the whole territory having become more and more circumscribed; natural and artificial barriers having given way, one after another, and many hundred thousand human beings having perished in the waves.'—p. 285.

The details of the gradual losses sustained on this coast, collected by Mr. Lyell from historical documents, and the very useful researches of Van Hoff, including the prospect of the ultimate reduction of the peninsula of Denmark to an island, by the rapid invasions of the sea on its western coast, are exceedingly curious and instructive, but we cannot pause upon them.

Even the great gulf of Mexico itself may be considered as approaching to the condition of a vast lagoon; the flat projecting headlands of Yucatan and Florida—together with the immense submarine shoals by which they are prolonged two-thirds of the way, at least, across the entrance of the gulf—being the extremities of the vast bar which is in process of formation by the action of the great intertropical current. This powerful stream, driven by the tradewinds across the Atlantic, and along the north coast of South America, where it becomes charged with an enormous quantity of sediment brought down by the rivers Amazon and Orinoco, the sweepings of half the South American continent, is heaped up at the mouth of the gulf, and deposits there most of its suspended matter, escaping laterally through the canal of Bahama, with a fall which communicates to it a rapidity of four miles an hour. Much of the silt received by the gulf-stream from the waters of the Amazon is also thrown up on the coast of Guiana, where immense tracts of new and prodigiously fertile land are forming; much also is left in the Caribbean sea, on the shores of Trinidad and Honduras, which are annually gaining in extent. When a lagoon has been entirely separated from the sea, with the exception of the channel kept open across the bar for the discharge of the rivers that flow into it, its subsequent filling up must be the work of these rivers alone, and will proceed more or less slowly, according to the quantity of matter they bring down. Thus the lagoons at the mouths of the Rhone, the Po, the Nile, and those of Prussia, the coast of Languedoc, and the interior of the Mexican gulf into which large rivers enter, are rapidly filling up; while many others in the same geographical situation, but which receive very little water from the land, are not perceptibly diminishing in area.

Winds often assist in the formation and increase of bars, by drifting the sand of the shore up to higher levels than it would otherwise attain, and sometimes into hills of considerable elevation, three hundred feet or more, as the Dunes of the north coast of France and Holland, of Norfolk, Cornwall and Moray.

But



But unquestionably the greatest example of the transporting power of winds, is the *sand-flood* of Africa, which, moving gradually eastwards, has overwhelmed all the lands capable of tillage west of the Nile, unless sheltered by high mountains, and threatens ultimately to obliterate the rich plain of Egypt. It would seem that the formation of the vast central desert of Africa, the Zahara, may have been effected through the constant westerly winds drifting along the sands which are thrown up on the shallow shore on both sides of Cape Blanco, by the powerful and dangerous current well known to set in upon it. The time required for so apparently trifling a power to overwhelm such an extensive tract, is as nothing in the calendar of Nature, however great it may appear when measured by the standard of human chronicles.

The fragmentary matter carried away by marine currents and spread widely over the bed of the ocean, must infinitely exceed the deposits of rivers. The bed of the German ocean, which is the common receptacle of the detritus swept away from the eastern coast of Britain, the mouths of the Rhine, Maes, Scheld, and Elbe, and the shores of Holland, Denmark, and Norway, is encumbered to an extraordinary degree with sand-banks and shoals, as appears from Mr. Stevenson's detailed and very curious survey. 'The Dogger-bank alone is three hundred and fifty miles in length, and the principal shoals united occupy an area equal to one-third of Great Britain.' Their average height is seventy-eight feet, according to Mr. Stevenson; so that, assuming them to be uniformly composed to this depth of drift matter, they would cover the whole of England and Scotland to the thickness of twenty-eight feet! A great portion of these banks consists of siliceous sand mixed with fragments of shells and corals, ground down, the proportion of these calcareous matters being very great. The drift carried eastwards by the great current of the Mediterranean is deposited on the shores of Syria and Asia Minor as strata of *stone*, not of loose materials, owing to the abundance of carbonate of lime held in solution by the streams and rivers which here flow into the sea. It is the opinion of M. Girard, one of the *savans* who accompanied Napoleon's expedition to Egypt, and were employed on the survey of the ancient canal of Amrou, communicating between the Nile and the Red Sea, that the isthmus of Suez itself is merely a bar formed by the deposition of this current and of the Nile, and that the two seas were formerly united.\* It is certain that the isthmus is daily gaining in width by the accession of fresh deposits on the shore of the Mediterranean.

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\* Description de l'Égypte, Mémoires, tom. i., p. 33.

Icebergs are probably active instruments in the transportation of gravel and rocks, from the mountainous shores against which they form in high latitudes, to the bottom of the distant seas where the ice is dissolved. 'Scoresby counted five hundred icebergs in latitude  $69^{\circ}$  and  $70^{\circ}$  north. Many contained strata of earth and stone, or were loaded with beds of rock of great thickness.' Such ice islands, before they are melted, have been known to drift from Baffin's Bay to the Azores, and from the south pole to the neighbourhood of the Cape.

At the openings of large inland seas into the ocean, currents are sometimes produced by the influx or efflux of water to maintain its uniformity of level, when deranged through the supply of the basins from tributary rivers exceeding or falling short of the drain upon them from evaporation. The Baltic may be given as an instance of excessive, the Mediterranean of deficient, supply. The former basin discharges its redundancy into the German ocean, through the Sound; and hence it is very inferior in saltiness to most seas. In the north of the gulf of Bothnia, the water is nearly fresh, and the saltness is very inconsiderable where it joins the Baltic. The Mediterranean, on the contrary, receives a supply from the Atlantic through the Straits of Gibraltar. It has been supposed that an equal quantity is discharged by a counter-current below; but this is an unnecessary and unwarranted hypothesis. The Mediterranean is, from this cause, saltier than the ocean; and as it receives constant accessions of salt from the Atlantic, as well as its own tributaries, and parts with none, what becomes of the excess? Mr. Lyell suggests, that in the enormous depths of the central parts of this sea, it is probably precipitated, 'on the grandest scale, in continuous masses of pure rock-salt, extending, perhaps, hundreds of miles in length.'

Where an inland basin is at a distance from the sea, and receives more water than it loses by evaporation, the surplus is discharged by a river, the water remaining fresh, as in the case of ordinary lakes. But, on the contrary, should the loss by evaporation be, under such circumstances, uncompensated by the supply from tributary streams, it is clear that the lake must gradually shrink, and its area become contracted, until an equilibrium is attained between the loss and supply of water. This appears to have occurred to the Dead Sea in Syria; the Caspian, Aral, Van, Urmia, and many other lakes in central Asia, and not a few in the interior of Africa: bodies of water, which have no outlet, are equally salt, or still more so than the sea, and generally surrounded by flat plains containing numerous salt lakes, pools, and springs, saline incrustations, beds of shells, and other marks of the former extension of the inland sea. From  
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the relations of Pallas and other travellers in the neighbourhood of the Caspian, it seems that there are distinct traces, not only of this sea and that of Aral having been united, and covering a surface perhaps four or five times their present area, but also of their communication with the sea of Azof, by a wide strait which still exists in the valley of the Manytsch, full of salt pools and bordered by waterworn cliffs. The great subsidence of the Caspian is further proved by the well-ascertained fact of its level being upwards of three hundred feet lower than the surface of the Azof. Since earthquakes are still not unfrequent in the district of the Caucasus, it is possible that the upheaving of part of the bed of these straits was the original cause of the separation of this great inland sea from the Mediterranean, and its consequent shrinking to its present dimensions, just as the Mediterranean itself would subside, if its communication with the Atlantic by the straits of Gibraltar were cut off.

The more probable explanation, however, is, the sudden lowering of the waters of the Euxine by the formation of the channel of the Dardanelles. The ancient tradition, preserved by Strabo, Strato, and Diodorus Siculus, of the production of the Ogygian deluge, by the bursting of this barrier, is strongly confirmed, in spite of the opposition it has met with from Andreossi and others, by the physical conformation of these straits, at their opening into the Black Sea. Both coasts are there formed of shattered and dislocated rocks of volcanic conglomerate, a formation which, from its incoherence, might be expected to give way readily before the rush of a debacle; while its volcanic origin points out the extreme probability of an earthquake having first opened a passage, which the outbursting waters subsequently enlarged. It is much to be regretted that none of the numerous tourists whom Europe, and especially England, has since the peace annually sent forth, to stare at the minarets of Constantinople, and swim across the Hellespont, should have contributed any information on the geology or physical geography of that country, which might help to determine this interesting problem. If the level of the Black Sea has ever been permanently higher than it is now, traces of its former level should be found in beds of shingle, shells, and the perforations of *litophagi*, along the European or Asiatic coasts. That little or no such evidence has yet been collected, is much more probably owing to its never having been looked for, than to its non-existence. Whether this theory be true or not, it serves at least to show that prodigious alterations in physical geography, and apparent revolutions, affecting a large part of the surface of the globe, may be rationally accounted for, not only by existing causes, but by some



so trifling, as at first sight to appear incapable of producing any but equally trifling effects, and should put us still more on our guard against the tendency to invent extraordinary causes for such revolutions.

‘It follows,’ says Mr. Lyell, ‘from the observations we have made on the renovating power of marine currents, that in certain parts of the globe, continuous formations are now accumulated over immense spaces along the bottom of the ocean. The materials undoubtedly must vary in different regions, yet for thousands of miles they may often retain some common characters, and be simultaneously in progress throughout a space stretching 30° of latitude from south-east to north-west, from the mouths of the Amazon for example, to those of the Mississippi—as far as from the Straits of Gibraltar to Iceland. At the same time, great coral reefs are growing around the West India islands; and in some parts, streams of lava are occasionally flowing into the sea, which become covered again, in the intervals between eruptions, with other beds of corals. The various rocks, therefore, stratified and unstratified, now forming in this part of the globe, may occupy, perhaps, far greater areas than any group of our ancient secondary series which has yet been traced through Europe.’—p. 310.

Having dwelt at some length on the aqueous agents of change now operating on the surface of the earth, Mr. Lyell proceeds to consider those of an *igneous* character, namely, volcanos and earthquakes. These, indeed, though it may be advisable to divide them, for the sake of classification, are closely united in nature, earthquakes being usually followed by eruptions from either a new or some neighbouring volcano; and no volcanic eruption of any magnitude taking place without the accompaniment of earthquakes, which seem to be merely vibrations of the crust of the globe, when rent and upheaved by the expansion of the volcanic matter, struggling to find a vent. After an issue has been formed, and so long as it keeps sufficiently open to allow of an easy habitual or occasional discharge, the convulsions of the neighbouring soil are of a mild and harmless character. But, where a volcanic vent is wanting, or has been long obstructed by the accumulation and hardening of the ejected matters, the shocks, when they occur at last, are proportionately violent and destructive; so that it is not without justice that habitual volcanos have been called the *safety-valves* of those districts which are at present liable to subterranean convulsions. The geographical extent of such tracts is very great, but we must refer our readers for them to Mr. Lyell, and the works of Hoff and others. All we can afford space for on this interesting subject is a few remarks on the general laws which appear to determine the developement of subterranean energy, and the effects produced by it on the surface of the globe.

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The number of principal volcanos known to be occasionally in eruption is upwards of two hundred;—but thousands of mountains of similar form and structure, and bearing the marks of (geologically speaking) exceedingly recent activity, are scattered around and between them, the fires of which, though to all appearance slumbering, are likely in many instances to break forth again, since nothing can be more common than the renewal of eruptions from volcanic hills which had never been in activity within the range of tradition. The subterranean fire is observed to shift its outward developement capriciously from one point to another, occasionally returning again to its earlier vents, according to circumstances, with some of which we are probably not yet acquainted, but which seem chiefly to consist in the accumulations both of congealed lava and ejected fragments, by which every habitual vent tends continually to block up its channels of discharge. One remarkable law characterizes the geographical distribution of points of volcanic eruption; namely, that they almost invariably occur in *linear trains*, stretching in some cases *across a third of the globe*. Such, for instance, is that which, beginning in the south of Chili, or rather at Cape Horn, if we believe the reports of burning mountains in Terra del Fuego and Patagonia, runs northwards in an uninterrupted chain through the Andes of Peru and Quito, and thence across the provinces of Pasto, Popayan, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and the plateau of Mexico, up to the northern extremity of the peninsula of California. If the west coast of North America were explored, we should probably find this linear series of volcanos prolonged in that direction to unite with the yet more remarkable train which commences in the vicinity of Cook's Harbour, threads the whole length of the Aleutian Isles in an easterly direction for the space of a thousand miles, then turns southwards, and pursues an uninterrupted course of between sixty and seventy degrees of latitude, through Kamskatchka, the Kurile, Japanese, Loochoo, Philippine isles, and the Moluccas, where it branches off in different directions towards the east and north-west. One line traverses Java and Sumatra, and turns northwards through the Andaman Isles to the west coast of the kingdom of Ava; the other is prolonged across New Guinea into the Polynesian archipelago, which seems to be one vast theatre of igneous action, the greater number, if not all, of the islands being formed of coralline reefs, interstratified with or based upon volcanic rocks. Throughout the two great lines we have noticed, which, if they prove, as we suspect, to be continuous with each other, will be longer than *the whole circumference of the globe*, not only are there a vast number of volcanic apertures, which,

within the last few years, have been in eruption, but the intervals are filled by strings of eminences evidently produced by similar phenomena; all of which have been, and many no doubt will again be, habitually active. Sometimes points of eruption are collected in groups, as those of Iceland, the Canaries, and the Azores; but as these are uniformly insular, and only, in fact, the summits of a group of submarine volcanic mountains, we cannot be certain that they do not form a part, the inosculation probably, of one or more lengthened trains, continued in the depths of the ocean, and not yet raised above its surface.

The cause of the conical figure so characteristic of a volcanic mountain must be obvious to all who are acquainted with the circumstances of an ordinary eruption. When the expansion of a subterranean mass of lava has rent the overlying crust of rocks, the liquid matter boils up those parts of the fissure which offer least resistance: and, as it approaches the atmosphere, discharges enormous bubbles of elastic fluid, chiefly steam, which project into the air showers of red-hot lava and fragments torn from the sides of the crevice through which they escape. These ejected matters, on falling, accumulate round the opening into a circular bank, which, by the continuance of the process, becomes a truncated cone, with an internal funnel. This is the common form of a *volcanic cone*, thrown up by the explosions of a single eruption. If lava flows from the same orifice, *after* the formation of the cone, it breaks down the side; if *before*, the cone is often raised upon the hardened surface of the lava-current, which flows underneath, in a sort of canal, without damaging the bank above. Should subsequent eruptions take place on the same point, the hillock becomes more complicated in its structure, but the conical form is still preserved with sufficient regularity, the ejected matters mantling round the outside of the hill, and the lava, which pours over the lips of the crater, or forces its way through crevices in the sides of the cone, hardening into massive ribs or coatings, by which its bulk is at the same time increased, and a durable skeleton supplied. After repeated eruptions from the same opening, the simple cone becomes in this way enlarged into the *volcanic mountain*.

Vague and incorrect ideas are often attached to what is called *the crater* of a volcano. Some have erroneously supposed that every volcano must at all times have a crater—confounding it with the vent of the erupted matter, which is often no more than a narrow crevice, and, being filled up by the products of the eruption, is not easily to be discovered afterwards. A crater is the cup-shaped hollow left by the repeated explosions of elastic fluids which usually, but not always, accompany the emission of lava  
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from a crevice, and often occur without any overflow of lava. The crater of a simple cone, formed of fragmentary matter alone, is, as we have seen, a hollow inverted cone, circumscribed by the talus of debris heaped up round the vent. But, in volcanic mountains, after explosions of paroxysmal violence, the whole solid centre of the mountain is often blown into the air, and its contents scattered over the outer slopes, or worn to powder by repeated ejection, and carried by winds to vast distances. The crater left by such an eruption is a deep and often wide cavity, bordered by abrupt rocky precipices, in which sections are exposed of the successively-accumulated beds that form the substance of the mountain. Such a crater is wholly different in appearance from the smooth-sided and regularly-sloping funnel of a simple cone. The former deserve the distinguishing appellation of craters of paroxysmal explosion. Nor are they broken through volcanic mountains alone, but not unfrequently through granite or stratified rocks, which may be seen surrounding them in steep escarpments, and supporting the fragments of those rocks and scoria thrown out. The width of a crater seems to depend on the bulk of the volumes of vapour discharged at once, and does not always correspond with the quantity of matter ejected, or the duration of the eruption. After the formation of a crater of great size, in the manner we have described, succeeding eruptions, from the same central vent, only throw up secondary cones and lava streams at the bottom of this gulph, which, accumulating on one another, by degrees fill it up entirely. At this time the volcanic mountain may exhibit no crater at all; and this is by no means an unfrequent condition of extinct or dormant volcanos. But the weight and coherence of these accumulations over the mouth of the volcano seem, by repressing, to increase its latent energy; and it often again bursts forth in a paroxysm of explosions, which blow off the whole summit of the mountain, and leave a fresh central cavity, of proportionate dimensions, sometimes several miles in diameter. Almost every volcanic mountain, habitually eruptive, is thus undergoing a succession of destructions and repairs; and none could better illustrate this general law than Vesuvius during the past century. Those who will take the trouble to consult Hamilton's plates and relations, will trace the process we have described several times repeated, up to the publication of his work. The last phenomenon, described by him, was the paroxysmal eruption of 1794, which gutted the cone, and left a vast crater, three miles in circumference. This cavity was gradually filled by the falling in of its sides, and the subsequent minor eruptions from that time to 1822, when a high convexity had replaced the hollow on the summit of the cone. In October of that year, an eruption

eruption occurred, accompanied by explosions of great violence, which lasted twenty days, and once more hollowed out the cone, leaving a crater a mile in diameter, and two thousand feet deep. Since that time, fresh eruptions have been going on from the bottom of the crater: a secondary cone is thrown up there, and produces lava and scoriæ, which already have half filled the great crater.

The cliff-range of Somma, which half encircles the upper cone of Vesuvius, is, without doubt, the remaining segment of the walls of the vast crater produced by the explosions of 79 A.D., which entombed Herculaneum and Pompeii beneath the fragments of the shattered mountain. We have no room to dwell on the proofs of this fact, which may be seen in Mr. Lyell's work, and those to which he refers. Nothing is more common than such segments of ancient craters encircling the recent and smaller volcanic cones. We may instance the Peak of Teneriffe, which rises from the circular cliffs of Cahorra; Santorini, which surrounds the New and Little Kameni; Barren island; the volcano of Bourbon, which is environed on one side by two successive semicircular ranges of cliffs, one older than the other; Etna, whose highest cone rises in the centre of the remains of a circular crater, several miles in diameter, known to have been produced in 1444—and many others might be added.

We must here advert to a strange notion brought forward by some continental geologists of high celebrity—we allude to the great names of Humboldt and Von Buch. They choose to attribute to such outer cone and crater a mode of formation altogether different from that of the internal cone and crater which these environ. They admit that in figure, composition, and structure, the two are identical; but, while they allow the alternate beds of lava and fragmentary matter, which compose the inner cone, and dip away on all sides from the central axis, at an angle of about  $25^{\circ}$ , to have assumed that disposition from the mode of formation we have described, the productions of one eruption after another moulding themselves on the outer slopes of the cone first thrown up, yet they insist on resorting to a different cause for the like disposition of the similar beds in the outer cone!—and this, though it often happens that the first contains, like Vesuvius at the present moment, a *third* cone, formed in the interior of its crater, of the same nature as the two outer ones; so that, if a difference of size is alone to warrant a different origin, the second cone ought, also, to be referred to a separate cause from that of the one it contains. It might as well be argued that the different pieces of a turner's *nest* of boxes could not have been produced from the same lathe, or by the same process. Smitten, however, as it would seem, with a love of variety, M. Von

Von Buch and his followers consider the beds, composing the outer cones, to have been deposited horizontally at the bottom of the sea, and then raised, in a regular manner, all round the central volcano, by the force of its eruptions. Mr. Lyell, we are glad to see, rejects this most uncalled-for theory. He asks, very pertinently, for an observed instance of such upheaving in any of the numerous recorded eruptions: or for a single example of strata, *other than volcanic*, elevated in this symmetrical way round a volcano. The whole of our continents are now allowed by geologists, and by none more readily than Von Buch, to have been raised from the bottom of the sea by subterranean action: vast numbers of volcanos have burst through, and are still surrounded by, tertiary and secondary rocks; but where is there found anything like a cone and internal crater, formed of limestones or sandstones with a quâquâversal dip? If, having observed the formation of a cone and crater, like that of Vesuvius, going on before our eyes, by a simple, intelligible, and obvious process, we are called on to believe that the precisely analogous cone and crater of Somma, merely because of its greater size (though this is a trifle to some recent cones and craters lately formed in the Indian archipelago), must be accounted for by a different and wholly unexampled process—a pure effort of imagination, invented for the occasion—there is an end at once to all analogical reasoning on the *modus operandi* of nature. The theory is equally preposterous when examined in detail, for which we have no space, and scents its German extraction. We should be more surprised by the general acquiescence it has met with amongst the continental geologists, and, we believe, in this country likewise, had we not been taught, by the previous propagation of the *Wernerian* mania, that the contagion of a doctrine is often in exact proportion to its departure from the ordinary course of nature, the simplicity of common causes, and the rules of sound induction. We beg those who are converts to the theory of *Erhebungs-crateres*, or *cratères de soulèvement*, to read Mr. Lyell's statement of the question; while we take leave to substitute, for these phrases, that of 'craters of paroxysmal explosion,' which sufficiently explains the origin to which we have no hesitation in referring them. Humboldt's hypothesis, as to the plain of Jorullo having been raised by inflation from below, like a bladder, (four square miles in extent!) is a similar extravagance, long since refuted, the facts being in complete accordance with the ordinary course of volcanic agency; and, on this point likewise, we are pleased to find Mr. Lyell range himself on the side of existing analogies.

From what we have said, it will appear how incorrect is the popular notion that, in every eruption, the crater of a volcano is



filled to the brim with lava, which pours thence over the outer slope. The violent explosions of a single eruption occasionally blow nearly the whole mountain into the air, leaving only its skirts as a low truncated cone, surrounding a basin, several miles in diameter. After such a paroxysm, hundreds of eruptions may take place within this vast crater before it is filled, and a new mountain reared in place of the old one. We may mention here that we are very sceptical as to the accounts received, from popular report, of the *sinking in* of volcanic mountains during eruptions. We know the ordinary course to be that they are blown outwards, and their fragments scattered on all sides by the violence of the aëriform explosions, which sometimes continue for weeks, and reduce the wreck of the mountain to an impalpable powder, which the winds bear off to enormous distances. Nor do we recollect any relation of the disappearance of a mountain, and the substitution of a cavity, perhaps a lake (as the Peak of Timor, destroyed in 1637, Papandayang, in Java, 1772), without the accompaniment of tremendous discharges of fragmentary matter, which is described as covering the whole face of the country around, to a distance sometimes of hundreds of miles: from which circumstances we conclude that the bulk of the mountain was broken up and scattered to the winds by repeated explosions, not that it *fell in*; though it is natural that the inhabitants, finding on their return a deep cavity in place of a mountain, should imagine it the effect of subsidence rather than explosion. In fact, all the phenomena of volcanos tend to show their origin in a mass of matter, confined at an intense temperature, and struggling to *escape*; and, therefore, make it very improbable that any vast subterranean caverns can exist, into which the mountain could be precipitated. That the cliffs, surrounding a deep crater, occasionally fall inwards during earthquakes, so as to soften their declivity, and truncate the mountain at a lower point, is very true, and this has probably given rise to some of the stories as to the engulfing of mountains. The appearances of the volcano of Kirauea, in Owhyhee, described by Mr. Ellis, are very peculiar, but afford no countenance to the idea of subterranean cavities. It seems that some vast and ancient crater of this mountain has been nearly filled with a sort of bath, or pool, of liquid lava, on the surface of which a crust forms, but as fast as fresh lava wells up from below, the crust is broken through by minor eruptions. As this mass of lava rose in the crater, the weight of its increasing column has, at intervals, burst a lateral crevice in the side of the mountain, through which the reservoir of lava has been *tapped* of its excess, and circular subsidences been successively formed in the crust above—the broken edges of which form a series of terraced ledges, at different heights, surrounding

rounding the present hollow. This is a remarkable, but very intelligible, variation of the volcanic phenomena, perfectly in harmony with their known laws of operation.

Immense volumes of aqueous vapours are evolved from a crater during eruptions, and for a long time after the discharge of lava and scoriæ has ceased. They are condensed in the cold atmosphere surrounding the volcanic peak, and heavy rains are often caused, even in countries where, under other circumstances, rain is unknown. Falling on a surface which the eruption has thickly coated with fine ashes and loose fragments of all sizes, the rains sweep them along in a flood of mud and stones, which often does far more mischief than the ignited lava or earthquakes, and deposit at the foot of the mountain massive beds of conglomerate. If snow covers the cone, still more extensive deluges are produced through its sudden melting by contact with the red-hot lava. Etna, as might be expected, presents many traces of such floods; but it is in Iceland that they are exhibited on the most powerful scale. Conglomerates of immense extent and thickness have been spread in this manner within a late period, over the plains at the base of Hecla. On Etna itself a thick bed of *solid ice* has lately been found under an ancient current of lava. It is very conceivable that a coating of sand and scoriæ, the best possible non-conductors of heat, may enable snow to bear a stream of red-hot lava over it without being melted. It is probable, that in Iceland the circumstance has been often repeated; and we may expect to find glaciers alternating there with beds of lava and volcanic conglomerate.

One continuous eruption will frequently throw up a number of simple cones. Every considerable eruption is described as commencing with the splitting of the solid ground, and the production of a crevice prolonged sometimes many miles. The explosions, as well as the lava streams, then break out from one, or from several points on this great crack. Thus, in the eruption of Etna in 1811, seven cones were successively thrown up in a line from the summit nearly to the foot of the mountain. In 1536, twelve mouths opened one below the other, and threw out lava and scoriæ. In 1669, the whole flank of the mountain was split open, a wide fissure showing itself, twelve miles in length, from the top halfway to the base. This crevice is figured in the old engravings of Etna, and is reported to have emitted a vivid light, showing it to be filled to some height with incandescent lava. Two cones were formed upon it. These circumstances are not confined to the flanks of a volcanic mountain, but take place equally when the eruption breaks through horizontal strata. In 1730, the island of Lancerote, one of the  
Canaries,

Canarics, was split by longitudinal fissures running the whole length of the island, from which so much matter was discharged during five successive years, as formed thirty cones, some of them six hundred feet high, and overwhelmed with a flood of lava nearly the entire island. The eruption of Jorullo, in 1759, threw up six cones upon one line in the middle of a flat plain. That of Skapta Jokul, in 1783, was accompanied by the outburst of three copious sources of lava in the plain, stretching from the foot of that mountain, about eight miles apart; while a fourth, on a continuation of the same line, but beneath the sea, created a new island, at a distance of thirty miles from the coast. The lava produced by the three inland vents alone covered a space of *one thousand square miles*, with a thick mass of solid rock. It is probable that many of the volcanic cones of Auvergne and the Velay, some hundreds of which are arranged in a linear chain, were the product of continuous eruptions. Such lengthened subterranean fissures do not always show themselves on the surface, the loose earth sinking into, and concealing them; and hence partial subsidences are usually observed along the line of volcanic orifices. Nor are they in general opened at once throughout their whole length, but prolonged by degrees, the first orifices becoming obstructed by the ejections and the consolidation of lava, so as to cause others to be burst in succession along the line of the original cleft. Analogy leads us to conclude, that the linear arrangement of the principal vents in a volcanic train or system, even when they stretch across half the globe, is owing to the same general cause as that of the secondary apertures, the creation, namely, of a fissure through the crust of the globe. The law already noticed, that the neighbouring volcanos of a train or group are found in activity by turns, the one serving for a time as a vent for the energy of the whole district, is as true on the small as on the large scale, and is shown from a great body of concurrent facts, to have prevailed in ages preceding any historical records of eruptions, as well as since.

Mr. Lyell very properly draws attention to the enormous quantity of new rock produced *at once* upon the surface of the globe by single eruptions. That of Skapta Jokul, for instance, already mentioned, discharged two streams of lava in opposite directions, one of *forty*, the other *fifty* miles in length, and averaging eleven miles in breadth, and perhaps fifty feet in thickness. The fragmentary matter ejected at the same time, and carried down the slopes of the volcano by deluges of rain, must have been of proportionate magnitude. This example alone *invalidates* the assumption that the igneous forces have been *impaired* and *enfeebled* in latter times. It would be most difficult to point out  
a mass



a mass of igneous origin of ancient date, distinctly referrible to a single eruption, which would rival in volume the matter poured out by Skapta Jokul in 1783.

Rocks produced by subaqueous volcanic orifices, apparently differ but little from such as are thrown out in the open air. Both the lavas and conglomerates will probably spread over flatter surfaces, through the weight of the incumbent fluid, and the constant levelling process going on below the sea by the action of tides and currents. They will also be interstratified occasionally with coral beds and calcareous sandstones; and infiltrations will frequently render the cellular parts of the lava amygdaloidal. Conglomerates, in particular, may be expected to take the form rather of flat beds, than of the conical hills produced in the open air, being broken down and dispersed by the waves and currents as soon as they reach the vicinity of the surface. Many, indeed, of the volcanic islands, recorded as having been thrown up above the sea level, shortly after disappeared under the shock of the waves. Those that have resisted effectually are found to possess a solid frame-work of lava, supporting or defending the loose fragmentary materials. Nor is there any commoner feature in volcanic archipelagos, than rocks or islands composed of a massive bed of lava, having the inclination of  $20^{\circ}$  or  $30^{\circ}$ , usual in lava streams, that have flowed down the outer side of a cone, while every trace of the cone itself and its crater has vanished.

Next in order, our author discusses the changes effected by *earthquakes*. These are principally alterations in the superficial levels, and the production of crevices in solid strata. Unfortunately the relations of earthquakes are usually confined to the damage sustained by towns or villages, and little notice is taken of phenomena interesting only to the naturalist. Moreover, the extent of alterations in level can hardly be ascertained at all, except along the shore of the sea, which supplies a stationary base from whence to measure the change. Mr. Lyell has, however, collected a sufficient number of well-authenticated facts, to prove that both subsidence and elevation, on a very extensive scale, occasionally accompany earthquakes. The most remarkable, perhaps, is the well-known elevation, in 1821, of the whole coast of Chili, through a space of above one hundred miles, to a height of from three to four feet along the shore, and, according to all appearance, much more at some distance inland. Older terraces of shingle and shells range along the same coast to a height of fifty feet, showing the land to have been raised that much above the sea by preceding shocks at no very distant date. The earthquake of the Caraccas in 1812 is described as terrific. The

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surface undulated like a boiling liquid, producing all the effects of sea-sickness. Enormous rocks were detached from the mountains, one of which, Silla, lost three hundred feet of its height. The year before, the valley of the Mississippi was similarly convulsed. The inhabitants relate that the earth rose in great waves; and when they reached a certain fearful height, the surface burst, and volumes of water, sand, and coal, the materials of the soil, were discharged to the height of a hundred feet and more. The chasms were all parallel, and in a direction from S.W. to N.E. (*the direction of the Alleghany chain which borders the basin of the Mississippi*), and many of the inhabitants saved themselves from being swallowed up by felling tall trees, laying them at right angles to the direction of the crevices, and stationing themselves upon them. The effects of the earthquakes of Calabria, from 1783 to 1786, have been related more in detail than those of any similar phenomena, and Mr. Lyell adds many observations of his own on the traces of sudden and violent change still apparent on the surface of the country. The nature of the subsoil, of course, must greatly influence the effects of earthquakes. In this instance it was composed of marly and argillaceous strata of the sub-Apenine formation, full of recent Mediterranean shells. The crevices which opened over the whole face of the country, admitting all the surface water to these beds, they became partially fluid, the consequence of which, coupled with the continued movement of the earth, was the slipping and sliding about of hills and rocks to an extraordinary degree. Vineyards, olive grounds, and even houses, were moved unharmed to distances in some instances measured in miles. Valleys were filled up by the falling in of their sides, above fifty lakes were formed, and innumerable fissures, ravines, and faults. In short, the whole surface of the country was so tossed about, as scarcely to be recognized by the surviving inhabitants.

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“ It is impossible for the geologist to consider attentively the effect of this single earthquake of 1783, and to look forward to the alterations in the physical condition of the country to which a continued series of such movements will hereafter give rise, without perceiving that the formation of valleys by running water can never be understood, if we consider the question independently of the agency of earthquakes. Rivers do not begin to act, as some seem to imagine, when a country is already elevated far above the level of the sea, but while it is *rising* or *sinking* by successive movements. Some speculators, indeed, who are as prodigal of violence as they are thrifty of time, may suppose that Calabria “ rose like an exhalation ” from the deep, after the manner of Milton's Pandemonium. But such an hypothesis will deprive them of that peculiar removing force required to form a regular system of deep and wide valleys, for *time* is essential to the operation.

operation. Landslips must be cleared away in the intervals between subterranean movements, otherwise fallen masses will serve as buttresses to the precipitous cliffs bordering a valley, so that the succeeding earthquake will be unable to exert its full power. Barriers must be worn through and swept away, and steep or overhanging cliffs again left without support, before another shock can take effect in the same manner.'—p. 431.

The sea shares in the agitation of the solid earth. Ships feel every shock as if they had struck on a shoal, and loose articles lying on their decks are often thrown several feet into the air, showing the violence of the upward movement communicated to the water. The sea often deserts the coast, and returns immediately in a terrific wave (that of Lisbon and the coast of Spain in 1755 was fifty feet high), which sweeps over the shore, and must leave lasting traces of its devastating power. It is probably caused by the sudden upheaving of a portion of the bed of the sea, the first effect of which would be to raise a body of water over the elevated part, its momentum carrying it much above the level it would afterwards assume, and causing a draught or receding of the water from the neighbouring coasts, immediately followed by the return of the displaced water, which will be also impelled by its momentum much further and higher on the coast than its former level. The undulatory shocks of the earthquake of 1755 travelled over sea and land at the rate of twenty miles in a minute, as appears from the interval between the time when the first shock was felt at Lisbon, and that of its occurrence at distant places, in the West Indies, Scotland, Norway, Switzerland, Italy, and North Africa. The earthquake felt at Conception in 1750 uplifted the bed of the sea to the height of twenty-four feet at the least, and it seems probable that the adjoining coast shared in the elevation, for an enormous bed of shells, of the same species as those now living in the bay, is seen raised above high-water-mark along the beach. These shells, as well as others which cover the adjoining hills of mica-schist, to the height even of fifteen hundred feet, have been identified with some taken at the same time in a living state from the bay.\* There is, therefore, every reason to conclude that the whole extent of this coast, so often visited by severe earthquakes, has suffered a very great amount of elevation within an exceedingly recent period.

Mr. Lyell discusses at length the much controverted question of the apparent changes of level in the neighbourhood of Pozzuoli, since the Roman era, and brings forward an overwhelming mass of evidence in proof of the fact that this part of the Campanian coast was lowered at least twenty feet some time between

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\* Lyell, p. 441.



the third and the sixteenth century, and re-elevated about as much again at the epoch of the eruption which produced the Monte Nuovo. The circumstances which demonstrate this are so clearly legible, that it would never perhaps have been disputed but for the natural repugnance to admit so remarkable a local coincidence of depression and elevation to nearly the same extent, as well as the strong prejudices existing in regard to the immobility of the land, by which we have probably been blinded to the force of many other similar facts. But it is time the geologist, at least, should overcome those first and natural impressions which induced the poets of old to select the rock as the emblem of stability, the sea of mutability. Paradoxical as it may appear, truth compels us to reverse the opinion; and, with respect to periods of long duration, to attribute invariability of level to the ocean, fluctuation and inconstancy to the land.

With regard to the exciting cause of earthquakes and eruptions, our author expresses no decided opinion: he admits, however, that the phenomena prove the existence of vast bodies of intensely heated rock, probably in a liquefied state, like lava, beneath the solid crust of the earth, and also that there is a continual transmission of heat from thence to the surface, more or less regular or interrupted, according to the obstacles it meets with, or creates, to its own development. Now, it does appear to us that this undeniable evolution of heat from the interior of the globe towards its surface is alone fully sufficient to account for all the phenomena of earthquakes and volcanos, which seem to follow necessarily from its action by the simple laws of mechanic and hydrostatic forces. It is evidently only by the formation of habitual vents, or chimneys for the free passage of hot vapour, that the internal heat can be discharged through the imperfectly conducting superficial strata, in sufficient abundance to obviate the more violent outbursts or expansions of the matter confined immediately below them at an increasing temperature. But the circumstances which allow of a permanently eruptive vent, as Stromboli, are extremely rare. The rock into which lavas and beds of scorïæ consolidate over the mouth of a vent is, from its cellular structure, such a peculiar nonconductor of caloric, and their weight over the orifice is usually so great, that we cannot be surprised if, after an eruption by which the subterranean focus has discharged its redundant heat, in combination with enormous volumes of vapour, and so weakened its force of expansion, while the external force of repression is augmented, the latter should re-acquire the predominance, and a period of tranquillity recur. The amount of the combined forces of repression and the ratio in which that of expansion increases, influenced by

by the proximity of other occasional vents belonging to the same system, will account, we think, for the varying duration of the intervals of tranquillity, and for the violence of the superficial vibrations when the crust is at length broken through, or of the eruption which may then take place from the ancient orifice or some new fissure.

Mr. Lyell inclines to adopt the very prevalent, but, we think, ungrounded, notion, that the access of sea-water to the volcanic focus is a primary cause of its eruption. It is true that the greater number of volcanos are either islands or in the vicinity of the sea. But this arrangement is accounted for naturally by the continents being those portions of the earth's surface in which the forces of elevation and outward eruption have been formerly most successfully developed, and where, therefore, the maximum of repression is now opposed to the minimum of subterranean expansive force; while, for the opposite reason, we should look for the actual development of this force to the intervening spaces, where new islands and continents are gradually forming in the bed of the ocean. It is exactly because the elevated portions of the earth's crust have, in remote ages, suffered most from the violence of subterranean energy, that they are the least exposed to it at present. It is in those quarters that the subterranean heat has exhausted itself, and arrived at length at an equilibrium, or has been driven to take another direction for its escape, by the predominance of the forces of repression. But neither are *all* volcanos in the vicinity of the sea, nor still less all districts agitated habitually by earthquakes; and it may be said, that even a single such instance is conclusive against a theory which makes the admission of sea-water a necessary cause of subterranean movements. The volcano of Jorullo is in the centre of the high Mexican platform, one hundred and twenty miles from the nearest sea. Two active volcanic mountains have lately been observed in the Altai chain of Central Asia; Mount Elburus, the highest peak of the Caucasian range, has been, at no very distant period, in eruption; and certainly the midland districts of Persia and Hindostan suffer continually from earthquakes. But this theory, in truth, runs in a vicious circle, making a cause out of a consequence. If it were true, a volcanic eruption or earthquake should either never begin, or never cease. Supposing the earth in a state of complete tranquillity, how are fissures to be produced, by which the water of the sea may be admitted to the focus of earthquakes and eruptions? If the increase of subterranean heat, or the contraction of the superficial crust, or any other cause, is allowed to occasion the rending and splitting of the rocks overlying the reservoirs of lava, then is the earthquake and eruption accounted for without the introduction of

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of sea-water. Mr. Lyell cannot be allowed to derive the steam, to whose expansive force he justly attributes the bursting of the earth's crust, from the sea-water *subsequently* admitted by these fissures. Nor can we, in fact, understand the effect ascribed to the penetration of sea-water to heated lava. It is true that explosions take place when water is poured upon melted metals or earths under the pressure of the atmosphere alone; but how different are the circumstances of a subterranean mass of similar matter, confined under an enormous pressure at an intense temperature. The formation of fissures in the overlying rocks by the increase of its temperature and expansive force, would be instantly followed, under such circumstances, not by the descent of water or other fluid from above, but by the rapid and violent intumescence and escape of the compressed matter from below upwards, just as the water confined in a high pressure boiler rushes with irresistible violence through any opening made for its escape. And all the phenomena of eruptions confirm this idea. The elastic vapour which issues with the lava, and explodes in enormous bubbles from it at the mouth of the vent, is evidently disseminated throughout its mass, and generated there upon the sudden diminution of pressure, as is proved by the cells and bubbles that remain throughout the lava even when cooled. The idea of a body of steam, formed from the admission of sea-water to a mass of subterranean lava, getting behind it, and driving it upwards through the very fissures by which the water obtained admission, is not very intelligible, and certainly not in accordance with the phenomena of an eruption, which, on the contrary, are precisely such as might be expected to follow the sudden intumescence of a body of intensely heated lava on the giving way of the overlying crust of rocks.

With respect to the fact, that some of the products of volcanos, as the muriates of soda, &c., are, such as are contained in sea-water, it is, to say the least, quite as probable that these ingredients of the ocean were originally derived from the interior of the globe through the agency of volcanos and mineral springs, which we know to be daily adding to them, as that volcanos derive them from the sea.

As for the chemical theory, which attributes volcanic fires to the penetration of water or air to a nucleus composed of the metallic bases of the earths, we need only remark, that its inventor, Sir H. Davy, by the authority of whose illustrious name it has been propagated, and even generally received, throughout Europe, was the first to renounce it as far-fetched and improbable, with a candour worthy of his genius, as well in a paper on the subject read to the Royal Society in 1828, as in his interesting and valuable



valuable posthumous work,\* in both of which the hypothesis of an intensely heated and partially fluid nucleus is mentioned as the most satisfactory and simple solution of the volcanic energy.

Mr. Lyell quotes with approbation Mitchell's illustration of the cause of earthquakes, by the wave produced in a carpet when it is raised at one edge and then brought down again, so as to allow a body of air to pass along to the other side. But this gives, we think, an exaggerated and false idea of the nature and cause of the wave-like movement of the surface of the land during earthquakes. Such undulations, though violent, are on a very minute scale, compared to the extent of surface affected and the known thickness of its solid strata, as appears from the accounts of tall trees whipping their tops against the ground on either side, the waves of alluvial matter observed in the plains of the Mississippi in 1812, the opening and shutting of fissures, the sea-sickness experienced by spectators, &c., all indicating the small dimensions of the radius of each superficial curvature. The sudden fracture of solid strata by any disruptive force must necessarily produce a violent vibratory jar to a considerable distance along the continuation of these strata. Such vibrations would be propagated in undulations, which may be expected, when influencing a mass of rocks several thousand feet at least in thickness, to produce on the surface exactly the wave-like motion, the opening and shutting of crevices, the tumbling down of cliffs and walls, and other characteristic phenomena of earthquakes. We do not, therefore, consider that these in any way indicate the floating of the crust of the globe upon some fluid, whose undulations are communicated to it. Were the globe entirely solid to its centre, we conceive similar undulatory vibrations would be perceived along its external surface whenever a sudden disruption was produced in it, either by the expansion of the nucleus within a shell of limited extension, or the converse, namely, the contraction of the crust over a stationary nucleus. And to one or the other of these causes, which would be identical in their effects, we incline to refer all the circumstances of subterranean energy.

What proportion exists between the amount of elevation and subsidence in the surface of the globe,—a question discussed by Mr. Lyell at the conclusion of his volume,—depends, if the centre of the globe be taken as the fixed point from which to measure the rise or fall of the surface, upon the further question, hinted at above, whether the globe is undergoing a gradual enlargement or contraction, or maintains, on the whole, a mean uniformity in its dimensions. This is a problem which we have no data for

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\* *Consolations of a Philosopher*,

solving. Mr. Lyell assumes, without argument, that the dimensions of the globe are invariable, and then concludes for an excess of subsidence over elevation, in order to compensate the continual production of fresh matter from the interior of the globe in the shape of lava, and the deposits of mineralized springs. But as we consider the assumption unwarranted, the inference is of course equally so. Nor is this a question of great geological importance. It is the elevation or depression of the solid parts of the globe, with reference not to the centre, but to the level of the ocean, which is the point of real interest in a geological view. The action of the aqueous forces tends, as we have shown, to reduce the solid parts of the earth to a level, and, consequently, the globe itself to the condition of a solid sphere enveloped by an ocean of uniform depth. The disruptive force of subterranean energy is the antagonist power by which this tendency is continually counteracted, and inequalities maintained in the relief of the solid surface. Of course, with reference to the level of the ocean, the absolute elevation of any portion of its bottom, by submerging land now dry, would be tantamount in its effects to a subsidence of the latter; and in this respect the amount of elevation and subsidence must compensate each other. Whether the proportion of land and water remains always, on the whole, uniform, or varies in any great degree, is what we have no means for determining. But if it is supposed invariable in the long run, it will be necessarily liable to variations during periods of moderate duration.

And this brings us to the subject of those earlier chapters in the work under review, which we purposely passed over as premature, relative to the intricate question, whether the changes that take place on the surface of the globe are, in the comparison of lengthened periods, uniformly equal, or that sufficient indications exist to warrant the conclusion of a diminution or increase in the intensity of the forces which effect them? In the Huttonian theory there are two main propositions, which Mr. Lyell, in adopting them, has omitted to distinguish; namely, 1. That the production of the mineral masses composing the present surface of the earth, and the several changes which appear to have occurred in them and in organic life, are to be attributed to the operation of existing causes, which still continue to effect similar changes and produce similar mineral deposits. 2. That there are no traces of any beginning to this series of changes and productions, or of any variation in the ratio of its progress as regards the whole; but that, on the contrary, the existing causes of change have apparently operated with absolute uniformity from all eternity. To the first of these propositions we

we give, with Mr. Lyell, and, we believe, the great body of European geologists, our unqualified concurrence; and when we have the opportunity of comparing the earlier formations and destructions with the important analogous changes which we have already described as going on at present, our opinion will, we think, be fully justified. With regard to the latter branch of the Huttonian theory, we must, with all deference to Mr. Lyell, withhold our assent to it, until it is supported by much more decisive proofs than any which we have hitherto met with.

The uniformity of the laws or order of nature is an assumption which every philosopher is bound to make before he can investigate the causes of any one natural phenomenon—before he can draw a single rational conclusion. That similar results follow similar preceding circumstances, is, perhaps, an intuitive feeling in the human mind; but, whether derived from this source, or from the influence of habit, it is plainly the one prevailing and universal belief which governs all our actions. But when we lay down this doctrine of constancy in the laws of nature as the great axiom on which all science is built, all reasoning proceeds, the question naturally arises—what are the laws of nature? We cannot, of course, imagine them limited to those processes with which we have become acquainted, and that nothing can have taken place in the past ages of creation, or can take place in future, but such events as we are witness to in the brief experience of our lives, or find recorded in the pages of human history. The general invariability of these laws is, therefore, in no way called in question by our supposing the condition of the whole globe to have varied gradually with respect to temperature or subterranean forces of expansion, or to have been once under wholly different circumstances—in a fluid or nebulous state, for instance—and to have passed through several progressive stages of existence previous to its acquiring the precise character in which we at present view it. For anything that we know to the contrary, such changes in the general condition of this and other planets may be as much in the regular order of nature as the changes which Mr. Lyell traces in the condition of the terrestrial continents, and their successive races of inhabitants. Were we to observe the marks of any changes of the former class, it would be as philosophical to follow them up to their causes, and they would thenceforward enter as consistently into the *recognised* order of nature as the changes of the latter kind, which, before their occurrence was demonstrated, seemed, *à priori*, to the full as anomalous as those which Mr. Lyell ridicules as ‘cosmological reveries.’ The law of the successive creation, decay, and extinction of genera and species, as well as of individuals, was *not in the order of nature*, as known to the naturalists



of a century ago ; but it *was accordant with analogy*, and therefore might have been anticipated without any flagrant violation of the rules of philosophizing. And why may not the same liberty of speculation be conceded with regard to the globe itself? The discoveries of astronomy have exhibited the insignificance in space of our planet—a mere atom in creation. The eternal stability of this speck of matter in its present condition, appears to us as unreasonable an assumption as the eternal duration of its actual divisions of land and water, justly stigmatised by Mr. Lyell. We should no doubt be going too far, were we to assume, that the succession of events which we perceive on the surface of the earth has *not* been going on as now from all eternity. But what we do say is, that all analogy is in favour of such a supposition, and that the contrary assumption, that of the eternal permanency of the actual state of things on the globe, is decidedly more unphilosophical. Why are we to presume the planet itself to be exempted from that great law of change, to which all its parts are subject, and which we know from direct observation to influence other celestial bodies? Were our knowledge of creation confined to the earth, we might justly refuse to attribute a term to what we should in that case conceive to constitute the entire universe ; we should not presume the whole to be liable to the same law of integration and disintegration as its parts. But since astronomy has revealed to us the pettiness of this ball on which we are brought into being—this minute particle of an infinite whole—the really philosophical induction from the law of analogy is, that our planet as a part of the solar system, that system as a portion of the department of the universe to which it belongs, and perhaps even this as a part only of some larger division of the universal creation, are severally subject to the same general law, and belong to the class of finite existences. If this reasoning should be supposed of too metaphysical a cast, this cannot be said at least of the direct fact, that the peculiar spheroidal form of the globe is precisely such as would be assumed by a fluid body possessing its actual rotatory motion ; a strong and almost demonstrative argument, that its whole surface was once fluid to a very considerable depth, and therefore under totally different circumstances from the present.

It is one thing to affirm that no traces can be observed of a beginning or of any variation in present agencies, and quite another to assume that there can be none, and that we are therefore not warranted in looking for or expecting to meet with them. When Mr. Lyell asserts the former proposition, we are willing to meet him, and require an explanation, on any other grounds, of numerous appearances in the surface of the globe which

which we think do indicate a progressive state and a limited existence. When he puts forward the latter, we conceive he falls into the very error with which, throughout his whole volume, he justly reproaches the successive inventors of geological theories, that of confining the existing powers of nature to the range of their experience. It was the same fallacy which led the early geologists to assume, that the mountains and plains, sea and land, with all their inhabitants, had remained unaltered from their creation, and which leads Mr. Lyell to argue, that the general condition of the planet itself is equally unsusceptible of change.

We have left ourselves no room for noticing the leading arguments which suggest themselves in favour of the progressive condition of the globe; one or two of which are combated by Mr. Lyell in a very ingenious manner, particularly the inference from geological data of a gradual decrease in the general temperature. Admitting, and even taking pains to establish the fact, our author accounts for it by a novel and beautiful theory, in which extreme variations of the general climate of the globe are shown to follow the varying distribution of land and water; a great preponderance of elevated land in the polar circles producing an extremity of cold sufficient perhaps to envelop the whole earth in permanent snow, while a similar predominance of land in the torrid zone would banish frost from the earth, and bring on the summer of the 'annus magnus.' From the comparative excess of land north of the tropics in this hemisphere, and the probability of a great circumpolar continent in the southern, the earth is supposed to be at present in a course of transition from a warmer and moister general climate, and to be below its mean average temperature, under the supposition of constancy in the *proportions* of land and water.

Whatever may be thought of this very plausible argument, our author seems himself to have been startled by the difficulty of reconciling his endless succession of similar physical events on the surface of the globe, to the acknowledged novelty of the introduction of man. His reasoning on this subject is somewhat too wire-drawn, separating, as he does, the moral from the physical agency of mankind, and eliminating the former as irrelevant to the subject. We should say it is exactly the moral character of man which presents the greatest anomaly and novelty, and tends most strongly to exhibit the progressive march of creation. But the physical influence of the human race is also underrated by Mr. Lyell, who makes no mention of the geological changes we are gradually accomplishing, by stripping the earth of its forests and vegetable coating, controlling the direction and force of rivers, quarrying mountains, draining lakes and marshes, subduing, in short,

short, the whole surface of the land, and marshalling the powers of nature to minister to our wants. There is truth in the well-known line, though not in its vulgar interpretation—

‘Tellurem fecere Dei, sua littora Belgæ.’

If we look forward to the probable extension of civilization over the whole habitable surface of the globe, consequent on the growth of population, the progress of intellect, and institutional improvements; when every acre of soil, such even as appears, to our present agricultural skill, positively barren, shall be in a state of garden culture: when the land will be intersected with innumerable canals and railroads, and the ocean covered with the ships of all countries: when the superficial strata shall have been thoroughly ransacked for their valuable mineral contents, and all the principal classes of the animal and vegetable worlds either extinguished or permitted to develop themselves only in subordination to the convenience of the great human monopoly,—does it not appear that the surface of the earth will then present itself under very different *physical* circumstances from any that can have preceded it in the lapse of ages, previous to the introduction of a moral and rational inhabitant?

We may expect, however, a fuller examination of this question in the succeeding volume, of which the changes in organic nature are to form a principal part; and must suspend our judgment until the author's great powers have been completely brought to bear upon the subject. Meantime we may hint that the early schistose rocks, gneiss and mica-slate, do not appear to be anywhere produced in the present circumstances of the globe; nor do we find, as we ought, if the course of events had always been the same as now, organic remains as frequent under these rocks as above them. A single instance, if such, as we have heard, has been very lately detected in the Alps, is an exception confirmatory of the general rule, rather than destructive of it. To account for the greater consolidation, more crystalline structure, and absence of animal impressions in the earlier sedimentary rocks, Dr. Hutton was driven to suppose them altered by central heat. Mr. Lyell, who rejects this as untenable—(many of these formations being interstratified with loose beds and soft shales, clearly unaffected by heat)—refers these general characters to the effects of time, infiltrations, and mysterious agencies, such as chemical affinities and electricity. But besides that the exceptions already noticed are almost as conclusive against these causes as against that proposed by Hutton, Mr. Lyell is in this case deserting his leading principle of reference to existing modes of production. Are there not some sandstones and limestones now forming as solid and crystalline as the older rocks, and, if



so, under what circumstances? Only in the neighbourhood of springs highly charged with carbonate of lime, siliceous, &c., in countries now or recently the theatre of volcanic action. The just inference, then, from the general similitude of the earlier rocks to those now formed in these rare cases, would seem to be, that volcanic agency and the emission of mineralized waters were circumstances more frequent and general to the surface of the globe in ancient times, and have since progressively diminished in energy.

We shall have an opportunity of saying more on this subject when our author has fully developed his views in a second volume. Meantime we cannot but express our obligations to him for the great addition he has made in the present to our knowledge of nature, and the beneficial influence it is likely to have in communicating a right direction and a philosophical spirit of induction to geological inquiry.

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ART. V.—*The Pilgrim's Progress, with a Life of John Bunyan.*

By Robert Southey, Esq., LL.D. Illustrated with Engravings, &c. London. 8vo. 1830.

IT has been the boast of our ancestors to improve the constitution of their country by the address, with which they have infused a new spirit into old institutions, like the skilful architect who contrives to make the turrets of a feudal castle subservient to the accommodations of modern hospitality. Thus it is, that although Gibbon had, with good reason, stigmatized the nature of the task imposed on the poets laureate during the reign of George III. and his predecessors, as the establishment of a stipendiary bard, who, every year, and under all circumstances, was bound to furnish a certain measure of praise and verse such as might be sung in presence of the monarch, the taste of our late amiable sovereign preferred, to the total abolition of the office, substituting for its old routine of drudgery the occasional exercise of varied talent and unequalled erudition in illustrating the antiquities and peculiarities of our national literature. Nor could Mr. Southey have chosen a more interesting point for illustration, than the circumstances under which John Bunyan, in spite of a clownish and vulgar education, rose into a degree of popularity scarce equalled by any English writer.

This 'Spenser of the people,' as Mr. D'Israeli happily calls him, was born at Elstow, near Bedford, in the year 1628. His parents were the meanest, according to his own expression, of all

all families in the land. They were workers in brass, or, in common parlance, *tinkers*, whose profession bore to that of a brazier the same relation which the cobbler's does to the shoemaker's. It was not followed, however, by Bunyan's father as an itinerant calling, which leads Mr. Southey to wonder why it should have come to be esteemed so mean. We believe the reason to be that the tinkers' craft is, in Great Britain, commonly practised by gypsies; and we surmise the probability that Bunyan's own family, though reclaimed and settled, might have sprung from this caste of vagabonds; that they were not, at all events, originally English, would seem the most natural explanation of young John's asking his father, whether he was not of Jewish extraction? (expecting thereby to found on the promises made in the Old Testament to the seed of Abraham.)

Of gipsy descent or otherwise, Bunyan was bred up with, and speedily forgot, the slender proportion of schooling then accessible to the children of the poor in England. He was by nature of enthusiastic feelings, and so soon as the subject of religion began to fix his attention, his mind appears to have been agonized with the retrospect of a misspent youth. A quick and powerful imagination was at work on a tender conscience; for it would appear that his worst excesses fell far short of that utter reprobation to which he conceived them entitled. The young tinker, in the wildest period of his life, had never been addicted to intemperance, or to unlawful intercourse with women. He seems to have wrought for his family as an honest and industrious man, and early became the affectionate husband of a deserving wife. His looser habits, in short, seem only to have been those which every ignorant and careless young fellow, of the lowest ranks, falls into; and, probably, profane swearing, sabbath-breaking, and a mind addicted to the games and idle sports of Vanity Fair, were the most important stains upon the character of his youth:—as Mr. Southey sums it up, John Bunyan had been a *blackguard*. Repentance, however, in proportion to the imaginative power of the mind which it agitates, regards past offences with a microscopic eye; nor can we wonder that such an ardent spirit, speaking, in his own energetic language, of his youthful faults, should paint them in blacker colours than the truth authorised. Bunyan had practised none of those debaucheries by which the heart of the epicurean is hardened against all feelings save those which can tend to his own gratification; and if he had lost the valuable time for instruction afforded by the Christian Sabbath, the hours had been given to folly rather than to vice. We are far, indeed, from desiring to treat these errors with indifference,—they are those with which crime almost always begins its career. But it is interesting to discover

discover the exact amount of transgression for which this strong mind was afflicted with the deepest agonies of remorse.

When it pleased heaven to awaken this remarkable man to a sense of his own iniquities, the great civil war was fast approaching; 'the land was burning.' The nation was divided at once respecting the best form of government for their protection on this side time, and the surest means by which they might obtain felicity hereafter. Of John Bunyan's politics we know nothing, except that he was enrolled for a short time in the Parliamentary army;—of his spiritual experience he has left an ample record. A few pious persons, with whom he became acquainted, were of the sect called Baptists, and were esteemed by the new convert, who heard them talk of the mysteries of our religion with joy, hope, and comfort, as a species of saints whose confidence and serenity argued the security of their calling and election; while, on his own condition and prospects, he could look only with a sensation resembling despair.

Such views, natural to an ardent and enthusiastic mind, upon the first awakening of the feelings of conscience, were encouraged by the strict ideas of calvinistic predestination which formed the foundation of the creed of Bunyan's sectarian friends. He has described at length the wild tumult of his thoughts, when endeavouring to determine a point which all the schoolmen on earth must be inadequate to solve, and in the course of this fearful state of mind Mr. Southey traces the germ of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. In a species of vision or waking reverie he compared his own anxious condition with the sanctified repose of the members of the little Baptist congregation which he had joined.

'“I saw,” he says, “as if they were on the sunny side of some high mountain, there refreshing themselves with the pleasant beams of the sun, while I was shivering and shrinking in the cold, afflicted with frost, snow and dark clouds. Methought also betwixt me and them, I saw a wall that did compass about this mountain; now through this wall my soul did greatly desire to pass; concluding that if I could, I would even go into the very midst of them, and there also comfort myself with the heat of their sun. About this wall I thought myself to go again and again, still prying as I went, to see if I could find some way or passage, by which I might enter therein; but none could I find for some time. At the last I saw, as it were, a narrow gap, like a little doorway in the wall, through which I attempted to pass. Now the passage being very strait and narrow, I made many offers to get in, but all in vain, even until I was well nigh quite beat out by striving to get in. At last with great striving, methought I at first did get in my head; and after that, by a sideling striving, my shoulders, and my whole body: then was I exceeding glad



glad, went and sat down in the midst of them, and so was comforted with the light and heat of their sun. Now the mountain and wall, &c., were thus made out to me. The mountain signified the Church of the living God : the sun, that shone thereon, the comfortable shining of his merciful face on them that were within : the wall, I thought, was the word, that did make separation between the Christians and the world ; and the gap which was in the wall, I thought, was Jesus Christ, who is the way to God the Father. But forasmuch as the passage was wonderful narrow, even so narrow, that I could not but with great difficulty enter in thereat, it shewed me that none could enter into life, but those that were in downright earnest ; and unless also they left that wicked world behind them ; for here was only room for body and soul, but not for body and soul and sin." —p. xix.

Doubts, qualms, fears, returned upon him, notwithstanding the metaphorical assurance which this vision had conveyed to his mind. Whatever wild and wayward shadow streamed across the restless region of his thoughts, was arrested like a suspicious-looking person in a besieged city, brought to account for itself, and treated with an attention which the mere suggestion of casual fancy could hardly deserve. It is perhaps in this sense that the human heart is said in scripture to be abominably wicked, since not only without our will, but in positive opposition to our best exertions, sinful suggestions profane the thoughts of the wisest, and foul emotions sully the heart of the most pure. The wise and well-informed shrink with horror from the phantoms of guilt which thus intrude themselves, and pray to heaven for strength to enable them to reject such pollution from their thoughts, and for power to fix their attention upon better objects. But the dark dread of his possible exclusion from the pale of the righteous rushed ever and anon with such vivid force on the mind of the unfortunate Bunyan, as to make him accept for fatal arguments against himself, the wildest and most transitory coinage of his own fancy, while, to fill up every pause, he was tortured by the equally terrible suspicion that he was guilty of the most unpardonable of crimes, as an habitual doubter of the efficacy of divine grace.

‘ In an evil hour’ (says Southey) ‘ were the doctrines of the Gospel sophisticated with questions which should have been left in the schools for those who are unwise enough to employ themselves in excogitations of useless subtlety ! Many are the poor creatures whom such questions have driven to despair and madness, and suicide ; and no one ever more narrowly escaped from such a catastrophe than Bunyan.’

In this state of anxiety and agony, the victim of his own ingenuity in self-torment, unable to escape from the idea that he was forsaken of God,—that he was predestined to eternal reprobation,—that the scriptures, the source of joy and comfort to others,

others, were to him only as a roll like that seen by Ezekiel, full of curses and denunciations of evil—John Bunyan was at length induced to lay his case open to the teacher of the anabaptist congregation—Gifford by name, a good man, we doubt not, but little qualified to give sound advice to such a mind so tortured. He had been a soldier among the royalists, and a sad profligate, and was now settled down into about as wild an enthusiastic as our tinker himself. He advised his proselyte to receive no religious conviction or calling as indisputable, which had not been confirmed to his individual self by evidence from heaven!

Bunyan had ere now formed to himself an hypothesis accounting for the blasphemous thoughts which distracted his mind, imputing them, in short, to the immediate suggestion of the devil; and how he clung to it we may discover from one striking passage in Christian's progress through the valley of the shadow of death.

‘One thing I would not let slip: I took notice’ that now poor Christian was so confounded, that he did not know his own voice; and thus I perceived it: just when he was come over against the mouth of the burning pit, one of the Wicked ones got behind him, and stepped up softly to him, and whisperingly suggested many grievous blasphemies to him, which he verily thought had proceeded from his own mind. This put Christian more to it than any thing that he met with before, even to think that he should now blaspheme him that he loved so much before: yet, if he could have helped it, he would not have done it; but he had not the discretion either to stop his ears, or to know from whence these blasphemies came.’—p. 83.

Thus furnished with a theory to account for the black suggestions which (as he says) he dared not to utter, either with word or pen, Bunyan was now taught by his mistaken pastor to look for a counterbalance in the equally direct inspirations of heaven. So strong is the power of the human imagination, that he who seriously expects to see miracles, does not long expect them in vain. He spent hours in debating whether, in the strength of newly adopted faith, he should not command the puddles on the highway to be dry, and the dry places to be wet; and if he shrunk from so presumptuous an experiment, it was only because he had not courage to think of facing the despair which must have ensued, if the sign, which he would fain have demanded, had had been refused to his prayer. Mr. Southey thus describes his condition, while engaged in balancing the support and comfort which he received from heaven with the discountenance and criminal suggestions inspired by the enemy of mankind:—

‘Shaken continually thus by the hot and cold fits of a spiritual ague, his imagination was wrought to a state of excitement in which its own shapings became vivid as realities, and affected him more forcibly than impressions from the external world. He heard sounds

as in a dream; and as in a dream held conversations which were inwardly audible, though no sounds were uttered, and had all the connexion and coherency of an actual dialogue. Real they were to him in the impression which they made, and in their lasting effect; and even afterwards, when his soul was at peace, he believed them, in cool and sober reflection, to have been more than natural. Some days he was much "followed," he says, by these words of the Gospel, "Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you!" He knew that it was a voice from within,—and yet it was so articulately distinct, so loud, and called, as he says, so strongly after him, that once in particular, when the words Simon! Simon! rung in his ears, he verily thought some man had called to him from a distance behind, and though it was not his name, supposed nevertheless that it was addressed to him, and looked round suddenly to see by whom. As this had been the loudest, so it was the last time that the call sounded in his ears; and he imputes it to his ignorance and foolishness at that time, that he knew not the reason of it; for soon, he says, he was feelingly convinced that it was sent from heaven, as an alarm, for him to provide against the coming storm,—a storm which "handled him twenty times worse than all he had met with before." —p. xxv.

The hideous apprehensions of unpardonable crimes committed, and eternal judgment incurred, were from time to time dispelled by texts and promises of scripture; borne in upon the mind of the sufferer with a force so totally irresistible, as, to him at least, had the appearance of undoubted inspiration; and in these violent alternations of mood passed nearly three years of Bunyan's life. He attained at length a more tranquil state of spirit from the practice which he finally adopted, of reading over his Bible with the utmost care and attention, observing how the different passages bore upon and explained each other; and, to use his own expression, 'with careful heart and watchful eye, with great fearfulness to turn over every leaf, and with much diligence, mixed with trembling, to consider every sentence with its natural force and latitude.' The result of this minute and systematic investigation of the scriptures could not but have had a tranquilizing and composing effect on the mind of a man, whose sum of guilt consisted rather in the involuntary intrusion of wicked thoughts, than in the breaking of any known laws or desertion of any acknowledged duty; for his youthful sins of ignorance had been long ere now renounced. He now looked upon the gospel system with more comprehensive views — 'he saw that it was good;' and although he retained highly enthusiastic opinions concerning the earlier part of his religious career, the same doubts and difficulties do not seem to have disturbed his more advanced or his closing life.



Mr. Scott, a former editor of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, thought it not advisable to dwell upon the fanaticism which characterises the first part of Bunyan's religious life: Mr. Southey, on the contrary, is of opinion that

‘His character would be imperfectly understood, and could not be justly appreciated, if this part of his history were kept out of sight. To respect him as he deserves, to admire him as he ought to be admired, it is necessary that we should be informed not only of the coarseness and brutality of his youth, but of the extreme ignorance out of which he worked his way, and the stage of burning enthusiasm through which he passed,—a passage not less terrible than that of his own Pilgrim in the Valley of the Shadow of Death.’  
—p. xiv.

We are much of the opinion thus forcibly expressed. The history of a man so distinguished by natural talents as Bunyan is connected with that of his age, nor can we so well conceive the dangers of fanaticism, as when we behold the struggles of so pure and so powerful a spirit involved in its toils. It may be easily supposed that of those around him there were many who fell into the same temptations, and struggled with them in vain; and that in not a few instances the doctrine which summoned all men to the exercise of the private judgment, as it was called, led the way to the wildest, most blasphemous, and most fatal excesses. Don Quixote's balsam was not a more perilous medicine.

Of this Southey gives one instance, in the case of a poor man who, having the merit of being amongst the first whose conversation called Bunyan to a sense of religion, was himself so unable to endure the illumination of which he conveyed the earliest spark to so notable a person, that he became a Ranter, and wallowed in the foulest vice, as one who imagined himself secure of his election, and whom consequently the grossest sin could not debar from predestined happiness. This unfortunate man loved to tell Bunyan that he had run through all religions, and, in his persuasion, had fallen upon the right way at last, a way, namely, which, in assuring to him an unalienable right to heaven, freed him from observing any limits in the indulgence of his passions during the time he remained on earth. Another instance of the moral danger of indulging such reveries as wrecked the peace of Bunyan for three years, though, fortunately, they were unable either to corrupt his heart or to unsettle his reason, was seen in one of his contemporaries, Lawrence Claxton by name, whose rare treatise, containing the impudent avowal of his vicious life, lies now before us, and is so apposite to the subject, as to claim some notice. This person was prevailed upon, so late as 1660, at the instigation, he says, ‘of a man of no mean parts or parentage

parentage in this Reason's Kingdom, who had much importuned him to that effect, to publish the various leadings forth of his spirit through each dispensation, from the year 1630 to the year 1660 ;' in order that, as Mr. Claxton expresses it,\* 'he might appear stripped stark naked of his former formal righteousness and professed wickedness, and instead thereof clothed with innocence of life, perfect assurance, and sight for discerning by the spirit of the Revelation.' Our limits as well as our inclinations render it impossible for us to give more than a very general analysis. Some of Claxton's debaucheries are too coarse and indecent to permit them being more than indicated. Yet it may not be useless to trace the career of a man, who started under a vague apprehension of an extreme tenderness of conscience, afflicted 'with the toleration of Maypole dancing and rioting,' and ascended from one flight to another till he became in principle a materialist, almost an atheist, and in practice a coarse and profligate latitudinarian.

His reformation commenced with an abhorrence to railed altars, the Common Prayer-Book, and the 'Practice of Piety,' together with an envy of those of his own sentiments who exercised with credit a gift of extemporary prayer. In a word, he was a presbyterian puritan. His next quarrel was with the presbyterians themselves, whose system, he now perceived, differed only from the episcopal in a few insignificant rites and ceremonies. He also was, or affected to be, displeased with their eagerness in pressing on the civil war. He therefore left them for the Independents, and, attaching himself particularly to one Dr. Crisp, became an antinomian or express disciple of those who protested against being still considered as under the law of the decalogue. Presently, however, Lawrence Claxton discovered that, as he phrases it, he was still burning bricks in Egypt, and had not as yet come within view of that uncircumscribed liberty of conscience which it was his aim to obtain. Hereupon he took to the pulpit, where, if his own word can be taken, he turned out not inferior to any preacher of that time. By-and-bye he was put in possession of a parish named Pulem, with a pension of forty shillings weekly ; in which position, as he expresses himself, he thought himself very gallantly provided for ; 'so that,'

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\* This rare tract is termed at length, 'The Lost Sheep Found ; or, the Prodigal returned to his Father's House, after many a sad and weary Journey through many religious Countries. Where now, notwithstanding all his former Transgressions and Breach of his Father's Commands, he is received in all eternal Favours, and all the righteous and wicked Men that he hath left behind reserved for eternal Mercy. As also every Church or Dispensation may read in his Travels their portion after this Life. By Lawrence Claxton, the only true converted Messenger of Jesus Christ, Creator of Heaven and Earth. London, printed for the Author, 1660.'

says he, 'I thought I was in heaven upon earth, judging the priests had a brave time in this world to have a house built for them, and means provided for them to tell the people stories of other men's works.' But from this paradise he was removed in about half a year—by the envy of the neighbouring clergy, as he insinuates, who called him sheep-stealer, for robbing them of their flocks by his superior gifts. His character had probably overtaken him, for his congregation and he parted with contempt on both sides.

The fifth stage of his history exhibits Claxton as leading a rambling, unsettled life, in the course of which he commenced Dipper, or Anabaptist. He resided at Robert Marchant's, who had four daughters, of which he seems to have had the handsomest for his wife or concubine. Claxton was now apprehended by parliament; but after remaining in custody six months, it appears he formally renounced the practice of dipping, and by this sacrifice of his opinions procured his liberty.

Sixthly, he joined a society of people called Seekers, who worshipped only by prayer and preaching; in which new character he sent out a book, having something in the title analogous to the celebrated work of Bunyan, to wit, 'The Pilgrimage of Saints, by Church cast out, in Christ found seeking truth.' 'This being,' he says, 'a suitable piece of work in these days, wounded the churchers.' At length this unhappy man came the length of affirming, that it was thought and not action which constituted guilt, and therefore if one practised any unlawful act under the belief that it was no sin, to him it became pure and lawful. He was now what was called a *Ranter*, and chief of a company who professed and practised, always under an affectation of religion, the grossest immorality; they had attained, they thought, in this outrageous license, the true privilege of enlightened minds. The ground of Claxton's faith at this period was, that all things being created originally good, nothing was evil but as the opinion of men made it so; under which belief he apprehended there was no such thing as a theft, a cheat, or a lie, and accordingly (murder excepted) this precious proselyte broke the law in every respect without scruple. If the least doubt entered his mind he washed it away, he tells us, with a cup of wine. In London, with his female associates, he spent his time in feasting and drinking, 'so that taverns I called the house of God, the drawers ministers, and sack divinity.' This extravagant conduct once more scandalized and offended the parliament, especially the Presbyterians; Claxton was again taken into custody, and at length formally banished from the British islands.

He escaped, however, and forthwith endeavoured to conceal himself



himself under another species of imposture,—he aspired to the art of magic, and having found, as he says,—

‘some of Dr. Ward’s and Wooler’s manuscripts, I improved my genius to fetch back goods that were stolen—yea, to raise spirits, and fetch treasure out of the earth. However, miseries I gained, and was up and down looked upon as a dangerous man; and therefore have several times in vain attempted to raise the devil, that I might see what like he was, but all in vain; so that I judged all was a lie, and that there was no devil at all, nor, indeed, no God neither, save one, Nature.’

Our philosopher, in short, had now found out that the Scriptures were contradictory, that the world was eternal, and arrived at the point of believing neither in revelation, redemption, or resurrection. To this dreadful result was he conducted by the bewildered principles of his metaphysical theology, though he does not stop there any more than at any former stage of his deluded journey, but settles in becoming a follower of the prophet Reeves, and, as he has the audacity to call himself, ‘the only true converted messenger of the Deity.’ Such were the effects on different men of the then prevailing audacity of fanaticism. The same course of study which all but fixed Bunyan in religious despair, hurried into profligacy, and atheism the less favourably constituted mind of Claxton.

The religious terrors of Bunyan had been considerably checked by his constant course of scriptural study; but there can be no doubt that he owed much to a new occupation, which necessarily fixed his attention upon the minds of others, instead of permitting him to indulge in his own reveries. His habitual serious habits and undenied purity of life had not escaped the observation of the congregation of which he was a member, who passed a resolution, after the death of their pastor, Gifford, that some of the brethren, (*one at a time*, as is not injudiciously provided,) to whom the Lord may have given a gift, and among others John Bunyan, be called forth to speak a word or two for mutual edification. Full of scriptural thoughts and language, and having the Scriptures themselves at command, the author of the *Pilgrim’s Progress* was, nevertheless, totally void of that confidence which made so many in those days rush *per saltum* on the task of the preacher. He laboured painfully that he might speak persuasively. His attention to his new duties seems, in some degree, to have relieved his own dubious state of mind; yet he flinched not from the task of preaching the same severely Calvinistic doctrine under the strictness of which he himself still groaned internally. The following are his own remarkable expressions:—

‘“This

“ ‘ This part of my work,’ says he, “ I fulfilled with great sense ; for the terrors of the law, and guilt for my transgressions, lay heavy upon my conscience. I preached what I felt,—what I smartingly did feel,—even that under which my poor soul did groan and tremble to astonishment. Indeed, I have been as one sent to them from the dead. I went myself in chains to preach to them in chains ; and carried that fire in my own conscience that I persuaded them to be aware of. I can truly say, that when I have been to preach, I have gone full of guilt and terror even to the pulpit door, and there it hath been taken off, and I have been at liberty in my mind until I have done my work ; and then immediately, even before I could get down the pulpit stairs, I have been as bad as I was before. Yet God carried me on, but surely with a strong hand ; for neither guilt nor hell could take me off my work.” —p. xlviii.

Besides his preaching, in which he seems now to have acted as a kind of volunteer auxiliary to one John Burton, he was also engaged in religious controversy, and that with the then frantic Quakers, who, thanks to time and toleration, have now settled down into the gentlest and mildest of religionists. Bunyan accused the quakers of denying some of the most essential doctrines of Christianity ; and Edward Burroughs, his antagonist, objected to our author his taking reward for his services, and going shares with his principal, Burton, in 150*l.*, which he affirms was received as that pastor's yearly salary. To this charge Bunyan returned an explicit denial, alleging that he wrought with his hands for his daily living, and for that of his family, and solemnly affirming that he distributed the knowledge which God had given him freely, and not for filthy lucre's sake.

The quakers could only attack his principles and his character ; but the persecuting spirit which had, by a not unnatural reaction, taken possession for a time of the government, imposed direct personal and penal consequences for nonconformity. Considerable efforts were made after the restoration for the suppression of these sectaries, who were held as the principal cause of the late civil war, and of the death of Charles I. John Bunyan was cited before the justices as a person in the habit of going about preaching, although the charge does not appear to have been mingled with any specific impeachment of his political or religious opinions. He refused to find security to abstain from his itinerant ministry, and he was, of course, sent to prison, resigned and contented with his captivity, so—‘ it might be the awakening of the saints in the country, or otherwise serve the cause of vital religion.’ The fruit of his submission to the will of God was probably a state of peace of mind and contentment, such as in his lifetime he had not hitherto enjoyed.

This persecution was no sudden storm, which was to pour forth its

its violence and then be hushed to rest. Bunyan dwelt no less than twelve years in Bedford gaol rather than surrender the liberty of preaching, "which he considered as his birth-right ; and the manner in which he employed his leisure during this seclusion constitutes his great distinction as a benefactor to the Christian world ; this he has expressed himself, in the first sentence of his memorable work :—' As I walked through the wilderness of this world I lighted on a certain place where there was a den, where I laid me down to sleep ; and as I slept I dreamed a dream.' The allegorical den is on the margin explained to be the *prison* where the author sustained so many years' confinement.

It is true, Bunyan's captivity was neither rigorous nor continued. He was, indeed, deprived of the power of working at his usual occupation of a tinker ; ' He was as effectually taken away from his pots and kettles,' says one of his former biographers, ' as the Apostles were from mending their nets ;' but he learned to make tagged thread laces, and thus supported his family by the labour of his hands. The gaoler of Bedford was a ' gentle provost,' and at length he indulged his respected prisoner with all, and more than all, the liberty which he could grant with safety to himself. John Bunyan was suffered to go abroad at pleasure, visited the various assemblies of his sect, and was actually chosen pastor of the anabaptist congregation in the town. He accepted the office, and being thus only a prisoner on parole, he appears to have been able to exercise its duties freely and usefully—for as it is well expressed by Mr. Southey—' the fever of his enthusiasm had spent itself ; the asperity of his opinions had softened as his mind enlarged.'

About sixteen years before his death, in 1672, he was at length released entirely from a confinement which, for at least five years, had been, in a great degree, nominal. After this his life passed smoothly. His reputation as a preacher stood very high, even in the metropolis, where the chapels were crowded to overflowing when his appearance was expected. A chapel was built for him near Bedford, and he often frequented another at a place called Bentick, where the pulpit which he used is still preserved with pious care. We cannot see in the sermons which Bunyan has left any strong marks of the genius which he really possessed, but the fashion of them is strange to the present day. His elocution must have been warm and fervent ; and he himself even distrusted the degree of applause which he excited.

' One day when he had preached " with peculiar warmth and enlargement," some of his friends came to shake hands with him after the service, and observed to him what " a sweet sermon" he had delivered. " Aye !" he replied, " you need not remind me of that ;



that; for the Devil told me of it before I was out of the pulpit." This anecdote authenticates itself.

He died at no very late period of life, from the consequences of a labour of friendship. He had undertaken a journey to prevail upon a friend not to disinherit his son; caught cold in returning to London, and was carried off by a fever. His epitaph is in these words:—

'Mr. John Bunyan, Author of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. ob. 12 Aug. 1688, æt. 60.

The *Pilgrim's Progress* now is finished,  
And death has laid him in his earthly bed.'

Of the first appearance of this celebrated parable, Mr. Southey's diligence has preserved the following notices:—

'It is not known in what year the *Pilgrim's Progress* was first published, no copy of the first edition having as yet been discovered: the second is in the British Museum; it is "with additions," and its date is 1678: but as the book is known to have been written during Bunyan's imprisonment, which terminated in 1672, it was probably published before his release, or at latest immediately after it. The earliest with which Mr. Major has been able to supply me, either by means of his own diligent inquiries, or the kindness of his friends, is that "eighth e-di-ti-on" so humorously introduced by Gay, and printed,—not for Ni-cho-las Bod-ding-ton, but for Nathanael Ponder, at the Peacock in the Poultry, near the Church, 1682; for whom also the ninth was published in 1684, and the tenth in 1685. All these no doubt were large impressions.'

When the astonishing success of the *Pilgrim's Progress* had raised a swarm of imitators, the author himself, according to the frequent fashion of the world, was accused of plagiarism, to which he made an indignant reply, in which he considered as verses, prefixed to his '*Holy War*.'

'Some say the *Pilgrim's Progress* is not mine,  
Insinuating as if I would shine'  
In name and fame by the worth of another,  
Like some made rich by robbing of their brother;  
Or that so fond I am of being Sire,  
I'll father bastards; or if need require,  
I'll tell a lye in print, to get applause.—  
I scorn it; John such dirt-heap never was  
Since God converted him. Let this suffice  
To shew why I my *Pilgrim* patronize.  
It came from mine own heart, so to my head,  
And thence into my fingers trickled;  
Then to my pen, from whence immediately  
On paper I did dribble it daintily.'—p. lxxxix.

Mr. Southey has carefully examined this charge of supposed  
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imitation, in which so much rests upon the very simplicity of the conception of the story, and has successfully shown that the tinker of Elstow could not have profited by one or two allegories in the French and Flemish languages—works which he could have had hardly a chance to meet with; which, if thrown in his way, he could not have read; and, finally, which, if he had read them, could scarcely have supplied him with a single hint. Mr. Southey, however, has not mentioned a work in English, of Bunyan's own time, and from which, certainly, the general notion of his allegory might have been taken. The work we allude to is now before us, entitled 'The Parable of the Pilgrim, written to a friend by Symon Patrick, D.D., Dean of Peterborough;'—the same learned person, well known by his theological writings, and successively bishop of Chichester and Ely. This worthy man's inscription is dated the 14th of December, 1672; and Mr. Southey's widest conjecture will hardly allow an earlier date for Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, 1672 being the very year in which he was enlarged from prison. The language of Dr. Patrick, in addressing his friend, excludes the possibility of his having borrowed from John Bunyan's celebrated work. He apologizes for sending to his acquaintance one in the old fashioned dress of a pilgrim; and says he found among the works of a late writer, Baker's *Sancta Sophia*, a short discourse, under the name of a Parable of a Pilgrim; 'which was so agreeable to the portion of fancy he was endowed with, that he presently thought that a work of this nature would be very grateful to his friend also.' It appears that the Parable of a Pilgrim, so sketched by Dr. Patrick, remained for some years in the possession of the private friend for whom it was drawn up, until, it being supposed by others that the work might be of general utility, it was at length published in 1678. Before that year the first edition of the *Pilgrim's Progress* had unquestionably made its appearance; but we equally acquit the dean of Peterborough and the tinker of Elstow from copying a thought or idea from each other. If Dr. Patrick had seen the *Pilgrim's Progress* he would, probably, in the pride of academic learning, have scorned to adopt it as a model; but, at all events, as a man of worth, he would never have denied the obligation if he had incurred one. John Bunyan, on his part, would in all likelihood have scorned, 'with his very heels,' to borrow anything from a dean; and we are satisfied that he would have cut his hand off rather than written the introductory verses we have quoted, had not his *Pilgrim* been entirely his own.

Indeed, whosoever will take the trouble of comparing the two works which, turning upon nearly the same allegory, and bearing very similar titles, came into existence at or about the very same

same time, will plainly see their total dissimilarity. Bunyan's is a close and continued allegory, in which the metaphorical fiction is sustained with all the minuteness of a real story. In Dr. Patrick's the same plan is generally announced as arising from the earnest longing of a traveller, whom he calls Philotheus or Theophilus, whose desires are fixed on journeying to Jerusalem as a pilgrim. After much distressing uncertainty, caused by the contentions of pretended guides, who recommend different routes, he is at length recommended to a safe and intelligent one. Theophilus hastens to put himself under his pilotage, and the good man gives forth his instructions for the way, and in abundant detail, so that all the dangers of error and indifferent company may be securely avoided; but in all this, very little care is taken even to preserve the appearance of the allegory—in a word, you have, almost in plain terms, the moral and religious precepts necessary to be observed in the actual course of a moral and religious life. The pilgrim, indeed, sets out upon his journey, but it is only in order again to meet with his guide, who launches further into whole chapters of instructions, with scarcely a reply from the passive pupil. It is needless to point out the extreme difference between this strain of continued didactics, rather encumbered than enlivened by a starting metaphor, which, generally quite lost sight of, the author recollects every now and then, as if by accident,—and the thoroughly life-like manner, in which John Bunyan puts the adventures of his pilgrim before us. Two circumstances alone strike us as trenching somewhat on the manner of him of Elstow: the one is where the guide awakens some sluggish pilgrims, whom he finds sleeping by the way;\* the other, is where their way is crossed by two horsemen, who insist upon assuming the office of guide. 'The one is a pleasing talker, excellent company by reason of his pleasant humour, and of a carriage very pleasant and inviting. But they observed he had a sword by his side, and a pair of pistols before him, together with another instrument hanging at his belt, which was formed for pulling out of eyes.'† The pilgrims suspected this well-armed cavalier to be one of that brood who will force others into their own path, and then put out their eyes in case they should forsake it. They have not got rid of their dangerous companion, by whom the Romish church is indicated, when they are accosted by a man of a quite different shape and humour, 'more sad and melancholy, more rude, and of a heavier wit also, who crossed their way on the right-hand.' He also (representing, doubtless, the Presbyterians or Sectaries) pressed them with eagerness to accept his guidance, and did little less than menace them with total destruction if they

\* Parable of the Pilgrim, chapter xxx.

† Ibidem, chapter xxxiv.



should reject it. A dagger and a pocket-pistol, though less openly and ostentatiously disposed than the arms of the first cavalier, seem ready for the same purposes; and he, therefore, is repulsed, as well as his neighbour. These are the only passages in which the church dignitary might be thought to have caught for a moment the spirit of the tinker of Bedford. Through the rest of his parable, which fills a well-sized quarto volume, the dean no doubt evinces considerable learning, but, compared to Bunyan, may rank with the dullest of all possible doctors; 'a worthy neighbour, indeed, and a marvellous good bowler,—but for Alexander, you see how 'tis.' Yet Dr. Patrick had the applause of his own time. The first edition of his Parable appeared, as has been mentioned, in 1678; and the *sixth*, which now lies before us, is dated 1687.\*

Mr. Southey introduces the following just eulogium on our classic of the common people:—

'Bunyan was confident in his own powers of expression; he says,

————— thine only way  
Before them all, is to say out thy say  
In thine own native language, which no man  
Now useth, nor with ease dissemble can.

And he might well be confident in it. His is a homespun style, not a manufactured one: and what a difference is there between its homeliness, and the flippant vulgarity of the Roger L'Estrange and Tom Brown school! If it is not a well of English undefiled to which the poet as well as the philologist must repair, if they would drink of the living waters, it is a clear stream of current English,—the vernacular speech of his age, sometimes indeed in its rusticity and coarseness, but always in its plainness and its strength. To this natural style Bunyan is in some degree beholden for his general popularity;—his language is every where level to the most ignorant reader, and to the meanest capacity: there is a homely reality about it; a nursery tale is not more intelligible, in its manner of narration, to a child. Another cause of his popularity is, that he taxes the imagination as little as the understanding. The vividness of his own, which, as his history shows, sometimes could not distinguish ideal impressions from actual ones, occasioned this. He saw the things of which he was writing, as distinctly with his mind's eye as if they were indeed passing before him in a dream. And the reader perhaps sees them more satisfactorily to himself, because the outline only of the picture is presented to him, and the author having made no attempt to fill up the details, every reader supplies them according

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\* The Poet Laureate may, perhaps, like to hear that Dr. Patrick introduces into his parable a very tolerable edition of that legend of the roasted fowls recalled to life by St. James of Compostella, of which he himself has recently given us so lively and amusing a metrical version.

to the measure and scope of his own intellectual and imaginative powers.'—pp. lxxxviii, lxxxix.

It may be added, to these judicious remarks, that the most pleasing occupation of the fine arts being to awaken and excite the imagination, sketches in drawing, simple melodies in music, a bold, decisive, but light-touched strain of poetry or narrative in literary composition, (like what is called in the green-room the *touch and go* method of acting,) will always be more likely to gain extensive popularity than any more highly-wrought performance, which aspires to afford the mind no exercise save that of admiration, which pretends at once to rouse curiosity by the outline, and to satiate it by distinct, accurate circumstantiality of detail. To understand this, we need only remember having been the visiter of some celebrated scene of natural beauty, under the close guardianship of a pragmatistical guide, who will let you find out nothing independent of him, and is so anxious that you should leave nothing unseem, that he makes you almost wish yourself both deaf and blind, that you may neither hear his instructions nor profit by them. The true rule of grace in description and narrative—the *ne quid nimis*—is one which genius often neglects in its pride of luxuriance, and seldom without paying the penalty in popular opinion.

It is not, however, the words and manner of the Pilgrim's Progress alone which have raised that singular allegory to so high a rank among our general readers. The form and style of composition is safely referred to the highest authority—

' Who spake in parables, I dare not say,  
But sure *He* knew it was a pleasing way.'

And, without dwelling on the precedent suggested by the poet, we may observe how often the allegory, or parable, has gained, without suspicion, those passes of the human heart which were vigilantly guarded against the direct force of truth by self-interest, prejudice, or pride. When the prophet approached the sinful monarch with the intention of reproving his murder and adultery, a direct annunciation of his purpose might have awakened the king to wrath, instead of that penitence to which it was the will of heaven that he should be invited. But David listened unsuspectingly to the parable of the ewe-lamb; and it was not till the awful words—'*Thou art the man*'—were uttered, that he found the crime which he had so readily condemned was, in fact, the type of that which he had himself committed. In this respect, the comparing the parable with the real facts which it intimates, is like the practice of the artists to examine the reflection of their paintings in a mirror, that they may get clear of false lights and shadows,

shadows, and judge of their compositions more accurately by seeing them presented under a change of light and circumstances. But, besides the moral uses of this species of composition, it has much in it to exercise those faculties of the human mind which it is most agreeable to keep in motion. Our judgment is engaged in weighing and measuring the points of similarity between the reality and the metaphor as these evolve themselves, and fancy is no less amused by the unexpected, surprising, and, we may even say, the witty turns of thought, through means of which associations are produced between things which, in themselves, seemed diametrically opposed and irreconcilable, but which the allegorist has contrived should nevertheless illustrate each other. In some cases, the parable possesses the interest of the riddle itself; the examination and solution of which are so interesting to the human intellect, that the history and religious doctrines of ancient nations were often at once preserved and disguised in the form of such *ænigmata*.

In a style of composition, rendered thus venerable by its antiquity, and still more so by the purposes to which it has been applied, John Bunyan, however uneducated, was a distinguished master. For our part, we are inclined to allow him, in the simplicity of his story, and his very shrewdness, and, if the reader pleases, homely bluntness of style, a superiority over the great poet to whom he has been compared by D'Israeli,—which, considering both writers as allegorists, may, in some respect, counter-balance the advantages of a mind fraught with education, a head full of poetic flight and grace—in a word, the various, the unutterable distinction between the friend of Sidney and of Raleigh, the fascinating poet of fairy land, and our obscure tinker of Elstow, the self-erected holder-forth to the anabaptists of Bedford. Either has told a tale expressive of the progress of religion and morality—Spenser's under the guise of a romance of chivalry, while that of Bunyan recalls the outline of a popular fairy tale, with its machinery of giants, dwarfs, and enchanters. So far they resemble each other; and if the later writer must allow the earlier the advantage of a richer imagination, and a taste incalculably more cultivated, the uneducated man of the people may, in return, claim over Spenser the superiority due to a more simple and better concocted plan, from which he has suffered no temptation to lead him astray.

This will appear more evident, if we observe that Spenser (the first book, perhaps; excepted, where he has traced, in the adventures of the redcross knight, with considerable accuracy, the history and changes of the Christian world) has, in other cantos, suffered his story to lead him astray from his moral, and engages his  
knights,



knights, by whom we are to understand the abstract virtues, in tilts and tournaments, not to be easily reconciled with the explanation of the allegory. What are we to understand by Britomart overthrowing Arthegal, if we regard the lady as the representative of chastity, and the knight as that of justice? many discrepancies of the same kind could be pointed out; and probably some readers may agree with us in thinking that those passages of the poem are sometimes not the least amusing in which Spenser forgets his allegory, and becomes a mere romancer like Ariosto. But, besides the allegory by which Spenser designs to present the pageant of the moral virtues, assigning a knight as the representative of each virtue, by whom the opposing appetites should be curbed and overthrown; he has embodied in his story a second and political allegory. Not only is Gloriana the imaginary concentration of the glory sought by every true knight—she is Queen Elizabeth too; not only does King Arthur present the spirit and essence of pure chivalry—he is likewise Spenser's (unworthy) patron, the Earl of Leicester; and many of the adventures which describe the struggles of virtue and vice also shadow forth anecdotes and intrigues of the English court, invisible to those, as Spenser himself insinuates,

‘ Who n’ote without a bound fine footing trace.’

This complication of meanings may render the *Faery Queene* doubly valuable to the antiquary who can explore its secret sense; but it must always be an objection to Spenser's plan, with the common reader, that the attempt at too much ingenuity has marred the simplicity of his allegory, and deprived it, in a great degree, of consistency and coherence.

In this essential point the poet is greatly inferior to the prose allegorist: indeed they write with very different notions of the importance of their subject. Spenser desired, no doubt, to aid the cause of virtue, but it was in the character of a cold and unimpassioned moralist, easily seduced from that part of his task by the desire to pay a compliment to some courtier, or some lady, or the mere wish to give a wider scope to his own fancy. Bunyan, on the contrary, in recommending his own religious opinions to the readers of his romance was impressed throughout with the sense of the sacred importance of the task for which he had lived through poverty and captivity, and was, we doubt not, prepared to die. To gain the favour of Charles and all his court he would not, we are confident, have guided Christian one foot off the narrow and strait path; and his excellence above Spenser's is, that his powerful thoughts were all directed to one solemn end, and his fertile imagination taxed for everything which could give life and vivacity to his narrative, vigour and consistency to the spirit of his allegory.

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His every thought is turned to strengthen and confirm the reasoning on which his argument depends; and nothing is more admirable than the acuteness of that fancy with which, still keeping an eye on his principal purpose, Bunyan contrives to extract, from the slightest particulars, the means of extending and fortifying its impression.

Let us, for example, compare Bunyan to a good man, but common-place writer, the author of the rival Parable. Dr. Patrick's Pilgrim, in the thirty-second chapter, falls in with 'a company of select friends, who are met at a frugal, but handsome dinner.' This incident suggests to the worthy guide the praises of sociable mirth, restrained by temperance and sobriety. When Bunyan, on the contrary, has occasion to mention an entertainment, instead of the cold generality of the dean of Peterborough, every dish which he places on the table is in itself a scriptural parable; and the precise nature of the refreshment, while described with the vivacious seeming accuracy of Le Sage or Cervantes, is found, on referring to the texts indicated, to have an explicit connexion with some striking particular of Holy Writ. At the House of Gaius, for example, not only the wine red as blood, the milk 'well-crumb'd,' the apples and nuts, but the carving of the table, and ordering of the salt and trenchers, have each their especial and typical meaning; and while the reader only hears of the entertainment of Dr. Patrick, he seems to feed at that of John Bunyan, and sit a guest to profit by the conversation.\* Unquestionably this desire to keep so close to, and hunt down, as it were, the metaphor, may sometimes be held trifling and tedious: but it is a far better fault than that neglect of his machinery which is most likely to enfeeble the texture of a less gifted allegorist.

The parable of the Pilgrim's Progress is, of course, tinged with the tenets of the author, who might be called a Calvinist in every respect, save his aversion to the institution of a regular and ordained clergy. To these tenets he has, of course, adapted the pilgrimage of Christian, in the incidents which occur, and opinions which are expressed. The final condemnation of Ignorance, for instance, who is consigned to the infernal regions when asking admittance to the celestial city, because unable to produce a certificate of his calling, conveys the same severe doctrine of fatalism which had well nigh overturned the reason of Bunyan himself. But the work is not of a controversial character,—it might be perused without offence by sober-minded Christians of all persuasions; and we all know that it is read universally, and has been translated into many languages. It, indeed, appears

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\* Pilgrim's Progress, p. 344.

from many passages in Bunyan's writings, that there was nothing which he dreaded so much as divisions amongst sincere Christians.

“ ‘ Since you would know (he says) by what name I would be distinguished from others, I tell you, I would be, and hope I am, a *Christian*; and chuse if God should count me worthy, to be called a *Christian*, a *Believer*, or other such name which is approved by the Holy Ghost. And as for those factious titles of Anabaptists, Independents, Presbyterians, or the like, I conclude that they come neither from Jerusalem nor from Antioch, but rather from Hell and Babylon; for they naturally tend to divisions. You may know them by their fruits.’ ”—p. lxxvii.

Mr. Southey, observing with what general accuracy this apostle of the people writes the English language, notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which his youth must have been passed, pauses to notice one gross and repeated error. ‘ The vulgarism alluded to,’ says the laureate, ‘ consists in the almost uniform use of *a* for *have*,—never marked as a contraction, e.g. might *a* made me take heed,—like to *a* been smothered.’ Under favour, however, this is a sin against orthography rather than grammar: the tinker of Elstowe only spelt according to the pronunciation of the verb *to have*, then common in his class; and the same form appears a hundred times in Shakespeare. We must not here omit to mention the skill with which Mr. Southey has restored much of Bunyan's masculine and idiomatic English, which had been gradually dropped out of successive impressions by careless, or unfaithful, or what is as bad, conceited correctors of the press.

The speedy popularity of the *Pilgrim's Progress* had the natural effect of inducing Bunyan again to indulge the vein of allegory in which his warm imagination and clear and forcible expression had procured him such success. Under this impression, he produced the second part of his *Pilgrim's Progress*; and well says Mr. Southey, that none but those who have acquired the ill habit of always reading critically, can feel it as a clog upon the first. The first part is, indeed, one of those delightfully simple and captivating tales which, as soon as finished, we are not unwilling to begin again. Even the adult becomes himself like the child who cannot be satisfied with the repetition of a favourite tale, but harasses the story-telling aunt or nurse, to know more of the incidents and characters. In this respect Bunyan has contrived a contrast, which, far from exhausting his subject, opens new sources of attraction, and adds to the original impression. The pilgrimage of Christiana, her friend Mercy and her children, commands sympathy at least as powerful as that of Christian himself, and it materially adds to the interest which we have taken in



in the progress of the husband, to trace the effects produced by similar events in the case of women and children.

‘There is a pleasure,’ says the learned editor, ‘in travelling with another companion the same ground—a pleasure of reminiscence, neither inferior in kind or degree to that which is derived from a first impression. The characters are judiciously marked: that of Mercy, particularly, is sketched with an admirable grace and simplicity; nor do we read of any with equal interest,’ excepting that of Ruth in Scripture, so beautifully, on all occasions, does the Mercy of John Bunyan unfold modest humility regarding her own merits, and tender veneration for the matron Christiana.’

The distinctions between the first and second part of the *Pilgrim's Progress* are such as circumstances render appropriate; and as John Bunyan's strong mother wit enabled him to seize upon correctly. Christian, for example, a man, and a bold one, is represented as enduring his fatigues, trials, and combats, by his own stout courage, under the blessing of heaven: but to express that species of inspired heroism by which women are supported in the path of duty, notwithstanding the natural feebleness and timidity of their nature, Christiana and Mercy obtain from the interpreter their guide, called Great-heart, by whose strength and valour their lack of both is supplied, and the dangers and distresses of the way repelled and overcome.

The author hints, at the end of the second part, as if ‘it might be his lot to go this way again;’ nor was his mind that light species of soil which could be exhausted by two crops. But he left to another and very inferior hand the task of composing a third part, containing the adventures of one Tender Conscience, far unworthy to be bound up, as it sometimes is, with John Bunyan's matchless parable.

Bunyan, however, added another work to those by which he was already distinguished:—this was ‘the Holy War made by King Shaddai upon Diabolus for the regaining of the metropolis of the World; or, the losing and retaking of Mansoul.’ In this allegory the fall of man is figured under the type of a flourishing city, reduced under the tyranny of the giant Diabolus, or the Prince of Evil; and recovered, after a tedious siege, by Immanuel, the son of Shaddai, its founder and true lord. A late reverend editor of this work has said that ‘Mr. Bunyan was better qualified than most ministers to treat this subject with propriety, having been himself a soldier, and knowing by experience the evils and hardships of war. He displays throughout his accurate knowledge of the Bible and its distinguished doctrines; his deep acquaintance with the human heart, and its desperate wickedness; his knowledge of the devices of Satan,  
and

and of the prejudices of the carnal mind against the Gospel.\* To this panegyric we entirely subscribe, except that we do not see that Bunyan has made much use of any military knowledge which he might possess. Mansoul is attacked by mounts, slings, and battering-rams—weapons out of date at the time of our civil wars; and we can only trace the author's soldierly experience in his referring to the points of war then performed, as 'Boot and saddle,' 'Horse and away,' and so forth. Indeed, the greatest risk which he seems to have incurred, in his military capacity, was one somewhat resembling the escape of Sir Roger de Coverley's ancestor at Worcester, who was saved from the slaughter of that action by having been absent from the field. In like manner, Bunyan, having been appointed to attend at the siege of Leicester, a fellow-soldier volunteered to perform the service in his stead, and was there slain. Upon the whole, though the Holy War be a work of great ingenuity, it wants the simplicity and intense interest which are the charm of the *Pilgrim's Progress*.

Mr. Burder (the editor last mentioned) remarks that Bunyan maintains his allegory by assigning to his characters such significant names as introduce them with singular propriety. This was a qualification in great request among the authors of fictitious composition, whether narrative or dramatic, in Charles the Second's days, and no doubt many artificers of plays and novels in our own time would be inclined to join Falstaff, though rather in a different sense, in his earnest wish that he knew where 'a commodity of good names was to be purchased.' A happily christened list of dramatis personæ is a key note for the easy introduction of the story, and saves the author the trouble of tagging his characters with descriptions, always somewhat awkward, of person and disposition. In some respects it answers the purpose which Texier was wont to achieve in another way. Those who remember, like ourselves, that distinguished reader of the French comedians (and such treats are not easily forgotten), cannot but recollect, that on first reading over the list of characters with the author's short description annexed, M. Texier assumed in each the voice and manner in which he intended to read the part, and so wonderful was his discrimination, that the most obtuse hearer had never afterwards the least difficulty in ascertaining who was speaking. A happy selection of names has somewhat the same effect in placing the characters who bear them before us in their original concoction.

It is no doubt true that this may be coarsely and inartificially attempted, so as at once to destroy the reality of the tale. When the thrice noble, illustrious and excellent princess, as the title-page calls her, the Duchess of Newcastle,

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\* Burder's Edition of the Holy War, 1824.

produces on the stage such personages as Sir Mercury Poet, the Lady Fancy, Sir William Sage, Lady Virtue, and Mimic — the jest is as flat and dull as that of Snug the joiner, when he acts the lion bare-faced. On the other hand, some authors produce names either real or approaching to reality, which, nevertheless, possess that resemblance to the character which has all the effect of wit; and by its happy coincidence with the narrative greatly enhances the pleasure of the reader. Thus, in the excellent novel of *Marriage*, an elderly dowager, who deals in telling her neighbours disagreeable truths, which she calls 'speaking her mind,' is very happily Mrs. *Downe Wright*. Anstey, also, whose genius in this line was particular, gives us a list of company, of each of whom we form a distinct and individual idea from the name alone:—

‘ With old Lady Towzer,  
And Marshal Carousef,  
Came the great Hanoverian Baron Panmouzer.’

We might also mention the Widow Quicklackit, with ‘ little Bob Jerome, old Chrysostom’s son,’ or the parties in the country-dance where the contrasts of stature, complexion, and age, are conveyed by little more than the names.

‘ Miss Curd had a partner as black as Omiah;  
Kitty Tit shook her heels with old Doctor Goliah;  
While little John Trot, like a pony just nicked,  
With long Dolly Louderhead scampered and kicked.’

Other, and those very distinguished authors, have not ventured to push this resemblance between the names and characters of their personages so far. An ominous and unpleasing epithet, a jarring and boding collocation of consonants form the names of their villains; as for instance, who could expect anything good from a Blifil? The heroes and heroines, on the contrary, rejoice in the softest, and at the same time the most aristocratic names, such as aspirants to the actual stage select for a first appearance.

Without permitting our remarks on this head to lead us further astray from the subject, we shall only observe that Bunyan was indifferent to other points, so his names were expressive. Mr. Penny-wise-pound-foolish is not a happy name, and still less Mr. Wise-in-the-hundred-and-fool-in-the-shire, but they serve to keep the allegory before the reader’s mind. On the other hand, Mrs. Batt’s-eyes, Mr. Ready-to-halt, and Much-afraid his daughter, Fair-speech, By-ends, and the rest, without being very improbable, have the same advantage of maintaining the reader’s attention to the author’s meaning. As an apology for the length and singular composition of such names as Valiant-for-the-truth, Dare-not-lie, and the like, the reader must remember that it was the custom of



of that puritanical age to impose texts and religious sentences, for examples of which we may refer to the rolls of Praise-God-Barebones' parliament.\*

In these observations we have never touched upon Bunyan's poetry—an omission for which the good man, had he been alive, would scarce have thanked us, for he had a considerable notion of his gift that way, though his present editor is of opinion that John modelled his verses upon those of Robert Wisdom, a degree more prosaic than the effusions of Sternhold and Hopkins. His mechanical education prevented his access to better models; and of verse he knew nothing but the necessity of tagging syllables of a certain amount with very slovenly rhymes. Mr. Southey has revived some specimens of verses written by Bunyan (with great self-approbation, doubtless) upon the leaves of Fox's Book of Martyrs. These 'Tinker's tetrastics,' as Southey calls them, may rank, in idea and expression, with the basest doggrel. But his later poetry excels this humble model: he had learned to soar beyond Robert Wisdom, when he was able to express himself thus in recommendation of the Pilgrim's Progress.

'Wouldst thou divert thyself from melancholy?  
Wouldst thou be pleasant, yet, be far from folly?  
Wouldst thou read riddles and their explanation?  
Or else be drowned in thy contemplation?  
Dost thou love picking meat? Or wouldst thou see  
A man i' the clouds, and hear him speak to thee?  
Wouldst thou be in a dream, and yet not sleep?  
Or wouldst thou in a moment laugh and weep?  
Wouldst thou lose thyself and catch no harm,  
And find thyself again without a charm?  
Wouldst read thyself, and read thou know'st not what?  
And yet know whether thou art blest or not,  
By reading the same lines? O then come hither!  
And lay my book, thy head, and heart together.'—p. 9.

In these lines, though carelessly and roughly formed, there are both ideas and powers of expression. Another little sonnet, taken in connexion with the scene of repose, in the prose narrative, has a simplicity which approaches elegance. It occurs on the entrance of the Pilgrim into the valley of Humiliation.

'Now, as they were going along and talking, they espied a boy feeding his father's sheep. The boy was in very mean clothes, but of a fresh and well-favoured countenance, and as he sat by himself, he sung. Hark, said Mr. Great-heart, to what the shepherd's boy saith! So they hearkened, and he said,

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\* That worthy's own brother may perhaps furnish not the worst specimen. He wrote himself 'If the Lord help me not I am damned,' but for shortness, was commonly called 'Damned Barebones.'

- ‘ He that is down needs fear no fall ;  
 He that is low no pride ;  
 He that is humble ever shall  
 Have God to be his guide.  
 ‘ I am content with what I have,  
 Little be it or much !  
 And, Lord ! contentment still I crave,  
 Because thou savest such.  
 ‘ Fulness to such a burden is,  
 That go on pilgrimage :  
 Here little, and hereafter bliss,  
 Is best from age to age.

‘ Then said their guide, Do you hear him ? I will dare to say, this boy lives a merrier life, and wears more of that herb called *heart's-ease* in his bosom, than he that is clad in silk and velvet.’—pp. 311, 312.

We must not omit to mention, that this edition of the *Pilgrim's Progress* is adorned with a great variety of woodcuts, designed and executed with singular felicity, and with some highly finished engravings after the rich and imaginative pencil of John Martin. Thus decorated, and recommended by the taste and criticism of Mr. Southey, it might seem certain that the established favourite of the common people should be well received among the upper classes ; as, however, it contains many passages eminently faulty in point of taste, (as, indeed, from the origin and situation of the author, was naturally to be expected,) we should not be surprised if it were more coldly accepted than its merits deserve. A dead fly can corrupt a precious elixir—an obvious fault against taste, especially if it be of a kind which lies open to lively ridicule, may be enough, in a critical age like the present, to cancel the merit of wit, beauty, and sublimity.

In whatever shape presented, John Bunyan's parable must be dear to many, as to us, from the recollection that in youth they were endued with permission to peruse it at times when all studies of a nature merely entertaining were prohibited. We remember with interest the passages where, in our childhood, we stumbled betwixt the literal story and metaphorical explanation ; and can even recall to mind a more simple, and early period, when Grim and Slaygood, and even he

‘ Whose castle's Doubting, and whose name's Despair,’  
 were to us as literal Anakim as those destroyed by Giant-killing Jack. Those who can recollect the early development of their own ideas on such subjects, will many of them at the same time remember the reading of this work as the first task which gave exercise to the mind, before taste, grown too fastidious for enjoyment, taught them to be more disgusted with a single error than delighted with a hundred beauties.

ART.

- ART. VI.—1. A. *Papers relative to the Affairs of Greece. Protocols of Conferences held in London.*  
 2. B. *Papers, &c. Protocols of Conferences held at Constantinople.*  
 3. C. *Papers relative to Greece.*  
 4. *Communications with H. R. II. PRINCE LEOPOLD.*  
 5. *Further Communications relative to the Sovereignty of Greece.*  
 6. *Protocol of a Conference held at POROS.*  
 7. *Communications of the Ambassadors of England and France with the Reis Effendi and the Baron de Zuylen.*

WE hope we shall be rendering an acceptable service to our readers in submitting to them the result of a patient investigation of these tedious and complicated papers; an investigation, we can venture to assure them, conducted in a spirit of perfect impartiality—influenced neither by the phil-Hellenistic mania, on the one hand, nor by an excessive horror of all resistance to legitimate government, on the other. As an obvious consequence of this principle, we shall confine ourselves almost entirely to the papers themselves; because, on the contents of these papers, both government, and the various classes of its opponents, profess to rest their respective cases.

In inquiring into the merits of this question, it is necessary constantly to bear in mind the real state of the case on which it has arisen. This was not a case of interference in a quarrel between two states, but between a sovereign and his revolted subjects. Further, it had not any of the objects usually set forth to justify the interference of strangers in such a quarrel. It was not undertaken to enforce any claims of *justice* between the parties—to strengthen an injured sovereign, or to succour an oppressed people; on the contrary, its objects were declared to be wholly independent of the *rights* of either. Further still, it was a case, in which the very right to interfere was, at one time, formally disclaimed by the powers who afterwards deemed it necessary to interfere so efficaciously. ‘Russia (these are the words of its declaration of war against Turkey) did not hesitate a moment to testify its just disapprobation of the enterprise of Prince Ypsilanti,’ (A. 230)—which was the beginning of the Greek insurrection; the congress of Verona openly testified a similar feeling: the Greek deputies were refused even a hearing by that august assembly—nay, a formal communication was made to the Porte, in the name of the congress, by one of the ministers who had assisted at it—our own ambassador to the Porte, Lord Strangford—to the effect, that ‘the congress recognized the Greek question as one belonging to the internal affairs of the Porte, in which no foreign power ought to intermeddle.’ Here, to say the least



least of it, was a complete disclaimer of all right to interfere, on the ground of the *merits* of the quarrel. In conformity to this was the language uniformly holden after the interference had commenced:—‘Be those merits what they may—be the origin of the Greek rebellion as unjustifiable as can be imagined—still, it has continued so long, the suppression of it by Turkey is now so hopeless, that it has become the duty of the great powers of Europe, for the sake of objects the most important to the welfare of their own subjects, to insist on putting an end to it.’—The treaty, by which the allied powers bound themselves to each other, proclaimed what these objects were—namely, to rescue *the peace of Europe* from the dangers to which it was exposed by a continuance of the struggle, and to relieve *the commerce of nations* from the interruptions it was actually experiencing from piracy, and the other collateral mischiefs attendant on that struggle.

These objects were, doubtless, legitimate, as well as important: if they could not otherwise be obtained, they might justify a departure from the general rule, incumbent on all governments, not to interfere between an independent sovereign and his subjects. Still, at the best, it was a singular and a painful state of things; and it became still more painful, on contemplating the means which the allies deemed necessary for the accomplishment of their purpose. These means were, in truth, such as nothing but the fullest conviction of their necessity could suggest to just and honourable minds. They were no other, than that the Ottoman emperor should formally abandon the exercise of his own rights, and the development of his own means, for putting down an insurrection of his own subjects—that he should admit the mediation of the allies—and that he should accept, in the outset, as the first fruits of that mediation, a sentence which virtually gave to the insurgents the chief of those objects, which they had so long striven to wrest from him in vain.

Now this, it must be admitted, was a very strong proceeding—a proceeding which, unless justified, not only by the greatness of the object, but also by the impossibility of devising any less odious means of attaining it, could be characterised only as a gross and outrageous violation of the rights of an independent prince, and the plainest dictates of international justice. That the case was so felt by the allied sovereigns cannot be doubted. Throughout the whole of their protracted negotiations, they earnestly professed themselves to be—two of them, ‘the ancient allies’—all of them ‘the friends of Turkey.’ Their counsels, however unpleasant, were dictated by sentiments of benevolence and friendship—though compelled, for the attainment of their great objects, ‘to exert themselves in every way which circumstances shall suggest to

to their discretion,' they at the same time declared, that 'they had no intention of disturbing the friendly relations which subsist between them and the Sublime Porte' (A. 182). Even after the 'untoward event' at Navarino, they still presented themselves in the same character—still claimed to be regarded as 'friends.' Nay, so jealous were they of this title, so proudly conscious of deserving it, that they authorised their ambassadors to demand a formal recognition of it by the Porte, under an alternative little short of a declaration of war! (B. 178.) They must, therefore, we repeat, have felt acutely the hardships of the conditions they were imposing on a brother sovereign, their 'friend' and their 'ally'—one, too, against whom not a shadow of charge, of any kind, was even pretended. Neither was this all they must have felt: they must have likewise felt the extreme responsibility they were taking upon themselves: they must have felt that any sacrifice demanded from Turkey, beyond what was absolutely necessary for the security of the great objects of their alliance, would be, *pro tanto*, an act of spoliation and robbery. In short, the justice of the case admits of no dispute. Turkey was not to be mulcted in a single inch of her lawful possessions, which was not indispensable for the security of the commerce of nations, and for the maintenance of peace—of the peace, that is, of Europe, not of peace between the Porte and its rebel subjects; for with this peace, *on its own account*, the allies had no right, and by their formal communication from congress had told the Porte that they had no right whatever, to intermeddle.

But what was it which made the security of commerce and the peace of Europe to be endangered by the long-continued struggle of the Greeks—which gave, therefore, to other nations the right of interfering to put an end to it? Evidently, not the extent of their country, nor the amount of its population; far larger and more populous provinces might have continued longer in a state of insurrection against their government, without exciting any solicitude in the other cabinets of Europe. It was simply and merely because of the local, above all, the *maritime*, situation of the Greeks. Their country lay in the high road of nations trading to the Levant and the Black Sea. Their quarrel with their masters had engendered a spawn of buccaneers and pirates, which infested the seas, making commerce insecure, demanding armaments and convoys for the protection of the merchant ships of every nation, which traded thither, even in times when no war, recognized by the states of Europe, called for such costly and inconvenient precautions. Besides this, it contained the latent seeds of a disturbance of that state of territorial arrangement on which the general security reposed: collisions were likely to ensue, and in process

of time could hardly fail to ensue, between Turkey and other powers, while she was employing her naval means in ineffectual efforts to quell a rebellion which had spread itself through almost all the islands of the Archipelago, and the effect of such collisions, and of the wars consequent upon them, would necessarily be, to endanger that balance of power between the nations of Europe which it had been the great object of all to re-adjust, and to set afloat passions incompatible with the peace of the civilized world. These, then, being the dangers,—the evils to be apprehended arising only from *maritime* Greece—the security to be sought being only against that licentious and lawless course of maritime warfare, which had grown out of the singular nature of the contest, and was inseparable from its continuance—we see, at once, both the justification, and the due limit, of the interference of the allies. It was the maritime position of Greece which made her disorders mischievous and dangerous to other nations—it was with her, in this view, therefore, that the allies were concerned—with her, as a *maritime* country. If her coasts and her islands had been reduced to order, or made to be no longer a source of serious annoyance to the rest of the world, the struggle might have continued to rage in the interior, without leaving to foreigners any right to interfere. Not only so, but while they interfered, this, and this only, was the object to which their interference might lawfully extend—the establishment of such an order of things in Greece, as should give a reasonable assurance of the future peace and safety of the adjoining seas.

To apply this reasoning to the question of the boundary of the new state (for we will not embarrass ourselves with that which Turkey herself wisely decided, by granting unlimited independence—we mean the question of the relations which should subsist between her and her late subjects).—It is plain, from what has been stated, that in adjusting that boundary, at the expense of Turkey, the allies had nothing whatever to do with what might be the best frontier for the strength or the security of the new state, much less for its future greatness; but that the only question which could fairly be considered by them, was this,—how little of territory it might be sufficient to demand, in order to constitute a state capable of going on, *under the guarantee of the three powers*, without any reasonable danger of such collisions, as might compromise the security of the commerce of nations in the Levant. Such was the manifest *justice* of the case, and in accordance to it, we are bound to believe, must have been the original purpose of the three great powers who were parties to the treaty. In truth, there is in the treaty itself nothing to contradict, and much to confirm, this view. If ‘Greece’ and ‘the Greeks’ are there



there named vaguely and generally, still there is no ground to suppose that the operation of the measures contemplated by the allies was designed to be co-extensive with the limits of Greece, and to include all who bore the appellation of 'Greeks.' On the contrary, there is an express stipulation, that 'the limits of the territory on the continent, and the designation of the islands in the Archipelago, to which the arrangement shall be applicable, shall be settled in a subsequent negotiation between the high powers and the two contending parties.' Besides, it is satisfactory to observe, that the allies cautiously abstained from using any expression which should involve, even by remote implication, the acknowledgment of the Greeks, or any of them, as a political body. Even the secret article, which, as might be expected, announces more plainly the views of the contracting powers, cautiously avoids all recognition of anything like a *political* character in the Greeks. If the Ottoman Porte does not, within a month, accept the proposed mediation, the ambassadors are to state to it the necessity, and the causes of the necessity, imposed on their courts, 'of taking immediate measures for an *approximation* with the Greeks'—so strongly did they feel the duty of abstaining from all intermeddling with the subjects of another sovereign, without a real necessity, and without previously explaining that necessity to the sovereign himself. Still more worthy of remark is the caution with which the powers limit the nature of the 'approximation' which is to be held with the Greeks. 'It is to be understood,' says this secret article, 'that this approximation shall be brought about by establishing *commercial relations* with the Greeks, by sending to them for that purpose, and receiving from them *consular agents*, so long as there shall exist among them *authorities capable of maintaining such relations*.' In all this, it is impossible not to perceive that the allied courts duly felt, and were guided by, those sound principles of public law, which forbid the interference of any power within the dominions of another, unless in case of manifest necessity, and which strictly limit such interference by the necessity which causes it.

Upon the whole, it is gratifying to find that a treaty, in which our own government bore so prominent a part, and which is even consigned to history by the name of 'the Treaty of London,'—whatever difference of opinions may exist respecting its alleged necessity,—was, in its *provisions* at least, free from all reasonable censure. In saying this, we by no means wish to be understood as considering those provisions as well adapted to obtain their object. Not to mention their extreme vagueness, which will come under notice hereafter, we think the whole process therein devised for procuring the desired concessions from the Porte

marvellously injudicious: for it was in direct opposition to the notorious prejudices, and even religious scruples, of the followers of the Prophet. To require Turks to submit to a *mediation*, which should make them formally confer with their Greek subjects, a race of rayahs, almost as with equals,—was to demand an infinitely more mortifying concession, than would have been the absolute surrender of all the proposed matters of mediation. On the other hand, had the treaty engaged the contracting parties to induce, or, if necessary, to compel the Porte,—without any demand of previous negociation with the Greeks,—to erect, by its own act, a certain portion of their country—such a portion as the interests of Europe obviously demanded—into a principality, similar to those on the Danube, and therefore not liable to objection on the ground of precedent or principle, we apprehend that they would have found their object much more easy of attainment, and infinitely less embarrassing to themselves when attained, than they are likely to find the hopeful bantling which their treaty has at length brought forth, and which they have, we are afraid, undertaken to rear. Be this as it may, the provisions of the treaty, whether wisely or unwisely devised as means for an end, are, we repeat, unexceptionable in themselves. Viewing the matter thus, it becomes a subject of no trifling interest to Englishmen to inquire how the government of England has borne its part in carrying the treaty into effect; and what has been the character of that government's proceedings in a negociation, involving so many high considerations of justice, generosity, and good faith.

And here it is due to the memory of that eminent person who was at the head of the councils of Great Britain when the treaty was framed, and who is understood to have had a large and principal share in framing it,—to state, in the outset, that there is no appearance in any of the transactions, over which he can be supposed to have had an influence, of any departure from the most scrupulous observance of the principles on which alone such a proceeding could be justified. The various instruments agreed upon at the first conference of the plenipotentiaries,—the instruction to the ambassadors at Constantinople; the declarations to the Ottoman Porte; the instructions to the admirals of the allied squadrons in the Levant; the declaration to the provisional government of Greece (A. 178-186)—all bear the same impress of strict adherence to the provisions of the treaty; are all characterized by the same rigid impartiality.—Unhappily, however, when the master-mind was no longer permitted to watch the accomplishment of his own project, and to regulate the machinery employed in working it, disorder rapidly ensued. This

This is not said in derogation of the zeal or talents of the individuals who composed the cabinet which succeeded.' The mischief necessarily grew out of their position. In truth, what could be expected from a government so constituted? whose various members were strung together without union, and without any one of the elements of union,—without friendship, or even the decent simulation of it,—without common principles of any kind; agreeing only in the consciousness of universal discord, and of their utter want of the confidence of their sovereign, of their country, and of each other. One necessary result of such a state of things was the loss of authority in our foreign relations. The English plenipotentiary could speak no longer with the confidence which became him. He could not resist the violent and hostile counsels which might accord but too well with the fancied interests of one of the contracting parties, but were in direct opposition to the justice of the case, to the spirit of the treaty, and, above all, to the professions with which that treaty was first laid before the world.

Those professions may be stated in the following terms, taken from the instructions to the admirals of the combined squadrons:—

'You will be aware that you must employ extreme care, in order to prevent the measures which you shall adopt against the Ottoman marine, from *degenerating into hostilities*. The express intention of the three powers is to *interpose as peace-makers* ; . . . . 'every hostile proceeding would be in contradiction to the *pacific part which it is their desire to sustain*. The array of force which they have assembled is designed to cause that desire to be respected ; but they will not make use of that force, unless the Turks shall persist in forcing the passages which they had intercepted.' (A. 185.)

From the peaceful and forbearing tone of this instruction (issued under the eye of Mr. Canning) it could hardly be anticipated, that the very next conference of the plenipotentiaries would give birth to a proposition little short of direct hostility. Yet such was the fact. The Russian minister proposed at once to cut the knot,—to blockade the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles (A. 187) ; in short, to starve the Porte into compliance with their demands ! The *principle* of this proposition, it is lamentable to see, while it was distinctly approved by the French minister, was not discountenanced by the English, who satisfied himself with reserving it for 'the deliberations of the cabinet.' (A. 186.) The result of the deliberations of such a body was what might be expected. On the 13th of October it was formally announced,—

'That under the present circumstances the English cabinet did not consider itself authorized to adopt the Russian proposition in its full extent, being desirous, before resorting to the measures therein mentioned,



*tioned*, to satisfy itself of the effect produced upon the Ottoman Porte by those which the three mediating courts are at present adopting towards it.' (A. 189.)

At the next conference matters were fast advancing to a crisis ; information had arrived, that even the destruction of their navy in the bay of Navarino had not made the Turks sufficiently tractable ; and that the ambassadors of the allies were about to leave-Constantinople. The plenipotentiaries, therefore, resolved, 'That the moment is arrived at which, notwithstanding their wishes and *their efforts*, the three allied powers may see themselves involved in a war with the Ottoman Porte.' (A. 190.) The consequence seemed to be inevitable ; it seemed as if the Russian proposition could no longer be resisted, nor its execution be deferred. But this was not all. Encouraged by the reception given to that proposition, and calculating, doubtless, on a continuance of the same weakness in the British councils, Russia now extended her views. In a despatch from St. Petersburg, dated January 6, 1828, she declared, 'that the rupture of all relation between the three courts and the Porte,' (by the withdrawal of the ambassadors from Constantinople,) '*dissipates the scruples arising from the neutrality*, which they persisted in observing.'—(A. 201.) She therefore gravely proposed, that she should be allowed to lead her armies across the Pruth, and to occupy Moldavia and Wallachia *in the name of the three powers*. 'But if our allies,' 'emulous no doubt of so holy an example, 'should be disposed to strike a bolder blow, *to penetrate even to Constantinople, and there to dictate peace under the walls of the Seraglio*,' (these are the words of this remarkable document,) 'we declare beforehand, that our fleets of the Black Sea shall actively co-operate in the same enterprise !' \*—A. 201.

Such was the state of the negotiation at the commencement of 1828—such the practical comment on the professions of 'benevolence and friendship' with which the allies, for many months, had been fatiguing the patience of the Ottoman Porte—such the project, of which a British cabinet had already countenanced the principle, and could hardly refuse to sanction the execution—when, happily for our national honour, and most happily for the men who had brought it into jeopardy, England was rescued from the indelible disgrace of being a party to such an outrage, by the only occurrence which could then prevent it—a change in the councils of her sovereign. At the very first conference of the plenipoten-

\* The despatch concluded with expressing the emperor's 'conviction that he shall find in his allies the same sincerity, the same energy, the same disinterestedness, whereof the negotiations of Constantinople, and the occurrences in the seas of Greece furnished so striking a proof.'

tiaries after this change, England resumed the attitude which became her, and made the voice of justice and good faith to be again heard from the mouth of her representative. The proposal of the court of Russia was answered in a letter from Lord Dudley to the Prince Lieven (A. 28); a letter which, while as a composition it does honour even to the highly-gifted nobleman whose signature it bears, entitles both himself and those of whose joint counsels he was the able interpreter, to the lasting gratitude of all who feel for the character of their country. Perhaps, indeed, it would be impossible to find in the records of British diplomacy a document more highly distinguished by all which ought to characterise a communication from the minister of a great country on a question of the gravest importance to the honour and interests of that country, as well as to the cause of public justice and the tranquillity of the civilized world. The firm but conciliatory tone in which it rejects the violent counsels of Russia, and proposes a safe, and moderate, and honourable mode of attaining the only legitimate objects of the alliance—its seasonable admonition to the combined powers to beware of the unknown, unthought-of consequences which might follow ‘the first march of great armies, and the first collision of great empires’—its frank yet guarded exposition of the principles which would henceforth guide the councils of Great Britain in dealing with this momentous question—its prudent and equitable consideration for the jealousies of some, for the passions and prejudices of others, and for the just rights of all who might be affected by the decision—these and other excellencies, befitting such a document, constitute it almost a manual for the instruction and guidance of future statesmen.

But this rejection of the proposition of Russia, is not the only particular in which may be traced the influence of that better spirit which again actuated our diplomacy. To an Englishman, jealous of the honour of England, the conduct of the government of 1827, in relation to the *piracies of the Greeks*, affords a subject of most painful retrospect. If ever there was an occasion when the duty of rigid and inflexible impartiality was imposed by the nature and circumstances of the case, this was such. The allied powers professed to interfere ‘as peace-makers,’ in a quarrel in which it was necessary to have recourse to considerations, if of certain, still of not very obvious, and, at best, of *extreme* right, in order to justify their claim of interfering at all. By its very nature, that interference, however conducted, could not but be of most unequal operation—could not but give countenance to one party and discouragement to the other. What, then, ought to have been the course pursued by the allies in the conduct of it?

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The least that was demanded, not only by their own dignity, but by the homeliest rules of common honesty, was, that the party benefited by their mediation should be required to submit to restrictions analogous and equivalent to those imposed on its adversary. Let us apply this to the 'Instructions addressed to the Admirals commanding the Squadrons of the Three Powers in the Mediterranean,' dated 15th of October, 1827. First, with regard to the *Turks*. 'The commander of the British fleet should *be directed to intercept all ships*, whether of war or merchants, having on board troops, arms, ammunition, stores, or provisions, for the use of the 'Turkish force, employed, or intended to be employed, against the Greeks, either on the continent or in the islands.'—Again, 'He will concert with the commanders of the allied powers *the most effectual mode of preventing any movements by sea, on the part of the Turkish or Egyptian forces.*' So much for the *Turks*. Let us now see the measures to be pursued towards the *Greeks*; premising, that these measures were called forth by a remonstrance from the French Admiral De Rigny, expressed in the following strong terms :

'With regard to the naval armistice it must be remarked, that at the same time that it would be the most certain mode of putting an end to piracy, *which is one of the objects of the treaty*, it will, for that very reason, find few partisans amongst the sailors of Hydra and Spezzia. You are aware of the nature of their naval operations: under the pretext of war, they go to sea with papers so irregular, as to be little better than no papers at all; and, in truth, nearly all act alike. *The prize-courts at Napoli dare not restore a vessel*; moreover, vessels are very frequently not carried before the courts at all; their cargoes are in the first instance discharged. I confess, that in the state in which the Greeks have ever been and with their propensities, *it has always appeared to me inconceivable, that they should not have been interdicted from cruising, and from the right of search, or from making captures on board of neutral vessels, except of contraband of war.* It must be confessed, that *the toleration of this system has been the cause of piracy, as it at present exists.*'—B. 152.

Such was the evil to be remedied, such the remedy suggested by one, whose station, experience, and character entitled it to the gravest attention. Let us now see the result of the attention so given by the conference of October 15, 1827—the very conference at which the British plenipotentiary announced his cabinet's qualified acquiescence in the principle of the Russian proposition for blockading Constantinople.

'With a view to prevent the continuance of the predatory warfare by the Greek cruisers, now the subject of such frequent complaints on the part of the allies, and of all nations trading to the Levant, he (the



(the British Admiral) will try to procure from the Greek government their consent, that any Greek vessel carrying less than ten guns, which may be found at sea, unless provided with a passport for some specific voyage and from the Greek government itself, should be liable to detention by the naval forces of the allies.

‘ In general, he will lose no opportunity of impressing upon the Greek government the necessity of endeavouring earnestly, by every means they possess, to check robbery and plunder by sea, which have prevailed in the Levant since the beginning of the present troubles.

‘ He will represent to them, that though, in the infancy of their power, they may not possess the means of putting down this system, yet that, by discountenancing it themselves, and by sanctioning active measures on our part, they will at once satisfy the mediating powers, and relieve their cause from a great weight of odium, under which it has hitherto laboured.’—(A. 13.)

In order to do full justice to this exquisite specimen of delicacy and tenderness for a people so deserving of it, be it remembered, that, as Admiral de Rigny suggested, it was this very system of piracy on the part of the Greeks, which—because it could not be put down by their lawful masters,—was made the most prominent, as it was, in truth, the strongest and most reasonable, of all the pleas, on which the allied powers had founded their claim to interpose in the struggle, and thus to deprive an independent and friendly sovereign of his most undoubted rights! The effect of this proceeding was what might be expected. *It paralysed the efforts which the admirals had commenced, and even the ambassadors at Constantinople wished to make, for securing something like a decent adherence, on the part of the Greeks, to the armistice which they had pledged themselves to observe.* (See B. 191.)

From so mortifying an exhibition of the weakness of our councils, it is refreshing to turn once more to a better page of British diplomacy. The same conference which witnessed the triumph of British justice over the outrageous project for the invasion of Turkey, produced the following ‘ instruction to the admirals,’ in respect to the abuse of which we are now speaking : -

‘ You will, in concert with your colleagues, urge the Greek government to draw up a list, specifying the names of their vessels of war; and to give to the commanders a commission, the form of which you will immediately employ yourself in settling, in concert with the Greek government. Every vessel, which shall not be furnished with such commission, shall be forthwith seized by the cruisers of the combined squadrons.’—(A. 205.)

To return to the negotiations respecting the sacrifices demanded from Turkey. In the letter already alluded to, from Lord Dudley to the Prince Lieven, it was proposed to limit the demand

demand of territory to *the Morea and the Islands*,—in other words, to *that portion of Greece only, the troubles of which really endangered the security of intercourse in the Levant seas*; and it cannot be doubted, that if this proposal had been strengthened by any indication of a readiness in Turkey to acquiesce in it, here her sacrifices would have terminated; and all the subsequent events, so full of loss, discomfiture, and disgrace to herself—so full of embarrassment and difficulty to her best friends—so pregnant, it may be, with future danger to the general tranquillity of Europe—would have been prevented. Unhappily, the blind obstinacy of the Ottoman emperor, his incredible rashness in precipitating a contest with Russia, under circumstances which deprived every other power of the right to forbid, or to lighten, his overthrow, produced a new obstacle to the equitable adjustment of his claims on Greece. But, even under the fresh difficulty thus imposed on the British cabinet, it ceased not to contend most strenuously, and, in several important points, most successfully, for the observance of just and moderate measures in executing the treaty of July. This was, indeed, no easy task. At the same conference, in which the British plenipotentiary had so peremptorily rejected the violent counsels of Russia, and before that rejection was recorded, the Prince Lieven produced a despatch from his court, (reserved, doubtless, for this contingency,) announcing war between Russia and Turkey. The object of this despatch, however veiled by diplomatic courtesies, was, obviously, to compel the allies to adopt the measure, which England had rejected, and so, in fact, to make them become parties with Russia in her hostilities. The alternative is thus expressed:—

‘If the allies withhold their assent, Russia will not the less execute the treaty of London, by aid of the measures of coercion which the Porte forces her to employ; but, abandoned to herself, and receiving henceforth no assistance, she will be able to consult, in the manner of executing that act, *only her own interests and convenience*.’—(A. 211.)

In this new emergency, the position preserved for England was such as entitles its government to the highest praise. Immediately, a note from Lord Dudley to the Russian plenipotentiary announced the fixed resolution of his court to adhere to its former views; and, moreover, declared the impossibility of co-operating any longer with Russia, after the pretensions she had put forth. (A. 44.) He at the same time invited France to act in concert with England, for obtaining the speedy accomplishment of the objects of the treaty; and, as the first and most necessary step, he proposed that they should *define exactly* what those objects were. The mischiefs resulting from the *vagueness* of

of the terms in which the treaty was drawn had, indeed, long been felt, and in various ways. It had rendered more intense the alarm which such an act, at the best, could not but excite in the Porte, and it had aggravated the jealousies of Europe in general. It had also encouraged the most unreasonable, and continually growing, pretensions on the part of the Greeks. No stronger proof of this can be desired, than a mere perusal of the recent letters of Count Capo d'Istrias to Prince Leopold. Could such pretensions have been even dreamt of, at the beginning of these negotiations? '*Much will be accomplished, if Attica can be saved, and included within the terms of the treaty.*' This was the language of Admiral de Rigny, an able, honourable, consistent friend of Greece,—one who had long devoted himself to her cause. In a despatch addressed by him to the French ambassador at Constantinople, in August, 1827, he added, with a sagacious foresight, which proves the high value of all his opinions on this subject,—

'The difficulties on both sides would have soon disappeared, if it had been possible to reconstruct the article of the treaty which regards the boundary, in terms which would leave to neither party any prospect of enlarging or contracting, by means of discussion, the limits of the territory to be comprehended in the arrangement. (B. 149.)

In order to put an end to these various mischiefs, the British plenipotentiary urged the necessity of defining the boundary exactly, and of drawing it in strict conformity to the principle of the treaty.. That principle was '*the pacification of the Levant.*' He had before proposed, (and to this proposal he now referred A. 46)—

'with the view of giving to the Greeks a clearly defined and strong mountain frontier, to confine them to the line nearest to the Morea, (the mountains on the north side of the Isthmus,) as that to which the naval exertions could be most easily applied, and which, after the terms of the treaty had been carried into effect, would best secure the future tranquillity of the Morea.'

He then pointed out the mode in which the evacuation of the Morea by the Egyptian and Turkish troops could be obtained,—

'which being done,' he argued, '*the object of the allies would be accomplished; the settlement of the country could go on, under the protection of the combined fleets, and the countenance of their commercial agents, who might in this case be sent to the Greeks; piracies would be put an end to, and the peaceful commerce of nations would revive.*'—(A. 30.)

Here, then, was a fair expedient proposed, completely fulfilling the views with which the treaty was formed; for, the peace of the Morea and of the adjacent islands being secured, all would be gained



gained which concerned the interests of foreign nations. Whether the Greeks of Livadia or Roumelia were on good or ill terms with their masters, the Turks, was a question which might interest the feelings, but could not affect the peace or the commerce, of Europe. With them, therefore, it was not necessary, for the objects of the treaty, that the high contracting parties should in any way intermeddle.\* But, if not necessary, it would be obviously improper, for nothing but the necessity of the case could justify their interfering at all. Such was the wise and honourable course of the British government. France, in her reply, first declined altogether to separate the court of Russia from the negotiations. She objected, too, to the definition of the objects of the treaty, as inexpedient; and, in particular, to fixing the territorial limit in the way proposed by England—of which she at the same time admitted, not only that it would ‘give the Greeks a territory easily defended,’ but also that it had been once, conditionally, suggested by herself. Moreover, she began to testify a disposition to yield to considerations not less derogatory to the true dignity of the allies, than they were opposed to the justice of the case:

‘We must not disguise from ourselves, that the Greek question has derived importance from the dominion of early associations: *the public mind* in Europe has been excited, and filled with the idea of the resuscitation of ancient Greece. It has not been the object of the three courts to realize these dreams; but they will be held to have done nothing if the Peloponnese alone is withdrawn from the Turkish yoke. *A cry of grief and indignation* will be raised, if Athens, still arrayed in her glorious and noble renown, falls again under the humiliating dominion of the Sultana Valide.’—(A. 219.)

Russia, in like manner, began to assume a tone, in reference to the Greek cause, which was in direct contradiction to her former condemnation of it. She, who had reprobated the insurrection as wholly unjustifiable, now spoke of the treaty of July as ‘*advocating the rights and wishes of an unfortunate people.*’—(A. 231.)

Meanwhile, England alone adhered inflexibly to her honest purpose. The conferences were, in consequence, suspended; nor would she consent to renew them, till Russia, departing from her demand of assent on the part of the allies to an invasion of Turkey in the name of the alliance, and *expressly renouncing* the

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\* This was the principle which the ambassadors at Constantinople themselves had put forth in their formal interview with the Reis Effendi. ‘One part of the Levant,’ said they, ‘is in a state of disturbance: it is now a question of pacifying that part, and not of considering the state of those parts which can in no case compromise the peace of Europe.’—(B. 215.) In short, it being only by disturbance of the communications at sea, that the interests or the peace of Europe can be endangered in the quarrels between Greeks and Turks, if the tranquillity of the Morea and the islands be secured, the interference of foreign powers ceases to be necessary for any legitimate objects.

alternative which she had before stated, of 'consulting, in the manner of executing the treaty, only her own interests and convenience,' proposed not only to maintain the same position, and to pursue the same course with her allies, in everything which concerned the execution of the treaty, but even to lay aside her belligerent character, and to forego the exercise of her maritime rights in the Mediterranean, for the purpose of identifying herself, as much as possible, with them. When this important concession had been made to England, the conferences were resumed, with the avowed intention of all the contracting parties to accelerate, to the utmost, the fulfilment of the provisions of the treaty. With the view of contributing most effectually to this end, and in order to satisfy the fair wishes of all, it was resolved that the late ambassadors of the three powers at Constantinople should re-assemble at Corfu, or wherever they might deem more expedient, and should 'immediately open a communication with the Greek government, for the purpose of discussing with persons duly authorized, the mode of executing the treaty, so far as it might affect the future condition of Greece.' —(A. 74.)

In the instructions given to the ambassadors, the question, relative to the future boundary, occupied, as might be expected, a very prominent place. In particular, without excluding the consideration of others, their attention was drawn to four specified lines of frontier, the most extensive of which was one very nearly answering to that which has been ultimately fixed by the protocol of the 3d of February, differing only in a slight degree in the north-eastern limit, where the gulf of Volo was proposed instead of Zeitoun. This, we repeat, was the most extensive of the four specified frontiers; and it will be remarked, that it excluded *Acarmania, Samos, and Candia*. It must be borne in mind, also, that this was the *line of blockade* laid down by the ambassadors themselves at their conference in Constantinople of the 4th of September, 1827, which line professed to include 'all that portion of Greece and of the adjacent islands, which, having taken an active and continued part in the insurrection, *may, with more or less right and chance of success, lay claim to the enjoyment of the benefit of the arrangements of which the treaty of London has laid the basis.*' This frontier, it must be remembered, too, was not only the largest specified in the instructions to the ambassadors, but the largest which had ever been proposed or suggested, in any of the conferences of the plenipotentiaries; and it was first proposed by that power, which has always been most anxious to sustain the utmost pretensions of Greece—it was, in short, proposed by the Russian plenipotentiary,

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in that very document which contained his most extravagant project for 'dictating peace under the walls of the Seraglio.' His words, when speaking of this frontier, are important. 'This basis appears to us satisfactory; for it answers to all the wishes which the Greeks can reasonably form;'—(A. 202)—thus excluding *Acarmania, Candia, and Samos*, those three portions of Greece, the exclusion of which is now made the great ground of clamour, against the final arrangements, and excluding them as being *beyond the reasonable pretensions, nay, wishes*, of Greece. All this it will be necessary to bear in mind, in appreciating the labours of the ambassadors.

• But, in the interval, before the result of those labours was received, several occasions occurred, on which the firmness of England, and her strict adherence to the principles of the treaty, were tried and evinced. The inability of the Greeks to avail themselves even of the unlooked-for and prodigious advantage, which had resulted to them from the destruction of the Turkish and Egyptian fleet at Navarino, left Ibrahim still in the military occupation of the Morea, and even in communication with Turkey by land. Yet it was quite clear, that, shut out from all succour and supplies by sea, he could not regain for the Porte the peaceful dominion over that province. It was in perfect accordance, therefore, with the language and spirit of the treaty of July, to have recourse to 'ulterior measures,' for the purpose of compelling him to evacuate a country which he could not conquer, but was able to devastate. Accordingly, the British plenipotentiary, while he placed on the protocol of the 19th of July his declaration, 'that *the treaty of London had not had for its object the conquest of Greece, or the withdrawal of an important province from the sway of the Porte*, but the re-establishment of peace in the East on lasting foundations,' assented to the proposal of sending a body of French troops into the Morea, which, without taking an active part in hostilities, should cut off from Ibrahim all external communication by means of a blockade by land, and so enforce his evacuation of the Morea.

At a subsequent conference on the 16th of November, it was announced that the occupation of the Morea, in the name of the allied powers, was accomplished—that Ibrahim, with his army, had returned to Egypt,—and that the Turkish troops, which had occupied the fortresses on his retiring, had evacuated them of their own accord, when the French army arrived in the Peninsula. Congratulating his colleagues on this result, the French plenipotentiary proposed that the operations of the troops should be extended, and in order to enable the Greeks of the Morea (for this was the pretext) to defend themselves against an attack on  
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the part of the Turks,—should procure for them a frontier which would leave to an invading army but few approaches, and those of easy defence. For this purpose he urged the necessity of compelling the Turks to evacuate *Attica and Eubœa*.—(A. 258, 9.) To this proposition the British plenipotentiary peremptorily objected. He again insisted, that ‘the object of the treaty was not to enable the contracting parties to conquer territories from the Ottoman Porte, with the view of extending the territory of, or creating frontiers for, Greece, but to restore peace to countries that were in a state of insurrection against the Porte, and in which it was believed, that the Ottoman government could not re-establish its own authority:’ that ‘to extend to *Attica* the operations of the French troops, would lead to the invasion of a country of which the Turks are in undisturbed possession, where the insurrection has been suppressed by the Turkish authorities, where it no longer exists, and where it has not existed for a long period of time.’ The resistance of England was successful—the extension of the operations of the troops into Attica was abandoned—and the conference came to the important resolution, that the allied powers should ‘take the *Morea, the adjoining islands, and the Cyclades, under their provisional guarantee* ;’ but, in deference to the views of France and Russia, a provision was added, that they should not be deemed ‘thereby to prejudge, in any way, the question of the definitive limits to be assigned to Greece.’—(A. 256.)

Such was the state of the negotiation, and such the prospect of England’s obtaining the just and honourable object at which she had aimed,—that of limiting the sacrifices demanded of the Porte to the Morea and the islands,—when the time arrived for the result of the deliberations of the ambassadors in the Mediterranean to be announced. We have seen what the duty entrusted to them had been ; and, in the discharge of it, they proceeded to form and ‘to record their definitive opinion upon the several points of the treaty, of London, upon which the courts were called upon to decide.’—(P. 21.)\* Of these the most important, and, as has already been seen, that which had excited the greatest difference of sentiment in the allied courts, was the question of *frontier*. To this the especial attention of the ambassadors had been drawn, and principles laid down in the ‘instructions’ given for their guidance by the plenipotentiaries of London: after full inquiry and consideration, after ‘communicating with the Greek government, receiving their wishes, and weighing their arguments, they were to

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\* This reference is to the paper entitled ‘Protocol of a Conference held at *Poros*, &c.

recommend' (to the plenipotentiaries) 'such a decision as should be most consistent with equity and justice.'—(A. 75.)

(Of the manner in which these ministers executed the task allotted to them, we should be sorry to speak in harsh or unbecoming terms. But in a matter of so much interest to all Europe, and which is become peculiarly so to this country by the discussions it is about to undergo in parliament, and still more by its bearing on our national honour, we shall not shrink from avowing our opinion, at whatever hazard of offending those, who are, we doubt not, deserving of high respect. We frankly declare, therefore, that in our judgment, the ambassadors wholly misconceived the question which they were required to solve, and departed widely from both the spirit and the letter of the instructions given for their guidance. As this forms one of the cardinal points of our whole inquiry,—for the report made by these ambassadors, recommending a line of frontier *from the gulf of Volo to that of Arta* (a line considerably more extensive than the most extensive which had yet been discussed) had, unfortunately, a very important influence on subsequent transactions;—we think it right to examine the matter with some minuteness.

First, then, the object which they profess to have had in view was, we conceive, very far indeed from being such as they ought to have proposed to themselves. 'They profess to have considered it their duty to submit to the courts their opinion upon *'the line of frontier which would best suit Greece.'*' (P. 31.) But this, it can hardly be necessary to say, was not such as the spirit of the treaty required; neither, we will add, was it such as the instructions they had received empowered them to consider. The aim of the treaty of London was, as they themselves declare (P. 21), '*the pacification of the Levant by means of a mediation;*' in other words, by such an arrangement as should be most accordant with the reasonable views of *both* the contending parties. Does the designation of '*a line of frontier, which would best suit Greece,*' fulfil this condition? As little does it correspond with the instructions given to them. Those instructions are, indeed, stated by the ambassadors to have been as follows:—

'That they should make it their business to seek a line, which, *traversing the continent of Greece,* should offer a natural position, *clearly defined, easy of defence, containing a reasonable proportion of the Greek population, which was really in a state of insurrection* \* against the

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\* At the time when the ambassadors drew up their 'definitive opinion upon the limits of Greece,' they themselves say, 'The only parts of Greece actually freed from the presence of the Turks' (they should rather have said, *not under the absolute and undisputed possession of the Turks*), 'within the limits specified by the instructions, are

the Porte ; lastly, traced in such a manner as to afford the least possible risk of any subjects of dispute arising between its inhabitants and those of the adjoining Turkish provinces.'—P. 25.

But this, we must take leave to say, is an extremely inaccurate description of the instructions actually given by the plenipotentiaries. It introduces one important particular, which made no part of those instructions, and omits more than one of great moment. In the first place, it is an unauthorized addition to the instructions, to say that the line of frontier was to *traverse the continent of Greece*. So far from it, that one of the lines, specially stated by the plenipotentiaries for consideration,—of which line, we cannot doubt, the English ambassador must have known that it had been urgently recommended by his own court,—nay, that very line, which had been made, chiefly through the influence of England, the subject of the *provisional guarantee* of the three powers, at the conference of November 16, 1828,—did not *traverse* the continent of Greece, but simply cuts off the Peloponnesus from that continent. Secondly, there is in the statement of the ambassadors more than one particular of the instructions omitted. There is, for instance, the omission of no less a particular, than that they should 'recommend such a decision as shall be *most consistent with equity and justice*.' Now this was not a mere vague direction ; much less mere words of course. It enjoined full consideration, both of the rights and previous relations of the two contending parties, and also of the reasons which, by rendering *necessary*, had so far, and *so far only*, justified the high contracting parties in *imposing* their mediation upon Turkey. This, we affirm, was a part of the instructions, which, instead of being omitted, ought to have had a prominent place in the description of those instructions, and a still more prominent place in the memory of those who had to execute them. Unhappily, the ambassadors seem to have entirely overlooked it ; as is apparent, not only from the omission of it in their written description, but still more from the nature and character of the decision which they recommend. We are quite sure, that three able and honourable men, if they had applied the principles of *equity and justice* to the special circumstances of the case, both between *Turkey and the allies*, and also between Turkey and Greece, could never have brought themselves to make such a recommendation. For instance, how, on any principle of 'equity or justice,' can we account for the manner in which the island of Eubœa is disposed of ?—much more, for the alleged reason for assigning it to

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are the Morea, the islands, and some detached portions of Roumelia.'—P. 21. Yet they scrupled not to recommend, that all within the line drawn between the Gulphs of Volo and Arta should be taken from the Turks and assigned to the new State.



Greece? 'It is so closely connected with the adjacent parts of the Greek continent, that in the definition of the frontier most suitable to the latter, it has already found the place which *nature and the wants of Greece assign to it*,' P. 23—a sentence borrowed from the diplomacy of Robespierre or Buonaparte.

That this revolutionary notion had no authority from the plenipotentiaries at London, it is only due to them to say. So far otherwise, that they had *actually inserted in their instructions to the ambassadors an especial caution* on this very subject—a caution which, we are proud to say, must have been dictated by the honest counsels of our own country; for both Russia and France had testified their disregard of it, by including Eubœa in their several projects for a Greek frontier. The caution is as follows (after stating that the required 'limit might embrace nearly all the islands between' certain 'parallels of latitude and longitude') :—  
'It is probable, however, that on either side of the line thus arbitrarily traced, some deviation may be necessary; *more especially, since within these limits is situate the important island of Eubœa*, almost entirely inhabited by a Turkish population, and which has, therefore, taken no part in the insurrection.'—A. 75.

It was in spite of this especial caution, we repeat, that the ambassadors disposed of Eubœa in the manner we have witnessed. They attempted to justify this departure from their instructions, by saying, first, that the plenipotentiaries were mistaken in supposing that the inhabitants were chiefly Turks; that, on the contrary, the Turks were only as one to six,\* compared with the Christians: secondly, 'that the inhabitants, although at present in subjection, took, at two periods, an active share in the revolution.' This is in part true; but only, we apprehend, *in part*. At two periods, in the earlier years of the insurrection, the Eubœans were excited, not by their own sense of wrong or suffering, but by adventurers from other quarters; and as soon as these adventurers withdrew, and a moderate force was employed to reduce them, they tranquilly subsided,—four years before these transactions,—into a state of acquiescence under the domination of Turkey, rendering abortive every attempt which was made to re-excite them; and this, although their number was, as we have seen, six-fold that of their 'oppressors.' So much for 'the active share taken by the Eubœans in the Greek revolution.'†

But there remains the third and palmary reason of the ambassadors. *The same principles and the same considerations,*

\* In the rest of Greece they were as one to ten.

† We must take the liberty of remarking, that the word 'revolution' seems marvellously inapplicable to an insurrection, which, beyond the limits of the Morea, had done almost, or absolutely, nothing towards a resettlement.

which served to guide them in their examination of the continental boundary, coincide in establishing the necessity of uniting to the new Greek State *all* the islands which are included in the boundary which that plan marks out.—p. 32. We have seen, under their own hands, what were the principles, and the considerations, which decided them on taking in Eubœa ; and, as it seems they were guided by the same in the rest of their deliberations, we are thus enabled to appreciate the justice and the value of their whole work. In two words, a more unfair, and, thank God ! a more un-English proceeding, it would not be easy to find. But this is not all. We have seen *why* the ambassadors thought it their duty to include Eubœa within the new frontier, in spite of the caution which was part of their instructions :—‘ It is so *closely connected with the adjacent parts* of the Greek continent, that, in the definition of the frontier most suitable to the latter, it has already found *the place which nature and the wants of Greece assign to it.*’ Now, there is another island, which is circumstanced in these respects, with relation to the Turkish province of Natolia, exactly as Eubœa is with relation to Greece—we mean the island of Samos : if there be any difference, it is, that Samos is rather more ‘ closely connected with,’ that is, it is nearer to, its neighbour continent. Obviously, therefore, to men of plain understanding, the principle (since this word is to be profaned by application to so iniquitous a proceeding)—the *principle*, which gives Eubœa to Greece, would equally assign Samos to Natolia. But this will not do for our ambassadors ; they ‘ consider it a *sacred duty* of their mission to devise some *principle* which may require them to include Samos in Greece ;’—and this, although Samos was, in the strongest manner, expressly excluded by the plenipotentiaries from forming any part of the business of ‘ the mission,’ in which these ambassadors were employed ! In very sooth, the elasticity of your true diplomatic reasoning is something prodigious. It can dilate or contract at pleasure ; it can accommodate itself to every possible contingency, with an aptitude, which, to vulgar minds, is quite astonishing.

We proceed to another part of their instructions, which also the ambassadors, if they did not forget, thought proper to disregard. In those instructions it is said, that, ‘ with a view of effecting a complete separation of the two people,’ possession should be taken by the Greek State of all Turkish property, either on the continent or in the islands, with the condition of payment being made to the former proprietors. Now, this declared object, of *effecting an entire separation of the Greek and Turkish populations*, ought, we conceive, to have had an important influence on the ambassadors in tracing their frontier. It ought to have

stopped them from recommending a boundary, within which, as they themselves admit (P. 22), the object just mentioned *could not be obtained, without 'the employment of the troops of the allies ;'* in other words, without violating the acknowledged principles of the alliance. In short, it ought to have made them feel the necessity of keeping that frontier within such limits, as should render the entire separation of the two populations *practicable*, on the fair principle of buying out the interests of Turkish proprietors, 'not losing sight of the state of exhaustion of Greece, and the inability of its government to contract pecuniary engagements of too onerous a nature.'\* This consideration alone, if duly attended to, could not but have moderated the zeal of the ambassadors in devising a line which, according to their notions, 'would best suit Greece ;' for the treaty of London, by specially providing for this point, as well as the instructions given by the plenipotentiaries, must be considered as contemplating a small territory ; nay, it is remarkable that the ambassadors themselves, referring to the treaty of London on this head, actually construe it as limiting its views to the Morea. The treaty of the 6th of July, in acknowledging the impossibility of the future co-existence in *the Morea* of the Christian and Mahometan populations, stipulates that 'the Greeks shall become possessors of all Turkish property, either upon the continent or in the islands of Greece, on condition of indemnifying the former proprietors.'—(P. 36.) And yet, 'in contributing to the due execution of this treaty,' they propose to extend its operation into Thessaly and Epirus !

Again, the ambassadors seem to have set aside a great and most obvious consideration, which not only the instructions, but also the treaty itself, regarded as *essential*. The business confided to them was not to devise a frontier, which should make Greece able to defend herself *against* Turkey as an independent state, but to exist *under* Turkey as a tributary vassal.

'The arrangement to be proposed to the Ottoman Porte,' says the treaty, 'shall rest on the following bases :—The Greeks shall hold of the Sultan as of a superior lord ; and, in consequence of this superiority, they shall pay to the Ottoman empire an annual tribute, the amount of which shall be fixed, once for all, by a common agreement. They shall be governed by the authorities whom they shall themselves choose and nominate, but in the nomination of whom the Porte shall have a determinate voice.'

In short, they were to be brought to bear the same relation to the Porte as the principalities of Bulgaria and Wallachia. Such was the language of the treaty ; and such, too, was the language addressed, over and over again, to the Porte by the

\* See additional instructions for ambassadors, A. 247.



ambassadors themselves. In particular, in their joint note to the Reis Effendi, in reply to the questions he had formally put to them in the name of his court, they state that

‘the three cabinets, in laying down beforehand some of the bases of an agreement between the Porte and the Greek population,’—(so cautious were they, at that time, of recognising in the Greeks any political character,)—‘who are a prey to the horrors of an unparalleled devastation, have stipulated nothing in opposition to her true interest; they have only agreed among themselves to decide upon the principles of a pacification, which, far from prejudicing the integrity of the empire, would restore to it advantages of which it is now deprived, and would add the necessary guarantees for their duration.’—(B. 192.)

Now was it necessary, in carrying these objects into effect, to create a power equal to the defence of itself against Turkey? Are the relations between a suzerain and his vassals those of two independent and rival powers—of *natural enemies*? Yet this is the condition to which the decision of the ambassadors evidently looked.—But what, then, it may be asked, was the meaning of the instruction, that the frontier should be such as is ‘*easily defensible*?’ Evidently that which is implied in the words which immediately follow:—‘The precise boundary might be determined by the nature of the ground, and its local peculiarities; but it should be such as would be most likely to prevent future disputes between the inhabitants of conterminous provinces.’—(A. 75.) This shows the sort of hostilities which were to be guarded against; they were the hostilities, not of their suzerain, but of those of their fellow-subjects with whom they might be brought into collision, and against which collision all reasonable precautions were to be taken in defining their frontier.

It is remarkable, indeed, that the ambassadors, while they have proved themselves so forgetful both of their instructions and of the nature of the treaty, with the execution of which they were now, in an important particular, entrusted, were not less regardless of one of the principles which they had themselves laid down for their guidance.

‘In the performance of this duty,’ say they, ‘the representatives have had to bear in mind—1st, That the Greek population is so intermingled with the Turkish, in all parts of the Ottoman empire, that a frontier, by which the two people\* might be entirely separated, does

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\* The recurrence of this vulgarism is offensive. The English noun *people* has, for occasions like this, a distinct plural no less than *populus*, or *popolo*, or *peuple*; and ‘the two people,’ in the text is not a whit better than ‘les deux canaille.’ Sir Stratford Canning and Count Capo D’Istrias might be talked of (in a farce or squib) as *two clever people*; but the Greeks and the English are as yet, in the language of history and diplomacy, two different *peoples*.

not exist; and that it is consequently impossible for them to carry this principle into effect without qualification.'—(P. 25.)

On this it may be observed (as has been already intimated), that the principle laid down for them might have been carried *literally* into effect, if they had taken a moderate extent of territory—the Morea and the islands. The few Turks who inhabited those parts might have been required to leave them, under an indemnity for the property they would relinquish. But the second principle, 'which,' by their own account, 'they had to bear in mind,' is most deserving of our attention at present.

'2d, That the necessity of giving to Greece *a line of defence conformable to military principles*, depends partly upon the greater or less probability which there may be of the new order of things being placed under the safeguard of *a solemn convention with the Porte*, in conformity with the *principles laid down by the treaty of London*.'

And yet, having resolved 'to bear this constantly in mind, in the performance of their duty,' they no sooner set to work than they dismiss it *in toto*. Every one of the frontiers proposed is considered by them with reference to 'defence conformable to military principles;' and they make no conditional recommendation, as their own principle would call on them to do, saying, 'such is the frontier we recommend, if there is,—such other, if there is not—the safeguard of a solemn Convention with the Porte.'

In truth, however, they had no business at all with any consideration of the case of the Porte *not* giving 'the safeguard of entering into a solemn convention.' They admit that such convention was 'in conformity with the principles laid down by the treaty of London;' but it was this treaty, and this treaty *only*, to the execution of which they were limited by the very first sentence of their instructions; 'His Majesty has been pleased to entrust to your Excellency, in conjunction with the plenipotentiaries of his allies, those negotiations which are still *necessary to carry into execution the treaty of London*, of the 6th of July, 1827.'—(A. 74.) They were bound, therefore, to assume, in devising the frontier, that the accession of the Porte to the final arrangement would be obtained; for the treaty was so framed as, if necessary, to compel such accession. Not only so, but they were also bound to bear in mind another most important provision of the treaty, which yet they appear to have altogether lost sight of, that the final arrangement would be *guaranteed by the powers who were parties to the treaty*. Now this was another powerful reason against 'the necessity of giving to Greece a line of defence conformable to military principles.'

After all, this fancy for a military frontier was one of very recent growth in the heads of these ambassadors. They had held con-  
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versations with the Reis Effendi on this matter, and had endeavoured to tranquillise him and his master by assurances of the moderate nature of their views in respect to frontier; and they had succeeded, if not in tranquillising the Ottoman emperor, at least in convincing him that the allies had no thoughts of asking for any part of continental Greece, *except the neighbourhood of Athens*; for in the proclamation of the hattî-scheriff, dated 20th December, 1827, the Porte thus summed up the full extent of the injury he had to complain of in this matter. The ministers of the three powers,

‘on the day of the Sublime Porte’s conference with them, obstinately persisted in declaring that they would accept of nothing short of granting to the Greeks of *the Morea and the neighbourhood of Athens*, as well as to the inhabitants of the Greek islands, the privileges demanded for them; and they finally declared that *if this were not done* they would all three depart.’—(A. 214.)

Whether the Porte construed their language accurately, may or may not be disputed.\* To say the truth, if our own ambassador’s account of his conference with the Reis Effendi be correct, it could not have been easy, nor does it appear to have been intended by the speaker that it should be easy, to collect his exact meaning. ‘In slightly touching upon the question of frontiers, and others mentioned in the treaty, it was evident that the Reis Effendi wished to be informed of the extent which it was proposed to give to them. *I spoke of the Morea, of Attica, of the territory laid waste by the war—of the country bounded by the classic mountains of Greece*—as being the immediate object of our propositions.’ (B. 203.) Now this language was evidently of the elastic kind. It might be compressed into the Morea and Attica, taking the other more vague expressions as descriptive of these countries,—‘the classic mountains,’ being Parnassus and Cithæron—and so the Porte, as we have already seen, understood it; or it might be stretched to a very wide extent, heaping Pelion on Ossa, and Olympus on both. But we are quite sure, that at the time to which we are alluding, the Morea and the islands would have satisfied the allies. *The court of France had proposed that very limit: the smallest addition to it would have been hailed as gain.* ‘Much

\* In the long protocol of the conference, to which the proclamation refers (B. 209-220), there is certainly no specific limitation of country. Yet the ambassadors required the Porte, two days afterwards, to declare whether it would grant the privileges demanded to ‘the Greek population of the countries of which they had already repeatedly marked out the limits.’ (B. 220.) When were these limits marked out? and what were they? Were they the same as the Turkish proclamation asserts?—and, if they were not, why was not the assertion in the proclamation contradicted?—if they were, why was that limitation abandoned? These are questions which the ambassadors ought, we think, to have furnished the means of answering. They have not done so, but have left this part of the negotiation in the thickest darkness,



*will be accomplished,*" says Admiral de Rigny in a passage already cited, *'if Attica can be saved, and included within the terms of the treaty.'* (B. 149.) Unluckily, indeed, our own ambassador had not been so moderate. 'In fact,' says one of the despatches of the French court, in justification of its subsequent more extended views, 'in the conferences at Constantinople, *Mr. Stratford Canning announced that the Greek territory might extend from the Gulf of Volo to that of Arta*; and that declaration became notorious in the Archipelago.' (A. 218.) So that, according to the French court, from this period must be dated 'the far greater expectations which the Greeks conceived,' than any they had at first ventured to form. 'If this be correct, it follows that a British ambassador has been the original, and a principal (we do not say the sole) cause, of defeating that course of just and honourable policy, which his government ought, throughout, to have adopted, and which, from the first hour of the present ministry's accession to office, it appears, we must admit, to have been anxiously pursued. We are aware of what may fairly be urged in excuse of Sir Stratford Canning;—that, at the time when he is alleged to have made the unfortunate declaration above quoted, he was the representative of a government, which does not appear to have given him any definite instructions, and most probably had not formed any definite opinion for itself, on the question of boundary. But, without any wish to offend, we may be permitted to lament that the interests of England in this negotiation have been entrusted to a gentleman who, however able, and however honourable, (and we doubt not he is both able and honourable in a high degree,) seems yet to have been disqualified from acting with impartiality by predilection for the cause (and 'classic mountains') of Greece.

Having thus expressed, without reserve, the opinion which the perusal of the 'Protocol of the conference held at Poros by the representatives' of the three courts, has forced upon us, we should here dismiss this part of our subject, had not another, and a very important particular of the conduct of these representatives, been incidentally disclosed. It appears, that on the 10th of September, 1828, the Reis Effendi, in answer to a letter of the ambassadors, containing two demands, as conditions of their returning to Constantinople, and renewing the negotiations there, had stated, that 'one of them' (that is to say; the required *armistice*) 'exists at present by the force even of things; and that the other' (that is to say, the *mediation*) 'is also obtained in a manner understood.' (A. 260.) Now, coupling the conduct of the Porte, in facilitating the establishment of an armistice *de facto*, by allowing not only Ibrahim, but also her own troops, to evacuate the Morea, with  
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this declaration, that the *mediation* is also 'obtained in a manner understood,—observing, too, that the Reis Effendi had, in the same letter, intimated the reason why the mediation could not be conceded in express terms—because the Greeks, being still to continue vassals of Turkey, that power could not "admit nor accept the proposition, that the formalities, as between government and government, should be applied to this affair ;' \*—considering, we say, all this, and remembering that the Turkish minister had before told them, that 'the meanest Mussulman would prefer death to the ignominy of a connection with the Greeks,' (B. 190)—we cannot but be surprised that the ambassadors, having received a paper so indicative, as this must have appeared to be, of a wish, on the part of the Porte, to conciliate the allied powers in any manner which could be made consistent with its known principles, forbore to refer the paper to the plenipotentiaries at London. Our surprise is not diminished by remembering, that the letter to which this was an answer from the Reis Effendi, though sent by the ambassadors in their own name, was, in fact, *dictated by the conference at London*. (See A. 77.) It might have seemed, therefore, almost a matter of course that the ambassadors should submit the answer to the consideration of the plenipotentiaries, rather than reject it of their own authority. Lord Aberdeen deemed it his duty to record the regret felt by his government on this occasion, and to deplore the loss of an opportunity which had thus presented itself, of bringing these long and eventful negotiations to a much earlier, and, it cannot be doubted, a much more satisfactory conclusion, than has since been obtained. The ambassadors thought fit to take on themselves the responsibility of rejecting the overture ; to them, therefore, and to them only, belongs the blame, or the honour, of the decision. But this determination of theirs, considering the time when it was taken,—the very time when they were earnestly employed in devising a frontier 'which would best suit Greece,'—strengthens our apprehension, that the oracle Philippized—that there was a leaning in the conferences of Poros, too strong to be overcome, to the interests of that cause which had 'excited the public mind in Europe ;' in other words, had in its favour the voice of every talking or scribbling liberalist of the day.

To return to the negotiations at London. The 'definitive opinion offered upon the limits of Greece,' by the representatives of the allied powers, to whom the question had been referred, could not but produce a most serious effect. It threw back

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\* 'Communications of the Ambassadors of England and France with the Reis Effendi and the Baron de Zuylen.'—P. 2.

the British plenipotentiary from the vantage ground on which he before stood ; it gave to the feelings, and wishes, and expressed opinions, of the plenipotentiaries of France and Russia, the weight of the unanimous decision of the ambassadors, one of whom, it could not be forgotten, was the representative of England. Still, the counsels and conduct of the English government were in strict accordance with the course it had uniformly pursued. The memorandum of its minister re-asserted the principles for which he had hitherto contended with success.

‘The suggestion,’ he said, ‘of a frontier for the Greek state, extending from the gulf of Volo to the gulf of Arta, appears to rest upon grounds foreign to the true considerations which ought to decide this question ; and, indeed, can only be accounted for by a *forgetfulness of the true objects of the treaty*. If it had been the object of the treaty to construct a state capable of balancing the Turkish power in Europe, and of carrying on the relations of peace and war upon a footing of equality with the Porte, the frontier proposed might have been desirable ; or it might even have been still further extended. But, *unless we are prepared to neglect the treaty altogether*, such a principle could never be adopted by the allies. The supposed necessity of an enlarged territory, and extensive resources, in order to secure the freedom and tranquillity of Greece, is plainly erroneous ; and all the military reasoning in support of the frontier recommended is wholly inapplicable to the case with which we have to deal. A state of legitimate and recognized war between the suzerain and the vassal is not possible. The Porte itself must be the natural protector of Greece against foreign hostility ; and against Turkish oppression or injustice, the support of the allied powers will suffice.’

Such was the triumphant reasoning of the British government. But the passions and interests of the other powers, *reinforced by the protocol of Poros*, could no longer be subdued by reasoning, however powerful. The plenipotentiary of England, therefore, was obliged to admit the proposed frontier, as the *basis* of propositions to the Porte ; but he insisted on an express reservation being made, that this should not be the *ultimatum*, and that all the objections which Turkey might urge against it should be duly weighed and examined. (A. 127.) The protocol of the 22d of March, 1829, was framed accordingly. The line between the gulfs of Arto and Vola was taken for a frontier, *subject to the objections of Turkey* ; and Turkey was sure that one member of the alliance would support her objections with the united force of reason, magnanimity, and good faith ; as well as with a just and warm regard for the interests of a most unfortunate ally.

The same protocol contained another very important provision, which manifestly was introduced into it by the cabinet of England. The ambassadors at Constantinople being ‘charged to  
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require of the Ottoman Porte the maintenance of the armistice, which the Reis Effendi, in his letter of the 10th of September, had declared to exist *de facto*, on the part of the Turks,' it was also resolved 'equally to require that the Greeks should immediately cease hostilities on all points, and that the provisional government of Greece should withdraw *within the limits of the territory guaranteed by the alliance*' (the Morea and the islands) 'the Greek troops which may have passed that frontier; it being understood, however, that this last-mentioned step should not pre-judge the question of the boundary of the future state of Greece.' (A. 265.) This provision was formally announced to Count Capo d'Istrias, president of the provisional government, by the ambassadors at Constantinople; and, strange as it may appear, that functionary and his colleagues thought fit to decline complying with the demand. They grounded their refusal on divers reasons, most of them too futile to be noticed. But their principal plea is one of such incredible hardihood, that it must not be silently passed over. 'Those provinces' (beyond the Isthmus), 'as well as those of the Peloponnesus and of the islands, contracted, in the days of trial and calamity, *the solemn engagement never to separate their cause*. Those engagements are recorded in acts invested with a two-fold sanction,—the sanction of the national congresses, and the still more inviolable sanction of an oath.\*' (A. 297.) Thus they had the confidence to put forwards, *now for the first time*, a pretension, the effect of which was absolutely to tie up the hands of the allies in the most important particular they had to decide—the question of the limits of the new state; which 'limits,' be it remembered, were reserved by the treaty of London—the treaty to which the Greeks owe their very existence—as a matter to be finally settled 'in a negotiation between the high powers and the two contending parties.'

So impudent a plea was treated as it deserved by the British government. Orders were immediately sent out to our naval commanders in the Mediterranean, 'not to acknowledge any

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\* This pretension, in such a case, seems scarcely to deserve a serious answer. Yet, considering the readiness shewn in too many quarters to insist on everything which has a shadow of plausibility for the Greeks, it may, perhaps, be worth remarking,—1st, that if these Greek provinces had bound themselves indissolubly one to another, it was their duty to mention this to the allies at the outset, and to declare the impossibility of receiving their aid, unless on condition of preserving this union—a case, for which the treaty had provided in these terms; 'If Greece renounce the conditions stipulated in their favour in the treaty, the high contracting powers will, nevertheless, *continue to prosecute the work of pacification on the bases agreed upon* by them; and, in consequence, *authorize their plenipotentiaries to discuss and determine the ulterior measures to which it may become necessary to resort*.' 2nd, it so happens that the Turks, too, had a religious scruple in the case (see B. 214, 215); a scruple, in answer to which it was thought quite enough to say, that *necessity releases the party from such an obligation*. Is this reason valid only against Turks?

blockade' of any port beyond the territory guaranteed by the allies; in other words, to treat as pirates those who should enforce it. To a remonstrance of the French minister, on the adoption of this measure, a spirited and resolute reply was returned by Lord Aberdeen (C. 29); a reply which extorted from the court of France itself, a reluctant 'acquiescence in the reasoning contained in it.' As, however, acquiescence in reasoning was the only mode in which that court thought fit to testify its sentiments, the British government felt it to be its duty to take a more important step. In consequence, its plenipotentiary 'submitted to the conference' (of the 18th of August, 1829) 'the necessity of converting such measures as may be necessary to *enforce a compliance with the intentions of the three powers, as signified to the president of Greece.*' (A. 292.) But France and Russia had not the same feeling of what was due alike to the dignity of the alliance, and to the claims of equal justice. They took this proposition *ad referendum*; and before their determination on it was declared, the adhesion of the Porte to the treaty of London, and to the protocol of the 22d of March, put an end to the question.

In all these transactions, we see with pride the uniform fidelity to engagements, and the dignified assertion of the demands of justice, which marked the language and the conduct of the British government.

If, at length, the course of events, and the necessities which they brought in their train; if the united voices of the other powers, one of them, it may be feared, too much influenced by the interests of a selfish ambition,—the other unequal to the generous resolution of adhering to the dictates of justice, when opposed to the popular clamour of the day; above all, if the concessions (however obtained) of the Ottoman Porte itself, made it impossible for England alone to carry the point for which she had so earnestly struggled, and to confine the sacrifices demanded of the Porte within the limits on which she had so long insisted; it yet is satisfactory to know, that history will record these continued proofs of the justice of our councils. It is still more satisfactory to witness, at the final settlement of the whole question, the triumph of the same spirit—emanating, it cannot be doubted, from the same quarter—in 'the deference shown to the desire expressed by the Porte, to obtain a reduction of the frontiers fixed by the protocol of the 22d of March.' Whatever be the effect of that reduction on the strength or weakness of the new state, unless it make that state incapable of maintaining the relations contemplated by the treaty, (and who will be bold enough to affirm that it does?) this concession to the wishes and feelings of Turkey, or rather this scanty discharge of the engagement

ment contracted in the protocol itself, to 'examine duly the objections' \* urged by her against the projected measure, could not

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\* The reasons on which the Porte grounded its claims to the consideration of the allies are so powerful, and the whole paper bears so forcibly on our general argument, that we think it right to give it to our readers, premising, for the better understanding of it, the following 'extract of a letter from Sir R. Gordon to Lord Aberdeen:—

'Constantinople, October 1, 1829.

'The Reis Effendi has officially delivered to Count Guilleminot and myself, as plenipotentiaries of the alliance, the note of which I have the honour to transmit a copy to your Lordship. It is by no means intended to retract the engagement entered into with us on the 9th ultimo, to abide in every respect by the decision of the conference in London upon the question at issue. On the contrary, this engagement is positively renewed in the present note.

'It is necessary to remark, in explanation of some of the passages of this note, that the Porte has always avoided, in discussing this question, to call it the "*Greek question*." The "*Morcut question*," or the "*Affairs of Morea*," are the expressions invariably used by the Reis Effendi, which creates confusion whenever he has occasion to allude to the Morea in contradistinction to the neighbouring provinces.'

*Inclosure.*

'If the Sublime Porte is to be deprived of the Negropont, and of so many towns and territories situate out of the Morea, it will not only be obliged to hold itself in a defensive attitude against its foreign enemies, but it will then be impossible for it to maintain the regulations of the empire, or to preserve tranquillity and security, so far as regards the rayas of the Greek provinces adjacent to the Morea. It is no less evident that, in consequence of the dismemberment of so much territory, its public revenue will suffer very considerable loss.'

'Moreover, in the event of the Mussulmans being obliged to quit their country, and the places of their abode, the motive for such a measure could not be compared with those which have rendered a similar measure necessary in the Morea; and, consequently, it is beyond a doubt that subjects of dissension and heart-burnings will arise between the Mussulmans and the Greeks, and that there will be an end to all repose and security.

'Finally, if it is to be presumed that the powers, our friends, have traced the delimitation contained in the last protocol, in consequence of thinking, that if the State of the Morea were to consist only of that peninsula and of the islands called Cyclades, its weakness would incapacitate it from defending itself against the Ottoman empire,—the ministers of the Sublime Porte are extremely surprised how these courts, which are endued with wisdom and justice, can, in the execution of the Treaty of London, so far depart from its principal object, and from the result which is expected from it. Do they wish by their intervention to re-establish safety and tranquillity in the Morea, or to excite the inhabitants to war and revolt? If, as it is not possible to doubt, their conduct is dictated by friendly and pacific intentions, they should lay it down as a rule, when they make propositions in favour of the inhabitants of the Morea, never to speak of military force, nor of their means of attacking or of defending themselves against the Sublime Porte. . . . The greater or less extent which may be given to the Morea and its dependencies will not affect the safety of the inhabitants, so far as regards the Sublime Porte. Witness, among so many, many Christians under the dominion of his imperial majesty, the republic of Ragusa, formerly under that dominion. Small as it was, that republic existed under the beneficent protection of the Ottoman government, without its administration having been guaranteed by any foreign powers; and assuredly it never desired to extend its limits from motives of security. To say—we will have the limits of the Morea to extend from the gulf of Zeitoun to that of Arta, because that delimitation appears the best adapted to the defence of the country, would be the same thing as saying—all the islands of the Archipelago must be united with the Cyclades, because the latter are too weak to defend themselves.

'In short, the delimitation of the Morea, according to the last protocol, is not necessary



not have been withholden without stamping a deep brand of dishonour on the whole transaction.

It is true that the tenth article of the treaty of Adrianople bound the Porte to the full acceptance of the treaty of London, and even of the protocol of the 22d of March, by which the line of frontier was, as has been seen, provisionally fixed to the gulfs of Volo and Arta. But this article of the treaty of Adrianople, however it might be allowed to facilitate the attainment of the objects of the alliance, left the rights—and not only the rights, but the *duties*—of the allies altogether untouched. To construe it otherwise would be to make Russia guilty of a violation of her most solemn engagements to the other powers. In truth, these powers were neither blind nor indifferent to the possibility of such a construction; and, therefore, at the opening of the very first conference, held after the conclusion of that treaty, the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and France demanded to know from the plenipotentiary of Russia in what point of view he regarded the article in question. His explanation was most satisfactory,—‘that the tenth article of the treaty does not invalidate the rights of the emperor’s allies, nor clog their deliberations, nor oppose any obstacle to their arrangements.’ (A. 307.) It was after this explanation that the conference of February the 3d proceeded to a decision of all the points which still remained. But even had it been otherwise, had the treaty of Adrianople been recognized by the allies, and suffered to affect their decision, it would not have been less their duty to give due consideration, and to allow due weight, to all the objections of the Porte; for such, we repeat, was the effect of an express provision of the protocol of March the 22d, to which the Porte bound itself to adhere in subscribing to that treaty.

We have now brought the most important branch of our inquiry to a close; and we heartily congratulate our countrymen on the manner in which the national honour and good faith,

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necessary to the execution of the Treaty of London; it is, perhaps, even contrary to the spirit and object of that treaty, which, according to the declaration of the allied powers, was not dictated by views of hostility towards the Sublime Porte. The delimitation now proposed, without being of any real utility to the arrangements in view respecting the Morea, evidently cannot fail to cause the most serious injury to the Sublime Porte.

‘Wherefore, the Ottoman ministry, convinced of the purity of the principles, of the soundness of the judgment, and of the wisdom of the distinguished ambassadors, and having received numerous proofs of the sincere and friendly sentiments by which they are animated, requests them to take into consideration the reflections and the observations which the Sublime Porte has already made known to them both verbally and in writing, and which it hereby renews. It desires the ambassadors to write to their respective courts, as well as to the conference of London, and to communicate to them, for their guidance, its observations with regard to the delimitation in question.’

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in negotiations of no ordinary difficulty and delicacy, have been sustained by the present ministers. We neither are their flatterers, nor their partisans; and we may appeal to our past conduct, when we assert that we should as freely condemn their measures where they might seem to us worthy of blame, as we now offer our humble suffrage of commendation, in a case in which we think they have largely deserved it. If we are right, their claim on the applause of the country is not lessened by the notorious fact, not only that the treaty of July was in no respect *their* measure, but that it was even contrary to the expressed judgment of the illustrious individual who is at their head. The Duke of Wellington declared, in his place in parliament, that he disapproved that treaty,—a treaty, differing from the protocol, which had been negotiated by himself, the year before, at St. Petersburg, in every part of it, from the preamble to the signature. The one was *essentially pacific*. It was founded on the offer of mediation from Great Britain *alone*, a power which Turkey could not but regard with entire confidence, as her best friend and most faithful ally. It proceeded on the supposition of the voluntary acceptance of that office by Turkey—providing for the admission of Russia into the negotiation only at the time, and in the mode, which should be found most accordant with the amicable nature of the whole proceeding. In the event of a refusal of the offer, it indicated no hostile, no ‘ulterior’ views; but stipulated merely for the continued readiness of Great Britain and Russia to ‘avail themselves of every favourable opportunity to exert their influence with both the contending parties to effect a reconciliation.’ Such was the protocol of St. Petersburg. On the broad and glaring contrast of its principles and its provisions, with those of the treaty of London, it cannot be necessary to enlarge. But the Duke of Wellington found, on his return to office, that the national faith was pledged to the treaty; and he redeemed the pledge by honourable and zealous co-operation with his majesty’s allies in fulfilling its provisions. In truth, the historian of these transactions will be bound to record, that by no other of the high contracting powers was either the spirit of the treaty so faithfully obeyed, or its letter so scrupulously followed, as by Great Britain, at a time when her councils were directed by a statesman, who had felt it his duty to his country and to Europe to resist, as long as it was possible, the formation of the treaty itself—to resist it as a measure fraught with immediate dangers to the tranquillity of Europe, and as a precedent which might hereafter be made subversive of one of the most sacred principles of international law.

Something must, we suppose, be said concerning the unsatisfied claims

claims of the Greeks; for, much as has been conceded to them—far more than, unaided, they will be able to maintain—still larger pretensions have been urged for them; and these pretensions have obtained an easy credence from that ample portion of the community, which is at all times ready to prove its liberality by believing all that is bad of sovereigns, and all that is good of insurgent subjects. We must, therefore, we fear, inquire into this matter a little more largely than we would wish.

The Greeks had, it is allowed on all sides, repeatedly and earnestly sought the *mediation* of the allies. On this head, therefore, they have no ground or shadow of complaint: they cannot charge the allies with intermeddling in a quarrel which did not belong to them, and undertaking to adjust rights which did not lawfully fall within their cognizance. This, and much more than this, may, we apprehend, be said (whatever be the validity of the answer) on the part of Turkey. But the Greeks called in the umpire, and have no right to complain of his acting as such.

Still, it must be admitted, that this consideration does not release the sovereigns from the duties either necessarily belonging to the character in which they acted, or imposed on them by restrictions and conditions of their own creating. Let us see how this part of the case really stands. The Greeks and their partisans urge, that, by the Third Article of the Treaty of London, the final settlement of all matters in question was reserved to ‘a negotiation between the high powers and the two contending parties.’

Here let us pause a little. Does this article of itself give the Greeks an absolute right to a voice in the ultimate determination of the points in difference between them and the Porte? Clearly not, we apprehend. The treaty, and every article in it, gave no right whatever to any but the powers who were parties to it. It defined the objects of those parties in the enterprise they were about to take in hand, and the manner in which they would conduct and conclude it. If, in the course of their operations, they should unanimously deem it expedient to depart from any or all of the provisions of the treaty, there was nothing, and, in truth, could be nothing, in their own treaty to tie up their own hands.\* But though there was nothing in the treaty itself which gave a right to others, might not such right accrue from the acts of the allies founded on that treaty? Might not, for instance, a demand made on the Greeks, in virtue of the treaty, and complied with

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\* This, of course, must not be understood to recognize the right of contracting powers to deceive other parties by putting articles into treaties which they do not intend to execute. We only mean to say, that if they act *bonâ fide*, they have a right to depart from the treaty of their own making.



by them, give them a right to all the benefits stipulated for them in the same act? That, we conceive, must altogether depend on the answer to a previous question—Was the compliance of the Greeks with the demand made upon them, conditionate on the promise of fulfilment of the stipulations of the treaty in their favour? The answer to this question depends on a matter of fact. Let us look to the evidence of that fact. The first conference of the plenipotentiaries in execution of the treaty, authorized a declaration to be made to the Greeks in the name of the three powers, by their admirals in the Levant. (A. 184.) It is on this declaration, and on it alone, that the claims of the Greeks must be founded. Now what does this declaration say? After first stating the request of the Greeks, ‘that the allied powers should interpose in their favour,’ it proceeds to announce that—

‘the courts have agreed, by a formal treaty, to offer their mediation to the Porte, to put a stop in the first place to the course of hostilities, and to arrive at length at a definitive pacification, by settling the relations which should for the future exist between that power and the Greeks.’ ‘In order to facilitate the success of this mediation,’ it is ‘proposed to the Greek provisional government to suspend, by an armistice, every act of hostility against the Sublime Porte,’ and ‘its *immediate assent* to this proposition’ is demanded.—(A. 183, 184.)

In all this there is no inducement held out to the Greeks by the promise of any specific stipulations,—nothing beyond the announcement of the general object of the treaty. The Greek provisional government immediately—‘acknowledging with gratitude, on behalf of the whole nation, the benevolent disposition of the three great powers’—accept the proposed armistice (B. 146); and in order to show what their real feelings on the occasion were, they, at the same time, transmit a copy of a proclamation already issued by them to the people, which proclamation is worthy of remark on several accounts: first, as testifying the absolute necessity to the Greeks of the interposition of the allies, whose ‘benevolent intentions and compassion’ for them are loudly set forth; secondly, as recognizing the right of the allies, under the circumstances, to interfere in the *internal* concerns of Greece; for it expresses the hope and conviction of the provisional government, ‘that the powers will contribute to support its measures in favour of *internal order*, against the enemies to the tranquillity of their country;’ thirdly, and chiefly, as admitting the principle of the treaty itself,—an admission, in truth, which the Greeks could not withhold, for on it their whole case depends, but which is absolutely decisive of the point in question; for that treaty is founded on the right of interference on the part of foreign powers,

in cases where they shall deem interference *necessary*, and to the *extent* in which they shall deem it so. No parts of that treaty—no stipulations in it, can be construed so as to contradict the principle on which it is founded. This is the language held to the Porte in the very communication which fixes the full extent of the sacrifices demanded of it:—

‘The undersigned, at the commencement of the present note, recapitulated the views by which the deliberations of the courts have never ceased to be governed. The resolutions which they have finally adopted are in accordance with those views. *It would be a vain objection to urge against the alliance, that it had sometimes altered the course which had previously appeared to it calculated to lead to the attainment of the object of its efforts. It was necessary to adapt its measures to circumstances.*’ ‘*In recognizing the mission which the alliance has undertaken for the pacification of Greece, has not the Sublime Porte sanctioned, by anticipation, all the resolutions consequent upon the great principles proclaimed by the courts?*’—(A. 325.)

Now, if this be valid reasoning when addressed to Turks, does it cease to be so when spoken to Greeks? If it justify a departure from the terms of the treaty, so as to make Greece a free and independent state, instead of being a tributary vassal to the Porte, as professed in the treaty, does it not also justify the exclusion of the Greeks from the final settlement of the limits of the new state? Although, therefore, the stipulations in favour of the right of the Greeks to be heard, or even to have an effectual negative, in the decision of any of the matters concerned, were much stronger and much plainer than those of the third article are pretended to be, still they must yield to the principle itself of the treaty, should the course of events, or any other cause, make the observance of them incompatible with the higher and prior claims of that principle.

To apply these remarks to the pretensions now set up for the Greeks. It is said that the allied powers have exceeded their right, first, in deciding on the form of government, which the Greeks are to acknowledge. In answer to this, it is sufficient to say, not only that the whole case proceeds on the principle of the powers having a right to make such a settlement as they shall judge necessary for the repose of Europe, but also, that the Greek senate itself admits the valid exercise of their right in this very particular. After speaking of the government which the Greeks had previously chosen for themselves, it proceeds thus:—

‘*Considerations of high policy change, at present, this system of administration; and Greece, destined to be governed by a monarch, is about to possess, in that character, his Royal Highness Prince Leopold.*’—(L. 63.)

This is part of the very paper in which the senate urges its  
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second and main ground of complaint,—the exclusion of the Greeks from the final discussion and decision of the question of *boundary*. This, it is insisted, is in direct contravention of the third article of the treaty, which says, that—

*‘ the limits of the territory on the Continent, and the designation of the islands of the Archipelago to which it shall be applicable, shall be settled in a subsequent negotiation between the high powers and the two contending parties.’*

Now, the real facts of the case are these: the Greeks, as we have already seen, were consulted, their wishes received, their arguments weighed, their every suggestion attended to, by a most patient, a most favourable, we are almost justified in saying a most *partial* auditory, commissioned for that very purpose by the allied powers, and sent to Greece itself, where they continued thus occupied during many months, and whence they sent a report of their proceedings, and a statement of their opinion, so inordinately advantageous to the Greeks, and injurious to the Porte, that shame itself extorted from the allies a slight modification of it in the final settlement. True, there was no ‘negotiation between the high powers and the two contending parties,’ and why? Because the ‘Turks, from a feeling of natural and honourable pride, as well as from religious scruples, would not treat with their insurgent subjects,—their rayahs. To soothe this feeling, to evince some tenderness to an unoffending power, doomed to suffer so much hardship, the allies consented to ‘waive the establishment of direct relations between the plenipotentiaries of the Porte and those of Greece;’ and, in lieu of it, themselves ‘to receive and act upon the ideas and desires of the latter, who would thus enjoy the faculty of being *consulted and heard*, which was promised to them’ (and all that, in fair construction, was promised to them) ‘by the treaty of July.’ (A. 257.)

If this answer be not deemed sufficient, it is enough to say that it had become *necessary for the very purposes of the treaty*, that the allies should take the final settlement altogether on themselves,—resting the proof of this necessity on the notoriety of the facts and events which had created it. But we will go farther. We appeal to the common sense of all who will listen to that homely guide, and ask confidently, whether a more shameless complaint was ever urged by the most shameless of suitors, than this which is now advanced by and for the Greeks? Let us first consider what to them is the result of the interference of the allies, in their contest with their ~~lawful~~ monarch. The whole of the Peloponnesus, with its adjacent islands, as also the Cyclades, the island Eubœa, the whole of Greece Proper, except Acarnania and part of Ætolia, are erected into an independent sovereignty, under the guarantee of



the greatest powers of Europe. Now, at the time when the allies first interposed, could (we do not say their utmost expectations, but could) their wildest dreams extend to anything like such a result? In one main point, it is absolutely impossible; for the very treaty which may have set their imaginations afloat, did also strictly restrain them to a state of tributary vassalage. But, in respect of *territory*, what may have been their fair pretensions? In order to answer this inquiry, it will be necessary to look to the condition in which they then stood. This condition was perhaps the most forlorn, the most abject, the most hopeless, that history records of any cause which was not utterly extinguished. The time, when the allied powers thought it necessary to interpose, was in the summer of 1827, when Athens, the last possession, and the last hope of the Greeks, beyond the Isthmus, had just fallen, and when, before its walls, the last army they could raise, led by our gallant and generous countryman, General Church, and supported by a fleet under Lord Cochrane, on whose high genius and not unjust renown they reposed the most confident reliance, had fallen too—had been dispersed—annihilated. In the Peloponnesus, meanwhile, hardly a fortress remained to them. Their government, (if they can be said to have had a government,) conscious of its insecurity, had transferred its seat from the Continent to an island; two victorious armies of the Turks were in the full career of triumphant activity; a large and powerful fleet from Egypt was about to sweep the seas of every bark which should dare to carry the rebel flag, and, bearing a numerous, well appointed, and highly disciplined army, to extend to the islands the same measure of vengeance which had been dealt out to the insurgents of the continent. In short, the problem, whether the Porte could indeed subdue the insurrection, seemed about to be solved in such a manner as should take from the allies their only pretence for interference, when their decree went forth. They commanded the Ottoman emperor to stop short in what he confidently proclaimed, and they did not deny, to be the legitimate exercise of his rights as a prince, in reclaiming the obedience of a rebellious people.

In truth, it is very questionable whether the allies, if they had been acquainted with the real state and prospects of the parties at the date of their treaty, would have felt themselves at liberty to proceed with it. At any rate, the knowledge of these facts, had it been spread through Europe, could not have failed to excite the most lively remonstrances from powers not less interested in the general tranquillity, and in the maintenance of the law of nations, than England, Russia, or France. Luckily for the Greeks this was not the case. The remoteness of the scene of action withheld

withheld from western Europe all accurate knowledge of the overwhelming losses they had recently sustained, and the still more overwhelming catastrophe which impended from Egypt, till the allies had already taken their part, and committed themselves before the world.

That this is not an exaggerated picture of the desperate state of the fortunes of the Greeks, and of their utter inability to make head against the Ottoman power, at the period of which we are speaking, is evident from what actually occurred. We have the testimony, indeed, of the Russian plenipotentiary, who, in a memorial, read at the conference of September the 10th, 1827, speaks largely of

‘ the successes, on the part of the Turks, which have signalised the opening of the present campaign, the loss which the Greeks have experienced of one of their bravest commanders, the fall of Athens, and the new enterprise of Ibrahim Pacha in the Peloponnesus—above all, the destitute condition of the Greeks, in regard to arms, stores, and money, whereby they are daily exposed to the chance of utter destruction.’ (A. 187.)

Even when the disastrous battle in the bay of Navarino had deprived Ibrahim of his fleet, and, with it, of all means of communication, succour, or supply by sea—when every harbour was sealed against him by the victorious squadrons of the allies—he yet was able to overrun the Morea, to occupy almost every fortress, to maintain himself in all his military positions, and to brave the utmost efforts of the Greeks, who, with all the maritime advantages from which he was utterly shut out, were yet too feeble even to disturb his troops in gathering and carrying off the harvests. (See A. 242.) In the following year, Capo d’Istrias himself, who, as the faithful officer of Russia, had, at an earlier period, resolutely opposed the introduction of French troops into the Morea, was compelled to solicit their aid; and, more than this, without waiting for their arrival, to address to the admirals the most urgent entreaties to procure, through a convention, the evacuation of the Morea by Ibrahim and his Egyptian troops, in order, as he expressed it, ‘ to prevent its entire devastation’ (C. 4.) Even this was not all. When, by virtue of that convention, Ibrahim and his Egyptian force were withdrawn, the Turkish troops alone were able to retain the fortresses against the Greeks, and did not, in fact, relinquish them till, by orders from Constantinople, they withdrew, as has been already stated, before the army of France. In the meanwhile, the communications with Constantinople, and the supplies from thence, (such was the deplorable weakness of the Greeks,) continued without interruption.

We have thus seen the condition of the Greeks in 1827 and 1828—

1828—we have seen their humble suit to the allies for their mediation in their favour with the Turks—we have heard from their own mouths of the ‘gratitude,’ which they then acknowledged to be due from them to the allies for their ‘*benevolent intentions and compassion*’—we have seen how much value they then ascribed to the ‘decision of the great powers to put an end to their war by their powerful and efficacious intervention.’ In short, as is truly stated in the instructions to the residents of the three courts in Greece, respecting the protocol of the 3d of February (A. 314), we have seen that, ‘*Greece owes her existence to the succours of every kind which the three powers have lavished upon her; they have effected her deliverance, have taken her under their immediate protection, and have saved her from irretrievable ruin;*’ and, after all this, because the allies do not include in the limits of their new state—in other words, do not take from the possessions of their lawful masters, more than nineteen-twentieths of all the territory in question, they affect the air of aggrieved and injured parties, borne down by the iron rule of oppressors, whom they had called in as friends. Count Capo d’Istrias gravely speaks of ‘abandoning territories which they had conquered at the price of their blood’ (L. 45), because Acarnania and part of Ætolia are not assigned to them. Now, what is the plain matter of fact respecting those provinces?—That the allies found the Greeks actually driven from them, and the Turks in peaceful possession; that, even with all the support they received from the allies, the people of those and the other provinces of continental Greece were, according to the testimony of Capo d’Istrias himself (A. 297), ‘*but just beginning to be restored to their homes,*’ in the month of May of last year. And how did they then recover those homes? was it by the sword, and at the price of their blood?—So far from it, that they stayed patiently in the Morea till the Mussulman troops, who occupied the fortresses of Roumelia, and formed their garrisons, ‘abandoned by their government to a state of utter destitution,’ in consequence of the measures of the allies, ‘and deprived of resources from without by the blockade of their coasts,’ effected by the same allies, ‘had themselves requested to return home.’ So much for ‘territories conquered at the price of Greek blood!’

There really is a power of face in this worthy president which sets all comparison at defiance, and would not deserve to be treated gravely, if his representations had not gained credit in quarters which ought to have known better. The same authority has so far beguiled Prince Leopold, that his Royal Highness is pleased to ‘*protest against the Greeks being forced into any arrangements considered by them as contrary to their wishes,* and destructive of those rights, which, as the president justly observes, *their great sacrifices*



*sacrifices gave them a right to insist upon.*' (L. 58.) Why the Greeks should not be forced into an arrangement, 'necessary to the repose of Europe, as well as their late masters, though it be *'considered by them contrary to their wishes,'* is a question more easily asked than answered. But this by the way.

His Royal Highness speaks of '*rights* which their great sacrifices gave them a *right* to insist upon;' and such an expression, issuing from so high a quarter, and appearing in a document drawn up with no ordinary care, and, if report say true, by no ordinary penman, must not be passed altogether without notice. These rights, then, are what?—A right to the territory of Acarnania, and part of Ætolia. The sacrifices what?—Simply and merely, acceptance of the armistice. This is the only demand which was made upon them; and what, to a people circumstanced as the Greeks were, in the summer of 1827, was the demand of an armistice? was it not, in truth, a tendering to them the only means of escape from utter ruin? Rather, was it not a *boon* which they had *themselves earnestly besought* the allies to obtain for them? Strange and incredible as it may now appear to those who attend only to the clamours of the Greeks, and the declamations of their friends, such is undoubtedly the truth. We have evidence of it in the proclamation of the Greek government itself, when it announced the armistice:—

'By the first article of the treaty of the 6th of July,' says the proclamation, 'the powers engage to insist on the conclusion of an armistice, as a preliminary step. The Greeks certainly cannot oppose what *they themselves requested* in the Assembly of Epidaurus.' (B. 147.)

Yet this was the one solitary sacrifice they were required to make; and, when we contemplate the imposing superstructure reared, in the name of Prince Leopold, on this slender foundation, the mind of the sober observer is lost in astonishment: he can ascribe so astounding a declaration only to the influence of those honourable, but delusive feelings, which his Royal Highness must delight to cherish for a people whose future fortunes he once deigned to consider as identified with his own. The truth is, that *the Greeks, instead of making sacrifices, positively refused to make any*, even in respect to the armistice. In April, 1829, as we have already seen, the allies, having resolved to require the Turks, both by sea and land, to maintain the armistice which, on the 10th of September preceding, the Reis Effendi had declared to exist *de facto*, demanded that the Greeks also should desist from all hostilities, and withdraw their troops within the limits of the territory which the allies had taken under their provisional guarantee. The Greeks having now, by means of the fleet and

army

army of the allies, attained a position in which they thought they could pursue hostilities with advantage, declined compliance with this demand. (C. 25.)

So much for their sacrifices; next for the right supposed to accrue from them—the right to Acarnania and all Ætolia being included in the new state. Strenuously as it is now asserted, it was not so much as thought of, when the armistice was accepted by the Greeks: so far from it, that Admiral de Rigny tells the French ambassador at Constantinople, in a despatch written at the time, that the armistice was ‘opposed by some of the Roumeliots,’ (the people of the very districts in question,) ‘both in and out of the assemblies;’ mark the reason—‘they think that, *because their prospect of being included within the boundaries is very uncertain, they have little risk to run by opposition.*’ Again—

‘The Roumeliots, who have been driven back in numbers into the Morea, and whom an armistice would detain there, wish to return to Roumelia—some to continue that species of warfare which is their element; others to excite those provinces again to insurrection, hoping that those provinces may, on that account, be included in the limits which may hereafter be fixed.’ (B. 152.)

So great reason have they and Prince Leopold now to complain of their being excluded! and to ground that complaint on the sacrifice they made by *accepting the armistice*!—So great reason, too, has their senate to ask, ‘Can the inhabitants of the Greek state, united as they are to them (the people of Roumelia) by the ties of fraternity and by solemn oaths, abandon them to their wretchedness?’ (L. 65) a question, to which Prince Leopold has been advised to give the following answer:—‘These people will never submit again to the Turkish yoke without resistance; and *the other Greeks will not, and cannot, abandon them to their fate.*’ (L. 58.)

But, after all, the special pleaders in this cause may still choose to rest it on the *strict* construction of the third article of the treaty, and may contend, that inasmuch as the Greek people assented to the proposition of an armistice, they thereby *entitled* themselves to a voice in the final settlement of the limits of the new State. It will be necessary, therefore, to look a little more closely into their conduct, as well as their words, in relation to this armistice. The case opens a little inauspiciously for them in the following communication from Admiral de Rigny—(B. 149):—

‘Your Excellency will doubtless appreciate our motives, in advising the Greeks to make a kind of declaration’ [on accepting the armistice]; ‘it is evident, that *it was necessary to bind their*’ [the Greek Government’s] ‘*inconstancy and fickleness by some engagement, and that a manifesto, properly worded, would accomplish more than one object at the same time.*’

Of the necessity of finding some means of binding their 'fickleness and inconstancy,' in other words, their disregard of the most sacred engagements, subsequent events afford ample proof,—and not less, of the invalidity of the means devised. We will state exactly what was the engagement into which the Greeks had entered with the allies, and on account of which they claim all the benefit of the strictest construction of the third article of the treaty of London in their favour.

The plenipotentiaries of the high contracting parties, in execution of the treaty, addressed, *in limine*, as we have seen, a declaration to the Greek Government, which, having stated that, in compliance with the earnest request of the Greeks, the allied powers had determined 'to offer their mediation to the Ottoman Porte,' thus proceeds:—'In order to facilitate the success of this mediation, the undersigned have been ordered to propose to the commission of the Greek provisional government, *to suspend, by an armistice, every act of hostility against the Sublime Porte.*'

Now, it must be here observed (in order to preclude cavil), that the engagement required of the Greeks was not made to be contingent on the accession of the Turks; it was absolute and unconditional. Nor was there anything unfair in this; for, besides that the allies had a right to annex to their compliance with the Greek petition whatever condition they might think fit, they undertook to establish and enforce an armistice *de facto* on the part of the Turks at sea, by means of their fleet—an undertaking, of which it is unnecessary to say how well it was fulfilled. The Greek government returned the following answer:—'Acknowledging with gratitude, on behalf of the whole nation, the benevolent disposition of the three great powers, *we accept the proposed armistice.*' This answer was dated on the 2d of September, 1827. A proclamation, calling on the Greek nation to observe the armistice, had been published by the government some days earlier. On the 11th, an assurance was given to the Porte, on the authority of the ambassadors, that the effect of the *de facto* armistice was such, that *the allied squadrons would equally prevent both parties from committing hostilities by sea.*—(See B. 142.) On the 18th of the same month, Sir Frederic Adam wrote to the English Admiral, informing him,

'That a Greek squadron, under the command of Lord Cochrane, having on board a strong division of troops, was already at sea, with the design of making an attack on some points of the provinces of Albania to the north of the Gulf of Prevesa.' [Provinces, by the way, into which the insurrection had not hitherto spread.] 'The land forces were from two to three thousand men, under General Church,



and another corps under General Macri, which was to embark from the *Morea, near Cape Papas* ' [almost under the eyes, therefore, of Ibrahim at Navarino] ; ' and the object of this expedition appeared to be to *raise the Greeks in the provinces of Albania !* '—(B. 163.)

Such was—the perfidy, shall we say ? or—the imbecility of the Greek government ? Admiral de Rigny authorizes us to hope the latter ; for thus he writes :—' And what is this same government ? Nobody obeys it. The generals-in-chief, whom it has appointed, almost hold it in derision.'—(B. 150.) But, be the fault with the government, or with the chiefs, the result is the same. They *forfeited* any privilege to which faithfulness to their engagements might have entitled them. Admiral Codrington, of course, prevented the success of a proceeding so contrary to good faith, and to the honour of the allies, as was this expedition. But there is much reason to believe that it produced the unhappy catastrophe at Navarino ; for Ibrahim's *alleged* breach of promise not to leave that harbour, which caused the hostile movement of the allied squadrons, seems to have been provoked by his hearing of Lord Cochrane's force in the bay of Lepanto, and its probable destination.\* Indeed, it cannot but strike every fair mind, that there was much—very much of hardship in Ibrahim's case ; more especially considering the conduct pursued by the Greeks after their acceptance of the armistice, and tolerated by the allies. But this is a matter which we reserve for more detailed consideration by-and-bye ; at present we pursue our examination of the fidelity of the Greeks in observing the armistice.

We will next take the testimony of M. de Rigny, who thus concludes the very letter, in which he gives an official statement of his and Admiral Codrington's success in obtaining Ibrahim's promise not to leave Navarino :—

' One work remains, even more difficult than that which we have already accomplished, even supposing it to be necessary to follow up that work in a short time by the employment of force ; it is, to annihilate, if possible, that piracy which has become so inveterate among the Greeks. It will not be heard without a feeling of surprise, that at the very moment when the squadrons of the allied powers are on the point of engaging in a contest with the Turks in favour of the Greeks' [Admiral de Rigny, it seems, saw matters in their true colours, and did not always embarrass himself by affecting to reconcile the conduct of the allies with their professions of neutrality], ' merchant vessels, English and French, are carried off from the coasts of Syria to *Ægina* ' [the seat of Government], ' seized upon and pillaged,

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\* ' The Turkish fleet had put to sea about the 26th of September. It steered towards Lepanto, and it is conceived that its object is to surprise Lord Cochrane, who was supposed to be at Missolonghi.'—Letter from Commander Hotham, of the *Parthia*, to Captain Crofton, of the *Dryad*.—(B. 170.)

because,

because, under the right of search so unfortunately conceded, the Greek pirates, caring little for the fate of their country, have no other object in view than to make a livelihood by piracy, and to bear away to Hydra their plunder, *converted by the greatest abuse into lawful prize.* [These latter words bring home the abuse to the public authorities of Greece.] *'It would be shameful, it would even be ridiculous, to suffer any longer the existence of such abuses; but it is necessary to act with vigour, and adopt decisive measures. I know of none others than those I have so often proposed to employ.'*—(B. 168.)

What those measures were has been already intimated, p. 504; and how the suggestion of them was followed by the conference at London. But Greece was, at that time, not the only country, in which 'the government' was an object of 'derision.' Happily, the admirals did not always wait for instructions from ambassadors and plenipotentiaries, but, obeying the dictates of their own sound heads and honourable hearts, sometimes acted for themselves. In one of these happy moments, *three days only after the battle of Navarino*,—having heard that *the Greeks, in spite of the armistice to which they had so solemnly pledged themselves, had actually prepared an expedition against Scio*,—they were not satisfied with a warning against persisting in it, given by the captain of a French frigate to the Sciot commission, to the Greek government, and to the commander of the intended expedition, Colonel Fabvier—(B. 180), but they also determined to address the following letter to the committee of the legislative assembly of Greece:—(We give it *in extenso*, because every word of it is 'germane to the matter' in hand, and because the piquancy of its style is, we confess, most refreshing to our palate, after the dainty dishes of diplomatic delicacies with which we have been so largely regaled.)

'Messieurs,—We have learned with lively indignation, that, while the allied squadrons were destroying the Ottoman fleet, which refused compliance with the armistice, the Greek corsairs did not cease to infest the seas; and that the admiralty court, the only tribunal recognized by Greek law, sought excuses for justifying their excesses under legal forms. Your provisional government appears to think that the chiefs of the allied squadrons do not agree on the measures requisite to put down such illegal pillage. It deceives itself: we will not suffer these piracies to continue under any pretext. We will not suffer the Greeks to make any expedition or blockade without the limits of Lepanto and Volo, comprising Salamis, Egina, Hydra, and Spezzia. We will not suffer the Greeks to carry insurrection either into Scio or Albania, thereby exposing their populations to the frightful reprisals of the Turks. We regard as void all letters of marque given to corsairs, found without the limits above-mentioned: the allied ships-of-war will have orders to arrest them. There is no longer remaining a pretext; the maritime armistice exists on the side of the Turks, since

since their fleet exists no longer. Take care of yours, which, should occasion demand it, we will serve in like manner, in order to stop a pillage, which must eventually finish by placing you beyond the law of nations. 'Your provincial government being actually deprived of all force, it is to the legislative body that we address these last irrevocable resolutions.' With regard to the tribunal of prizes which has been instituted, we declare it incompetent to adjudge any of our vessels without our participation.'

Mortifying it is to find, that even this plain and manly assertion of the dignity of their sovereigns, and of the demands of justice, was made ineffectual by the weakness of our diplomacy. A month before, the French ambassador at Constantinople (would that we could say the *English!*) having proposed to take steps necessary to enforce the armistice on the part of the Greeks, his brethren, the ambassadors of Russia and *England*, did not concur in his views—(see B. 170, 171); and the protocol, containing their decision, arrived most inopportunistically, just in time to paralyze the proceedings of the admirals. The following account is given of this matter by the French ambassador to his court, in a letter dated 11th of November, 1827 :—

'The Greeks, with Colonel Fabvier, landed at Scio on the 27th of October. The Turks retreated to the citadel, from whence they are reported to have since made several successful sallies. *The admirals had written, on the 24th, a strong letter to the legislative body of Egina, to prevent this expedition, as well as to announce their determination to eradicate piracy. But since the, perhaps unseasonable, departure of his two colleagues for Malta, and at the moment that he was about to cause the expedition directed against Scio to return, Admiral de Rigny received our protocol of the 17th, which made him judge it necessary not to act without a fresh reference to the conference on the subject. I am in hopes of being able to inform him to-morrow, that we do not intend to prevent the execution of arrangements which the admirals have considered indispensable to secure the execution of the treaty on this point.*'—(A. 192.)

Whatever may have been his excellency's hopes, there is no evidence of their having been realized; for, 'to-morrow's' protocol (B. 194,) says not a word on the matter. Meanwhile, *another expedition had actually sailed against Negropont, under the command of Grigiotti.*—(B. 180.) We will not pursue the detail. Be it sufficient to say, that the system of piracy, as explained above, if not with the declared approbation, at least with the connivance and tacit encouragement of the Greek authorities, continued through the whole time of the negotiations.

• We have thus considered the real nature of the right of the Greeks to complain of the non-fulfilment of the letter of the third article



article of the treaty in their favour; and we will not insult our readers by thinking any further remarks upon it necessary. But it is right that we should add to all that has preceded, the account incidentally given of the character of the Greeks in the papers before us. This will assist those who need any further assistance in making up their minds on the merits of this case, as far as the Greeks are concerned. *Prince Leopold* calls them 'a passionate and ignorant people,' and this, we apprehend, is the most favourable representation that can be made of them. It certainly is the most favourable which can be elicited from the papers before us. *Count Bulgari* tells us of something besides ignorance,—

'Greece does not contain, in general, among the most influential class, either the virtues or the knowledge, upon which well organized political societies generally depend. . . . As long as liberal institutions are neither consecrated by the moral habits of the people, nor by time, it must be confessed that the three allied courts would destroy with one hand the work which they would have founded with the other, if they should consent to establish in Greece an order of things, the danger and absurdity of which are sufficiently demonstrated by seven years of anarchy, by the immorality and the ignorance of the more influential class, and of the higher orders of this country.'—(A. 278, 280.)

*Admiral de Rigny* goes a little more into particulars:—

'There exists in the interests, the opinions, and different situations of the Greeks, such a variety of *jealousies and rivalries*, that one is often lost in the labyrinth of their pretensions and *bad faith*.'—(B. 150.)  
'I do not think it possible that you can have an exact idea of what these people are. *One must serve them in spite of themselves*. It is necessary, too, I repeat, to leave to some of them, whose life depends on warfare, some corner to carry it on, without bad consequences, and without obliging us to go to set matters to rights. On other occasions lines of neutrality have been drawn. I think that, in this case, some such neutral ground must be left, where they may come into collision with the Turks as they please.' [The allies seem to have acted on the spirit of this advice, in their arrangement respecting Acarnania.]  
'I shall not be surprised, if you do not find this very clear; but do you think it possible to change with the stroke of a pen a state of things which has existed on certain frontiers for 300 years?'—(149.)

'We can only judge of the effect of the treaty upon them, as it relates to individuals; the mass of the population will undoubtedly feel its value, but the majority of those individuals who fill different situations, more or less prominent, and who, whether in or out of office, are always intriguing, only search in the treaty for what affects them personally. . . . I think that the mass of the population, if they could be consulted by some other intervention than that of the Greek chiefs themselves, would gladly accept any arrangement whatever. Ask the unhappy inhabitants of the Morea—harassed, de-  
spoiled,

spoiled, and plundered alternately by the Turks, and by the Primates! *Ask the islands of the Archipelago,—in every one of which a band of land and sea pirates gives the law!* Examine what is passing at Syra, at Naxos, at Poros, at Milo, where bands of Candiots, of Caxiots, of Sphactiots, come and establish themselves as rulers, and leave nothing to the inhabitants, sometimes not even the liberty of complaining. But, at the same time that the greater part of the population of the continent, and of the islands, suffer from this state of things, it must be remarked that these calamities are inflicted on the Morea by the primates and chiefs. . . . At Hydra the effects are the same, though from different causes. There, the populace lord it over the primates; captains without ships, sailors without pay, and the host of shopkeepers who traffic in the daily piracies, are there the governors. . . . There, as at Spezzia, I should think the primates well disposed to welcome any order of things which would render the population less turbulent, and which would re-establish their authority; but there also, the ties of clanship and patronage, which, before the insurrection, formed the only political bond, being broken, and *the taste for piracy and its practice having increased by impunity* and the concessions granted to privateers, I am by no means certain that the re-establishment of any order of things would be agreeable to a population which would find it difficult to conform to the usages of a regular maritime system.—(151.) . . . Their habits and their tastes lean more to the present state of things, [a state of anarchy and predatory warfare] 'because, as well in their own country, [Roumelia,] as in the Morea, it is by this very state of things, that they live.'

Such are the amiable race who have excited the sensibilities of all our liberals, in and out of Parliament—whose cause had well nigh kindled a general conflagration throughout Europe, and has actually involved this country in entanglements of the most vexatious kind. This reminds us, that there is yet one class of these parliamentary papers about which something must be said:—we mean those which relate to Prince Leopold. Here, however, we shall be very brief. His Royal Highness has strong claims on the forbearance of Englishmen; and even if we were inclined to judge him severely, (which we are not,) we should yet think that he must have been sufficiently punished by seeing his own letters (particularly those of Feb. 11 and March 7, 1830), laid before the world. One thing is quite clear—he has had an escape; and, not less, the people consigned to his rule. Perhaps, indeed, the least judicious step taken by our government in all these transactions, was the selection, or the acceptance, of the intended sovereign of Greece. Considering the state of that country, past, present, and to come—its means and its necessities—the tastes and the habits, the vices and the virtues (whatever they be) of its people—it surely was not to one of the royal or princely houses of Western Europe,

Europe, that recourse should have been had for supplying them with a chief. Napoleon ordered these things better : he would have sent some '*soldat heureux*'—a Ney or an Augereau—one who had been the artificer of his own fortunes—one who enjoyed hunting the game, as well as eating it—one, in short, to whom the unceasing activity, the excitements of every kind, the hardships, and even the dangers, of the Greek throne, would have been among its attractions. But the illustrious personage who was chosen, could not, by possibility, have endured the multiplied annoyances of his troublesome elevation for six months, even if he had not discovered the utter inaptitude of himself for the station, and the station for him, in time to abandon it beforehand, with only a moderate diminution of his princely character.

We can, indeed, easily conceive that the singular concurrence of circumstances which combine to make his position in this country one of almost overpowering ennui, would also make him fancy himself ready to exchange it for any prospect—while that prospect was distant—of manly enterprise and generous adventure. The very estimable qualities which distinguish him must contribute to make him weary of the at once cloying and unsatisfying advantages of his present station. He is neither rake nor gamester ; he has too much virtue for vicious occupations—too much understanding for very frivolous ones ; but (it would be disparagement of few men to add) apparently not quite virtue nor understanding enough for great and exalted action. In truth, neither nature nor art seems to have formed his Royal Highness for a Paladin. He is respectable—highly respectable ; but there seems to be nothing romantic, much less heroic, in his composition. Although, therefore, he may have gratified his imagination, as well as soothed a very natural self-complacency, by contemplating the coming crown, yet, when the crown was actually come, and turned out, after all, not what a crown should be—a congeries of costliest gems, set on a well-wadded bonnet of velvet—but a plain hard circlet of biting steel ; when such a crown as this was come, and it was time for its wearer to go, it was quite another affair. In truth, we cannot help picturing to ourselves the sovereign elect of Greece, ruminating on the arrangements of his future court—balancing the rival pretensions of blue, and scarlet, and green, for the uniform of his guards, or devising some amiable project for the improvement of his subjects, and the fair reputation of himself, in one of the saloons of Marlborough House, or amidst the groves and lawns of Claremont. His reverie is interrupted by the announcement of despatches from his new sovereignty : he breaks the seal with as much eagerness and alacrity as even a sedate and well-regulated mind may allow itself to feel at the sight of such a communication—when, traced, by the well-



well-known hand of Count Capo d'Istrias, his eye glances over the following appalling paragraph.

'I beg permission once more, to express to your Royal Highness the hopes which I entertain, that it may be your determination to come to Greece as soon as possible.' . . . 'From the moment of your Highness's accepting the *immense task of fulfilling the destinies of Greece*, the means of commencing this great work under happy auspices are only to be found in your own hands. You cannot, mon Prince, intrust it to other hands without weakening their power, and rendering it ineffective: moreover, the establishment of the boundaries cannot fail to subject Greece to a *serious crisis*. Why should not your Royal Highness seize this first opportunity to give her an earnest of the paternal feeling with which you are animated in her behalf, and of the sacrifices which your Royal Highness is resolved to make for her welfare? If I have made any progress in the good opinion of this people, if they continue to give me proofs of their sincere and unlimited confidence, it is because they see me constantly *sharing in person their miseries and their sufferings*, with the sole object of alleviating them. It is *during the bivouac*, it is *under the wretched shelter of a hut*—no matter what the inclemency of the seasons, what my age and my infirmities—that the people and the soldiery have often discoursed with me upon their interests, that they have learnt to know me, and that I have been able to inspire them with a feeling of what they owe to themselves, to their government, and to the civilized world. I will venture to tell you, mon Prince, that it is by this first test that the Greeks will judge you. If you present yourself to them as a great personage, unable to endure their poverty and their privations, instead of inspiring them with respect for you, you will voluntarily deprive yourself of the surest means of making an useful impression on their minds.

'The opportunity of making this first sacrifice is presented to you. Come, then, and assist in person at the difficult and painful operation of establishing the boundaries, and do not allow others to undertake them in your place.'—(L. 50.)

The effect on his Royal Highness was galvanic—the conclusion inevitable. A despatch was instantly sent to the Foreign Office, declining the perilous honours of a revolutionary sceptre, and devoting the remainder of his days to the more congenial duties of an exemplary brother.

The throne which his Royal Highness has repudiated is, it is said, destined to a prince of the royal house of Wirtemburgh. What may be the qualifications of the new sovereign for the station to which he has been raised, is a matter to us of very small interest. We only wish that this country would fairly rid itself of all connexion with the future fortunes of Greece. If it be true that we have joined in the guarantee of a loan, we must, of course, fulfil our engagement; but, in the name of common sense, let not the  
people

people of England be further taxed, to feed the rapacity, and reward the perfidy, of a race of barbarians, who have all the vices of their ancestors, with none of their redeeming virtues,—who are fit neither for subjection nor for freedom,—but must work out their deliverance from the frightful anarchy in which they are plunged, by a course of strife, and toil, and suffering, which the interference of foreigners may protract, may aggravate, but cannot prevent.

Before we conclude, we shall redeem our pledge of stating, what seems to us the fair result of the evidence afforded by these papers respecting the causes of the battle of Navarino. It is usually ascribed, without reserve, to the bad faith of Ibrahim; but we apprehend that this solution is not quite so clear as it might be satisfactory. In short, we conceive that Ibrahim is a personage much more sinned against than sinning. In order to do justice to his cause, we ought to consider who and what he was, what he had done, and what he had prepared to do. He was the son of the ablest and most powerful of all the pachas—of one who had, with exemplary fidelity, devoted all his very ample resources to the service of his unfortunate sovereign. Ibrahim himself had employed these resources for two years, in the Morea, with great success and the highest glory. He had already almost achieved the conquest of the rebel land, and was now armed with fresh forces to accomplish what yet remained, 'when,' (as Admiral de Rigny tells us,) 'at the moment he thought of attaining his object, and of giving a mortal blow to the Greeks, he found himself arrested in his progress' by the interposition of the allies, who, be it remembered, rested their right to interpose, solely on the impossibility of that object being attained, which Ibrahim now saw almost within his grasp. It was at such a moment as this, to a great captain, at the head of a mighty force by sea and land, flushed with success, and elate with hope, that the admirals addressed their mandate to forego his purpose. With exemplary forbearance, he told them, that 'he was about to send a courier to Constantinople for orders;' and was answered, that the 'courier's vessel might be taken by the Greeks.' 'So, then,' cried he, with some warmth, 'whilst you require of me to suspend all operations, you allow the Greeks to do as they wish; that is not just.'

At a subsequent interview, in which the admirals announced their orders 'to establish, *de facto*, an armistice, and to destroy any Ottoman vessels which should break it,' the following conversation took place, which we give in the words of the French admiral himself.

'After having listened with the utmost attention and coolness to our declaration, the pacha replied, that as a servant of the Sublime

Porte, he had received orders to press the war in the Morea, and to terminate it by a decisive attack upon Hydra; that he had no authority to listen to communications such as we had made to him, nor to act upon his own responsibility: that, however, the orders of the Porte not having foreseen the extraordinary case which presented itself, he should forthwith send couriers to Constantinople and into Egypt, and that, till their return, he gave his word that his fleet should not quit Navarino, however hard it was upon him to be thus arrested just at the moment when all was settled, because the force of his expedition, as we ourselves saw, was too strong for the Greeks to resist. That if his sovereign, who was the best judge of his real interests, still maintained in force his first orders, he should obey them, whatever might be the result of the unequal struggle in which he should be engaged. As his couriers were to go by sea, and in his vessels, he asked, if, while we required a suspension of hostilities on his part, we would leave it in the power of the Greeks to attack his vessels. Upon this, we proposed to him, to allow his vessels to be accompanied by one of ours; but he did not appear to be pleased with this proposal, which might be considered as derogatory to him; and he preferred to risk meeting with the enemy, from which, on the other hand, we could not secure him, since the Greek pirates, acting on all sides without order, and without license, always dispersed at our approach, and by that means escaped us.

‘To reply, as well as possible, to some observations which were not wanting in justice, and speaking in the sense of a communication from the ambassadors dated the 4th of September, which I received yesterday, relative to the limits within which the Greek navy must confine its operations, we said to Ibrahim, that “having been informed that Lord Cochrane purposed proceeding towards the coasts of Albania, with the view of exciting a revolt there, it was the intention of Admiral Codrington to oppose, at once, any attempt of this kind (such attempt being made in the Ionian sea), as tending to enlarge the theatre of war, as long as there existed any armistice, either temporary or definitive.” I will not enter into a detail of the objections and arguments which he put forward in addition, when, after his promise had been given, the conference ceased to be official; but I cannot refrain from remarking, that all that Ibrahim said, shews an understanding and good sense very superior to what is generally seen, and to the education which he must have received. He was especially anxious to refute all that has been published in the papers respecting his pretended cruelties, and we, who have been on the spot, must confess that exaggeration has been as busy there as elsewhere.’ (B. 166, 167.)

We have cited this long passage, because it throws a powerful light on a transaction otherwise obscure. But we must frankly confess, that the elucidation does not seem to us very favourable to the admirals. That Ibrahim gave the promise here stated, and in the terms here stated, may be true; and, if it be, his subsequent violation



violation of that promise cannot be justified. But are we sure that such a promise was actually given? What is the evidence of it? These questions extort answers, which we would gladly withhold. We are not inclined to be rigid censors of honourable men, intending faithfully to discharge their duty to their country,—but in a case which deeply interests the honour of the three greatest nations of Europe, we shall not scruple to make a few obvious remarks.

The first, and most obvious of all is, to express the astonishment we have felt, in common, we believe, with every impartial observer, that, on an occasion big with such appalling consequences, nothing more ostensible exists, in testimony of Ibrahim's engagement, than a *verbal promise* said to have been made by him, *through an interpreter*! Why was this? These Mussulmans could write,—for we have letters to and from them exhibited in these very papers, and Ibrahim himself subsequently entered into a *written* treaty with the admirals. Neither was there any lack of time and leisure to draw up a proper document; for, in truth, the time of the ambassadors could not be employed more satisfactorily, even to themselves, than in performing the business of their mission in what, we must be allowed to say, was the only business-like manner.

But, secondly, we must remark, that the weight of evidence, after all, is really in Ibrahim's favour. If an issue were tried in Westminster-hall, whether Ibrahim ever *gave* the promise, which he has been so confidently charged with breaking, no good men and true, on the evidence produced, could pronounce a verdict in the affirmative. On the one side we have the testimony, *not of the admirals*—for whatever passed between them and Ibrahim passed through an interpreter—but of *the interpreter alone*. On the other side there are the declarations of Ibrahim himself, of his rear-admiral, and of the Petrona Bey, given by them at separate times, *when they could not communicate with each other*, (though they might possibly have preconcerted a common story; but of this there is no evidence.) They all concur in stating that the promise of Ibrahim was merely that he would *suspend his expedition against Hydra* till he should receive orders from Constantinople, not that he would keep his fleet in the bay of Navarino, and forbear communicating with his other naval stations on the same coast. It appears, therefore, that the whole question rests on the accuracy of the interpreter's translation and report of a conversation which might easily be misapprehended, without any fraudulent purpose on either side; and that, against his solitary testimony, there are three witnesses, who concur in stating what the whole narrative makes highly probable, and particularly the opening language

language of Ibrahim in the very conversation in which the promise is alleged to have been given.\*

Thirdly, it is important to bear in mind that the part of the promise which Ibrahim admits himself to have made, and which he faithfully observed, the admirals had some right to require—they might require him to engage *not to attack Hydra*, or to commit any other act of hostility. The other part, which he denies to have made, they had not a shadow of right to demand—they had no right to ask him to promise *not to leave Navarino*, or go to any of his own harbours; for they had no right to prevent him from doing so, if he had chosen. Now, this consideration strengthens the probability that Ibrahim, who is admitted to have a ‘very superior understanding and good sense,’ (B. 167,) did not foolishly commit himself by so idle an engagement.

Lastly, it is painful, but it is necessary, to observe, in respect to our own very gallant and very honourable countryman, Sir Edward Codrington, that there is indisputable evidence afforded by his own communications to his ambassador, that he was eminently unfortunate in apprehending and commenting upon the language of these Mussulmans, even when placed in an English dress before him. He had written to the Petrona Bey, reproaching him and his brother chiefs with their breach of the parole given by Ibrahim in their presence. The Bey returned the following answer.

‘From me, the Bey commanding the ship *Petrona*, to the  
English and French Admirals.

‘When the two admirals came to Navarino with the *Petrona*, they did not say at all that they would not allow us to go to *Patras*.’ [Patras, be it remembered, was in the possession of the Turks, and peculiarly well situated for watching Lord Cochrane’s fleet in the Gulf of Lepanto.] ‘You must either not have said it to the interpreter, or, if you did, the interpreter did not communicate it to us. You prohibited us from going to *Hydra*, and for your sake we did not go there. We have written to Constantinople to obtain an armistice. We are now going to our High Admiral, Ibrahim Pacha, to whose orders we shall be obedient. We thought you were our friends, and did not, therefore, expect such conduct on your part. If you allow us to go, well and good; if you do not, it is still well; but, should you sink us to the bottom, we shall not resist, unless we receive orders to that effect; but now that we are going to our commander we shall execute his commands. As for myself, I am quite indifferent about this matter. I have followed his directions, in order not to disobey him. I am going to him, and what he shall direct that will I do.’—(B. 175.)

‘The Turkish fleet accordingly sailed back to Ibrahim. Afterwards, Sir Edward Codrington saw most of their largest frigates

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\* See above, p. 546.

at anchor near Cape Papas, and the rest of the fleet endeavouring to join them; and upon this circumstance he makes the following remark:—‘It was evident to me that this was a trick of the Turkish commander to send supplies into Patras, in defiance of the second agreement of the Petrona Bey made with me the day preceding.’—(B. 173.) Now let our readers look back to the Bey’s letter, just recited entire, and then say, if they can, by what process of the human mind our admiral could discover in that letter anything like an agreement to do, or not to do, anything whatever; on the contrary, if plain words have any meaning, the Bey distinctly *refuses* to pledge himself to Sir Edward Codrington, at all. ‘I am going to my commander, and *what he shall direct that will I do.*’ We must, therefore, frankly confess, that this specimen of the Admiral’s accuracy does not induce us to place implicit reliance on the correctness of his construction of the promise of Ibrahim himself.

But supposing that Ibrahim actually gave the promise, and broke it, must not then every mouth be closed? Have not the admirals then a triumphant case? Sorry again we are to be under the necessity of answering, that, in our humble opinion, this would be very far from a necessary consequence. Our judgment of what true honour demands, differs most widely from that of these distinguished officers, if they do not, on reflection, perceive that they had precluded themselves from all right to require good faith in Ibrahim, or, at least, to condemn him for the want of it. Had they not themselves attempted to corrupt him? Did they not propose to him to desert the cause of his sovereign? Did they not, in a word, advise him to become a traitor? \* And, having

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\* We ground these questions on the following passages of Admiral de Rigny’s despatch, giving an account of a private interview between Ibrahim and himself. ‘What is required at present,’ said the Admiral to Ibrahim, ‘is to obtain an armistice, either with the consent of the Porte, or by force, which will compel the Porte to treat. In establishing it, *de facto*, you may perhaps save the Ottoman empire; you will, at least, save your father and your inheritance. Your father is old, and much burthened with cares. Reflect, Egypt, with its riches, is of much more value than the Morea, of which you are making a desert.’—(B. 165.) Again, p. 167—‘Some very confidential communications on the part of Ibrahim Pasha give me reason to believe that he will secretly give us notice when he is about to come out,’—[How is this consistent with the allegation, that he had bound himself by promise to this very admiral not to come out of Navarino at all?—]—and I think I can affirm beforehand, that a demonstration will suffice to send back this formidable expedition to Egypt and the Dardanelles.’

It seems from the despatch as if similar attempts had been made on the part of Admiral Codrington. ‘The officer sent by the British admiral, pursuing his written instructions, which he held in his hand, turned the conversation on Egypt, on the desire which was felt to respect his father’s interests, &c.; expressions which, although suppressed or modified by his dragoman, had, nevertheless, been understood by one of the persons present, and interpreted and spread about, as the result of an understanding between us.’



done this, having insulted a brave man, and, we must be permitted to add, having *not honoured* themselves, by making such a proposal to him, were they at liberty to turn round and affect a tone of indignation, because he proved too apt a disciple in the school of treachery, and dared to deceive his teachers?

But, after all, this plea, derived from the supposed breach of promise on the part of Ibrahim, was not finally acted upon by the allied admirals. It served them up to the 15th of October; for on that day the Russian admiral (B. 177) still insists upon it; and even after the unhappy conflict on the 20th, the ambassadors at Constantinople persist in considering it as justifying, or rather having rendered necessary, the hostile entrance into Navarino; for they gravely instruct their interpreters to go, in their name, to the Reis Effendi, to state to him Ibrahim's engagement, his violation of it, '*the necessity*' which thence ensued '*of the squadrons of the allied powers employing force,*' and to demand a categorical answer to this question—Whether the Sublime Porte regards '*the occurrence* between its fleet and the fleets of the three allied powers as establishing a state of war between them.'—(B. 178.)

But the admirals, as we have just said, seem to have had some misgivings, that the alleged breach of a disclaimed and unauthenticated promise would not be sufficient to sanction the extremity to which, at all events, they were determined to proceed. Something, however, must be hit off. The right of blockade would not do: it might enable them to keep the Turks in Navarino, but could not justify the forcing them out. Their instructions, too, instead of helping them, were sadly in their way; for they were ordered to '*employ extreme care to prevent their measures from degenerating into hostilities;*' and, especially, they were '*not to make use of force, unless the Turks should persist in forcing the passages which they had intercepted.*' (A. 185.) At last they bethought them of a plea, which, in defiance of all right, and in contravention of their most express instructions, they trusted would carry them through—a plea of humanity! '*They deliberated*' (and in such a case to deliberate was to resolve) '*on the necessity of coming to Navarino to summon the Turkish commanders to desist from the devastations they were committing on shore.*'—(B. 181.)

In this but too serious business it is impossible to forbear a smile, bitter as that smile must be, at a proceeding so—but we will not trust ourselves with giving it a character. Be it only remembered, that this affair of '*the devastations*' had been disposed of already in the recent interview with Ibrahim; and that the French admiral himself had thus written of it:—'*He was especially anxious to refute all that has been published in the*

*papers*

papers respecting his *pretended cruelties*; and *we, who have been on the spot, must confess that exaggeration has been as busy there as elsewhere.*—(B. 167.) But it was necessary to devise something, in a conference holden for the very purpose of ‘*concerting upon the expediency of compelling Ibrahim to come out and proceed to Turkey.*’ These are the words of Sir Edward Codrington, in a letter to Mr. Stratford Canning, on the 14th of October (B. 175); and so little disposed was he to conceal his purpose, that it was generally known on board the *Asia* on the 19th, and intelligence accordingly was transmitted through another channel \* to the English ambassador at Constantinople, ‘that it was the intention of the English admiral to proceed to Navarino, to compel the Turkish fleet to come out of that harbour.’ A similar communication was made on the 15th by the Russian admiral to his ambassador: ‘It is difficult,’ says he, ‘to foresee the result of the efforts which my colleagues and I are about to employ for the removal from this part of Greece of the very considerable force which the Porte has unfortunately succeeded in assembling here.†’ Accordingly,

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\* Captain Crofton, of the *Dryad*, transmits a letter of Captain Cotton, of the *Zebra*.—(B. 176.)

† The letters of the British and Russian admirals are both of them dated some days before Captain Hamilton’s letter of the 18th (annexed to Admiral Codrington’s despatches), on which letter the new charges of Ibrahim’s cruelty are founded. Can it be doubted, therefore, that these charges were made the pretext for carrying into effect the hostile counsels which were already resolved upon? What was the state of mind of one of these admirals, and how well it fitted him for calm deliberation in a case which was, it must be owned, not free from difficulties, is apparent from his own despatch. ‘When I found that the boasted Ottoman word of honour was made a sacrifice to wanton, savage devastation, and that a base advantage was taken of our reliance upon Ibrahim’s good faith, I own I felt a desire to punish the offenders.’ (Admiral Codrington’s letter to Mr. Croker.) We have already seen the *modicum* of evidence which exists of any sacrifice whatever of Ibrahim’s word of honour;—to say that it was ‘sacrificed to wanton, savage devastation,’ is absurd, and would be only absurd, if, unfortunately, the absurdities of men commanding fleets or armies were not sometimes very mischievous. But surely Admiral Codrington should have remembered, before he wrote thus, that the alleged promise of Ibrahim (that his fleets should not quit the harbour of Navarino) had nothing to do with proceedings of himself or his troops on *shore*. And what, after all, were those proceedings? The admiral must produce some stronger evidence than Captain Hamilton’s letter, before men of common understanding will jump with him to his conclusions. Captain H. and a Russian officer, ‘on entering the gulf, observed, by the clouds of fire and smoke, that the work of devastation was still going on.’ They accordingly ‘went on shore to the Greek quarters, and were’ (of course) ‘received with the greatest enthusiasm. The distress of the inhabitants driven from the plain is shocking in the extreme: *women and children dying every moment of absolute starvation, and hardly any having better food than boiled grass.*’ So writes Captain Hamilton. This is very shocking, and very much to be deplored; but what does it prove against Ibrahim? Are these things strange in the history of a rebellion, which combined at once all the horrors of civil war and foreign invasion? For more than seven years the Morea had been the seat of these hostilities; and particularly this part of it. That many deaths by starvation should be the result is, unhappily, too probable. But where is the evidence of the truth of Admiral Codrington’s protocol, ‘that the troops of Ibrahim  
were

'Accordingly, to give a fair colour to these 'efforts,' new cruelties were laid to Ibrahim's charge; and as a peaceable communication might end, like the former, in enabling him to disprove the charge, a surer and more effectual course was resolved upon—to take his guilt for granted, and 'summon him to desist,' in such a manner as should leave him no alternative but to treat his summoners as enemies. With this ingenuous purpose—with loud complaints against Ibrahim's 'brutal war of extermination,'—with 'humanity for their battle-cry,—they led the combined squadrons within the bay of Navarino; every gun manned, the matches lighted—every ship cleared for action, the three English ships of the line, 'anchoring each close alongside an opponent in the Turkish fleet.' But, keeping up the face of pacific professions to the last, and for the purpose of enabling the admirals to write in their despatches home, that 'the battle was brought on *entirely* by their opponents,'\* they 'made known their intentions of *awaiting the first shot!*' So writes Admiral de Rigny to his ambassador.—(B. 181.) Had Ibrahim, in his own harbour, answered such a 'summons,' through any other mouth than the mouth of his cannon, he would almost have deserved the cruel fate he met with. As it is, would that England could buy off her share of the bloody work of that most guilty day, at the cost of all its laurels ten-times told!

But we have not yet seen all. The ministers of peace at

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were carrying on a species of warfare more destructive and *exterminating* than before, *putting women and children to the sword*, burning their habitations,' (of this the fire and smoke seen at sea may be taken, as some proof, but not of this burning being other than a result of legitimate hostility,) 'and *tearing up trees by the roots?*' This last particular, indeed, appears to us the most extraordinary fact ever recited, as an indication of the fell destroyer's purpose 'to complete the devastation of the country.' Could a devastating army employ its time and labour more harmlessly? The truth seems to be, that nothing but a predetermination to find a verdict against Ibrahim could induce the admirals to proceed on such evidence. Now, as to Ibrahim (of whom we do not wish to be the advocate, though we desire to see justice done to him,) it is worth remarking, that he and his army continued in the Morea for nearly a year afterwards, carrying on very successful military operations, but without incurring any fresh charge of cruelty. Admiral Codrington himself, in negotiating, at Alexandria, the evacuation of the Morea by Ibrahim, remarks to the Pacha, his father, 'how loud the cry had been both in England and France on the deportation of Greek slaves to Egypt; more particularly after the battle of Navarino.'—(C. 7.) (Such, it seems, is the authority on which an admiral commanding a fleet in the Greek seas, speaks of facts occurring in Greece, 'the cry in England and France!') 'His highness stated positively,' (and there is not even an insinuation against the truth of his statement,) 'that *not one slave* had been made subsequent to that battle; that the numbers had been absurdly exaggerated by the newspapers both in France and England; for there were not more than 1900 Greeks brought over in all at that time, of which nearly 1200 were Candiotes; that the greater part of them were wives of the officers and soldiers of his army in the Morea, who had been married two or three years, and who took that opportunity of sending them, as well as their children, to their own country.'

\* See Admiral Codrington's despatch, addressed to Mr. Croker, Oct. 21, 1827.



Constantinople emulated in sincerity their brethren of the sword at Navarino. Those very ministers who had received the communications we have just read,—nay, who had, but a few days before, themselves attributed the battle to the ‘necessity of employing force,’ which Ibrahim’s breach of promise had caused, now sent their dragomans to the Reis Effendi, proclaiming that the allied admirals, with their squadrons, had entered Navarino as *friends*! that the Turkish commanders were the aggressors! and, in a tone of indignant remonstrance, demanding *why* they had been so.—(B. 185.) Nay, more than this: the ambassadors, knowing what they knew, with the letters of the admirals before them, felt it consistent with their duty, as representatives of the three greatest sovereigns in Europe, and with their own feelings as men of honour, to set their names to a formal note, addressed to the Reis Effendi, in which are the following words: ‘*It is proved by all accounts, that the aggression proceeded from the fleet of the Sublime Porte.*’—(B. 192.) We will write no more. Thank heaven! this is the first time we ever had to blush for England, in a matter in which her public faith was concerned. May it be the last!

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ART. VII.—*Da Njoe Testament va wi Masra en Helpiman Jesus Christus. Translated into the Negro-English Language, by the Missionaries of the Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren. Printed for the use of the Mission, by the British and Foreign Bible Society. London. 1829.*

‘THE Moravians,’ says Mr. Bolingbroke, in his Voyage to Demerary, ‘have translated the Bible and a book of hymns into the *Talkee-talkee*, or negro language, of which they have also composed a grammar. It is curious,’ he adds, ‘that this patois of the blacks, though it includes many African words, should have for its basis the English language, purged of inflections and softened by a multitude of vowel terminations.’ This gentleman, who was deputy vendue-master at Surinam, and, in 1808, published his observations in a book, which gave proof of no ordinary abilities, tells us that the Creole ladies speak this language in preference to any other. The grammar has been printed, according to Stedman; ‘the words,’ he says, ‘end mostly with a vowel, like the Indian and Italian; and it is so sweet, so sonorous and soft, that the genteelst Europeans in Surinam speak little else.’ Overlooking the African words which it contains, Stedman describes the language as a compound of Dutch, French,

French, Spanish, Portuguese, and English; the latter, according to him, the negroes like best, and, consequently, use the most; but in his time, the words of English derivation were beginning to grow out of use near the capital, though they were retained in the distant plantations; so that, while the country dialect remained negro-English, the *talkee-talkee* of the towns might rather have been called negro-Dutch. Since Demerara has become an English colony, there must, undoubtedly, have been a change in this respect, and the mixed language has probably been Anglicized in a greater degree than the manners of the people. But it is not apparent how the predominance of English radicals should originally have obtained; for the Dutch planters, if they stocked themselves with slaves from the British islands, would purchase those who were newly imported for sale; and it is remarkable, that while it was a Dutch colony, there should have been so many British overseers and drivers there as to produce this effect. 'That the mass of Creole population here on the continent,' says Mr. Bolingbroke, 'and under foreign sway, should still have been reared and taught beneath English masters and overseers, is no slight proof of the superior enterprise of our colonists, and humanity of our slave drivers.' The latter part of this sentence might have been dispensed with, for it is notorious that the negroes were never treated with greater cruelty in any part of the world than in Dutch Guiana.

Stedman thought the language 'wonderfully expressive and sentimental';—he was likely to think it so, for it was the mother-tongue of the poor mulatta who lived with him as his mistress, whose liberty he could not purchase, that he might bring her away with him, when he left the country, and whose story has drawn tears from many an English reader. But where no such associations exist, men are usually disposed to find beauties in any newly-acquired language, and to fancy them where they are not to be found. The way in which some persons interlard their discourse with the little French and less Italian which they have picked up during a summer's tour, is proof of this. They too, who, after a long residence abroad, return to their own country, are pleased when they can make use of some emphatic expression or untranslatable idiom of the tongue in which they were formerly accustomed to converse. Our naval and military terms are a mangle-mangle from the vocabularies of all European nations. East-Indians bring home Indian words as well as Indian dishes; and poets who have never been in the east will, in an eastern story, call things by eastern names, by way of preserving the costume, though to the disfigurement of their verse, and the disparagement of our own all-sufficient language:

'a rose

‘ a rose,

By any other name would smell as sweet—’

but it does not *sound* as sweet by the name of *ghul*. The nightingale ‘doth charm the ear of night,’ as well in Persia as in England; but it certainly does not charm the ear of an English reader, when it is called *bulbul* in English poetry.

There is another reason why the talkee-talkee, which may more fitly be denominated a lingo than a language, should be very agreeable to those who have acquired it under cheerful circumstances. They find in it something like the pleasure with which a mother, as Donne so beautifully says,

‘ delights to hear

Her early child mis-speak half-uttered words.’

The moral and instinctive sentiment, of course, is wanting; but there is an intellectual pleasure of the same kind—the same exercise of the wits, in listening to a perpetual riddle of sounds—the same amusement in detecting familiar words under their new and grotesque disguise—the same sense of the ridiculous—and the same surprise at unexpected combinations and ludicrous analogies.

No one likes at first to exercise himself in speaking a foreign language, because he is conscious that he cannot but commit many errors; but in beginning to speak a lingo, you are something like a child, who imitates stuttering or broken English, as all children will do, in instinctive mimicry, if they are permitted. A couple of young Scotchmen, making a pedestrian tour on the continent, with but a small stock of French, and no German, found themselves at a loss in a part of Lorrain, where no one could understand them. One of them, at last, when they were at the end of their useless vocabulary, spoke broad Scotch in despair: what he meant to say was then comprehended; from that time they found no difficulty in making known their wants, and it became a sport for them to convert their mother tongue into a passable Teutonic *patois*, and thus speak German, as if by inspiration. Neither Lord Chatham nor Mr. Canning could ever have felt half so much pleasure in delivering the most effective of their speeches, as Sir Ralph Woodford, when he addressed the free negroes of Trinidad, in that harangue, of which Mr. Henry Coleridge has preserved a sketch, in his lively account of Six Months passed in the West Indies. But a *patois*, or mangle-mangle of this kind, is not so much relished by those who acquire it because of its expressiveness or fancied sentimentality, or for the euphony which it may really possess, as because it is comical and childish. The governor of Trinidad knew that his oration, while it was as authoritative as he desired to his black auditors, would be as farcical as he wished it to be to his English guests.

But



'But negro-English is not a proper name for the language of the Surinam New Testament. Sir Ralph's oration would have been unintelligible to the Demerara negroes. So would the ominous ditty which, a traveller tells us, the blacks sung in chorus while they rowed him from the ship to the shore, on his first arrival in the West Indies :—

' New-come buckra,  
He get sick ;  
He tak fever ;  
He be die !'

The language of the slaves in our sugar islands is as intelligible, when introduced in books, to English readers, as that of Mungo in the farce, and more so than the Scotch dialogues in Sir Walter Scott's novels. Any one might speak it, if he made himself acquainted with some half score words of foreign extraction which are most in use ; all that he has else to do is to liquefy his English, speak straightforward, in contempt of case, number, mood, and tense, and throw grammar to the dogs. The words of foreign derivation are but few, and those Portuguese or African : there seems to be no intermixture of Dutch ; indeed the whole vocabulary of such a class must needs be very scanty. Such as their language is, it is no impediment in the way of a better ; it has, therefore, never been thought necessary to provide the negroes with books for religious instruction in it ; the English Prayer Book and English Bible are intelligible to such of them as can read.

But the language of this New Testament is said, by the missionaries, to be the only one which the Surinam negroes speak or understand. It is evident that neither Dutch nor English men could speak, without having studied it ; nor understand it, either when spoken, or as a written tongue. There is enough Dutch in it to render this impossible for an Englishman—enough English to render it so for a Dutchman, and a large proportion of African words—probably of American also (for Indian slavery has existed in these colonies)—which would be difficult alike to both. It is equally evident, upon looking at any part of this Testament, that to the Surinam negroes a Dutch or English one would be heathen Greek. When the Bible Society, therefore, resolved to print it for their use, they were assured, in so doing, they would confer the greatest benefit upon both missionaries and converts. They have been severely censured for having done so ;—with what justice we shall proceed to examine.

Mr. Latrobe—who ought not to be named without an expression of respect, both for his father's sake and his own—said, when he presented the manuscript of this version to the Bible Society,

as revised at *Hernhutt*, that this compound of many tongues formed 'a strange, and, to an English ear, almost offensive mixture.' If we call to mind from what sort of Englishmen the negroes are likely to have derived the English part of their vocabulary, we shall not be at a loss to account for this. To a Russian or a Greek it would appear as decorous as any other language which he might have occasion to acquire; and it presents nothing to disturb a German's gravity. What African words it contains, would originally be used in their proper meaning; the Dutch ones have been no otherwise injured, than by adapting them to a negro's pronunciation; the debasement and misapplication seem confined to the English part of the vocabulary, and certainly there is enough of both to make such a version of the New Testament appear sometimes ludicrous to an English reader, and sometimes irreverent. The reader may see this in the following verses, which contain the relation of the miracle at the marriage feast.

1 Drie deh na bakka dem holi wan bruiloft na Cana na Galilea; en mamma va Jesus ben de dapeh.

2 Ma dem ben kali Jesus nanga hem discipel toe, va kom na da bruiloft.

3 En teh wieni kaba, mamma va Jesus takki na hem; dem no habi wieni morro.

4 Jesus takki na hem: mi mamma, hoeworko mi habi nanga joe? Tem va mi no ben kom jette.

5 Hem mamma takki na dem foetoeboi; oene doe sanni a takki gi oene.

6 Ma dem ben poetti dapeh, siksi biggi watra-djoggo, na da fasi va Djoe vo krieni dem: inniwan djoggo holi toe effi drie kaunetjes.

7 Jesus takki na dem [foetoeboi]: Oene foeloe dem watra-djoggo uanga watra. Ed dem foeloe dem teh na moeffe.

8 En dan a takki na dem: Oene poeloe pikins, tjarri go na grang-foetoeboi. En dem doe so.

9 Ma teh grangfoetoeboi tesi da watra, dissi ben tron wienj, kaba a no sabi, na hoepeh da wieni komotto, (ma dem foetoeboi dissi ben teki da watra ben sabi): a kali da bruidigom.

10 A takki na hem: Inniwan somma njoesoe va gi fossi da morro switti wieni, en teh dem dringi noeffe kaba, na bakka da mendre swittiwan; ma joe ben kiebri da morro boennewan.

11 Datti da fossi marki dissi Jesus ben doe; en datti ben passa na Cana na Galilea va dem somma si hem glori. En dem discipel va hem briebe na hem.

The thorough depravity of this lingo will be rendered apparent by presenting, as well as we can, a reversion of it into English, or rather into English words, preserving its idioms, or talkee-talkeeism:—

1 Three day after back, them hold one marriage in Cana in Galilee, and mamma of Jesus been there. But

2 But them been call Jesus with him disciple, for come to that marriage.

3 And when wine end, mamma of Jesus talk to him, them no have wine more.

4 Jesus talk to him, me mamma how work me have with you? Time of me no been come yet.

5 Him inamma talk to them footboy, ye do things he talk to ye.

6 But them been put there six big water-jug, after the fashion of Jew for clean them; every one jug hold two or three firkins.

7 Jesus talk to them (footboy): ye fill them water jug with water. And them fill them till to mouth.

8 And then he talk to them, ye pour little, carry go to grandfoot-boy. And them do so.

9 But when grandfootboy taste that water, this been turn wine, could he no know from where that wine come-out-of (but them footboy this been take that water well know): he call the bridegroom.

10 He talk to him, every one man use of give first the more sweet wine; and when them drink enough end, after back the less sweet wine: but you been cover that more good wine.

11 That the first miracle that Jesus been do, and that been pass in Cana in Galilee, for them men see him glory. And them disciple of him believe in him.

These verses have been selected, because, debased as the language is, it presents nothing in this example that is otherwise offensive; and it is sufficiently characteristic. A few specimens from that part of the vocabulary which is of English derivation, may amuse the English reader. Having once perceived upon what principle of mutation the mixed speech has been formed, he will easily see that *bikasi* is the talkee-talkee for *because*, *pekki* for *to speak*, *haksi* to *ask*: he may guess that *tarra* is *the other*, *tarra-wan*, *to'ther one*, *nebreutntem*, never one time; that *fadom* is to fall down, and *hoppo* to rise up, *hoppo* being also *resurrection*. *Immediately* is rendered in this tongue *joesnoe* (just now), generation of vipers is *snekkifamili*; and cock is a *manvool* (man-fowl),—as the Chinese call a boy a bull-child. *Jam* is to eat, *jamjam* food, and locusts, as being bush food, are called *boessijam-jam*. For maid servant we have *oeman foetoeboy*; for a virgin *wan njoe wendje*, and even this is not the worst specimen of base language that might be produced.

The publication of the New Testament in such a language has brought upon the Bible Society a greater outcry than any that has been raised against it since the schism which the Apocrypha occasioned. It is, indeed, easy to represent such a version as at once grotesque and irreverent, or even blasphemous; and to make a strain of relentless ridicule the vehicle for the heaviest charges of indelicacy and misconduct. The committee of that society might,



might, however, easily be excused for an error of judgment, if error it be, into which they were led by deferring to the opinion of those persons whose opinion upon the point is entitled to most deference. Long ago a Moravian missionary who was employed among the Demerara negroes made this version. It is the only language understood and spoken by fifty or sixty thousand of those negroes; and by printing this version for their use, Mr. Latrobe assured the Bible Society that they would 'confer both upon missionaries and converts an indescribable and lasting benefit.' While in manuscript it was in use among them, not only in private, but in their church service. Mr. Bolingbroke mentions the negro chapel in Paramaribo as one of the most remarkable places of worship in that town:—'Service,' he says, 'is performed there on Tuesday and Friday evenings, and three times on a Sunday. I went one evening; the place was elegantly lighted up; there is an organ, and the rites began by music. Two lines of a hymn were read distinctly by the priest, which the whole congregation repeated immediately after in full chorus, to a prepared tune; then two lines more, and so on, till the poem was finished. Next followed lessons from the Bible, another hymn, a prayer, a third hymn, and finally, a sermon, which terminated in some devotional ejaculation, during which all the people kneeled. The audience, which was very numerous and very orderly, was dismissed by the organ's sounding unaccompanied.'

The negro congregation of that chapel consists at this time of one thousand eight hundred members; about one hundred and fifty negro children learn to read at the Moravian school, and on Sundays a number of adults, who have no other time for receiving instruction. The arrival of this New Testament caused great joy both to these people and their Moravian teachers,—a class of missionaries, be it remembered, whose conduct has every where, and from the very commencement of their missions, been free from reproach. One of them says, 'we distribute copies gratuitously among poor and indigent negroes who are able to read; but if it is possible, we engage them to pay something, in order to render the boon more valuable to them: at the same time they are reminded of the kind interest manifested for the salvation of their souls by Christian friends in Europe, where poor and rich, high and low, unite for the purpose of making them acquainted with the word of life. Some give a florin, and others two florins, Dutch currency, for a copy.'

Here, then, is a large and increasing congregation, among whom this version was in use long before it was printed,—a large population speaking and understanding no other tongue than the talkee-talkee. To them there appears nothing ~~new~~ in the language,

language, nothing offensive or irreverent in the translation. The lingo is their mother tongue, and the book they receive is the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour. The gravest Englishman could not preserve his gravity at some things in this translation, and many would certainly be disgusted, or even shocked at it; but would this be a sufficient reason for withholding it from those persons for whom alone it is designed? *Honi soit qui mal y pense.* There is nothing reprehensible here to those who see nothing reprehensible. For such persons, exclusively, it has been printed; only a few copies have been reserved in Europe for biblical collections, and as a philological curiosity.

Mahommedanism has been received by negro nations with more confidence, because it is the religion of the Book,—a written, and, as they believe, an attested religion, of the truth of which the koran is the record and the proof. The negroes in slavery will receive the New Testament with the same respect. A Demerara negro came several years ago to the Moravian missionaries to tell them a story which he had heard from his parents, and to ask whether it was true. They had an old tradition, he said, that the great God of heaven, after he had created heaven and earth, made too large chests, and placed them on the coast, near the dwellings of the newly created human race. The black people, upon discovering these chests, ran immediately to examine them; they found the one locked, and the other open; and not thinking it possible to open that which was locked, they contented themselves with the other, which they found full of iron-ware and tools, such as hoes, axes, and spades; every one took as many as he could carry of them, and they went their way. A little while after the white people came to the same place, found the chest that was locked, and knowing how to open it, found it filled with books and papers, which they carried away. Upon this the Creator said, I perceive that the black people mean to till the ground, and the white people mean to learn to read and write. The negro, therefore, believes, says the missionary who relates this, that it thus pleased the Almighty to put mankind to the proof, and as the black did not show so much sense as the white people, he made them subject to the latter, and decreed that they should have a life of labour in this world.

If this tradition be, indeed, of negro origin, it would be no contemptible specimen of negro ingenuity; more probably it may be a fable cunningly devised by some European, for the purpose of inducing the blacks to consider slavery as the state of life for which they are destined, and therefore more contentedly to submit to it. They have, indeed, feelingly been made to understand that knowledge is power; and if the planters had sought to discover

discover in what manner they might most effectually be prevented from ever attaining it, a better means could not have been devised than the talkee-talkee tongue. Chance has, in this respect, done more for perpetuating the ignorance of the black and coloured people, and thereby perpetuating their degradation, than the most Machiavellian policy could have accomplished.

Mixed languages have grown up in some parts of Spanish America, and in others an Indian language has become the mother-tongue of the Spanish Americans: but the missionaries, upon whom the duty of civilizing both the negro and Indian population had entirely been thrown, in no instance, we believe, prepared any book of instructions in a mangle-mangle speech: the Indians they instructed in their own tongue; the blacks in that of their masters. The Portuguese, in like manner, have Angolan books for use in their African possessions; but when slaves from Angola arrive in Brazil, though they may receive their first instructions in their own language, they soon necessarily acquire that of their masters and overseers: the church service is not more unintelligible to them than to the Brazilians; and confession, which is that part of the superstition in which they are most concerned, is carried on in the current speech of the country; corrupt as the language of the slaves must needs be, it neither prevents them from understanding pure Portuguese, nor has it extended to other classes of society. In these countries none of the accidental causes have existed which combined to produce the talkce-talkee of Surinam. There were no Dutch and English residents; and neither the Spanish nor Portuguese words require stretching and liquefying to suit the negro pronunciation. Indeed, the Spaniards themselves treat English as unmercifully as the negroes have done, when they convert Cromwell into Caramuel, Oswald into Ossubaldo, and Ethelwald into Etelubolde; and gravely tell us that these are words *que no se abraçan bien con las orejas Españolas*.

One of our bishops has justly remarked, as 'the peculiar glory of true Christianity, that it does not only save but civilize its real professors.' If the Surinam planters had not utterly disregarded the moral and religious state of the unhappy race whom they bought like cattle, or bred as such, Dutch must have become the common language of these colonies, for the children would have been taught to read, and the Bible have been introduced; and thus the people would have been prepared for the wholesome literature of Holland. But in this duty the Protestant nations were grievously deficient, and the reason which our own countrymen in former times assigned for it is sufficiently curious. 'The English,' says P. Labat, 'never baptize their slaves, either



through negligence or some other motive; they give themselves no trouble for bringing them to a knowledge of the true God, but let them live in the religion in which they found them, whether it be Mahommedanism or idolatry. Their ministers, with whom I have frequently had occasion to converse upon this point, say, as an excuse, "that it would be unworthy of a Christian to keep in slavery his brother in Christ." Thus they explain themselves. But may we not say, that it is still more unworthy of a Christian not to procure for souls which have been redeemed by the blood of Christ, the knowledge of a God to whom they are indebted for everything? I leave this to the reader's judgment.' But these reasons have no influence when they take any of our negroes; 'they well know,' says the Dominican, 'that those negroes are Christians; they see them perform the exercises of their religion, and even the marks of it, as far as they can. They cannot doubt that these negroes are their brothers in Christ, and yet this does not prevent them from holding them in slavery, and treating them as those whom they do not consider brothers.' It is false reasoning to answer as they do, that they may very well keep them as slaves, seeing that the French, the Spaniards, and the Portuguese make use of them in the same capacity, after having baptized them: for if the French do ill in using them as slaves after having made them Christians, they do still worse than the French in retaining them as such, when they acknowledge them, as by baptism, their brothers in Christ. If, on the other hand, the French do well in baptizing them, why do not they imitate them? It must be admitted, therefore, that they have but a poor excuse for their little religion and the negligence of their ministers.

But the scruple on the part of the English planters originally was, not how to reconcile slavery with their religion, but with their laws; this appears by a story which Ligon relates in his lively and characteristic account of Barbadoes,—one of the most agreeable books of its kind. 'Speaking of the ingenuity which he had observed among the negro slaves in that island, he mentions one of a party who attended him into the woods to cut churchways; for, says he,—

'I was employed sometimes upon public works, and these men were excellent axe-men. And because there were many gullies in the way, which were impassable, and by that means I was compelled to make traverses up and down in the wood, and was by that in danger to miss of the point to which I was to make my passage to the church, and therefore was fain to take a compass with me, which was a circumferenter, to make my traverse the more exact (and, indeed, without which it could not be done,) setting up the circumferenter, and observing the needle,—This Negro Sambo comes to me, and

and seeing the needle wag, desired to know the reason of its stirring, and whether it were alive; I told him no; but it stood upon a point, and for a while it would stir, but by-and-by stand still; which he observed, and found it to be true.

'The next question was, why it stood one way, and would not remove, to any other point? I told him that it would stand no way but North and South, and upon that showed him the four cardinal points of the compass, which he presently learnt by heart, and promised me never to forget it. His last question was, why it would stand North? I gave this reason, because of the huge rocks of loadstone that were in the north part of the world, which had a quality to draw iron to it; and this needle being of iron, and touched with a loadstone, it would always stand that way.

'This point of philosophy was a little too hard for him, and so he stood in a strange muse, which to put him out of, I bade him reach his axe, and put it near to the compass, and remove it about; and as he did so, the needle turned with it, which put him in the greatest admiration that ever I saw a man, and so quite gave over his questions, and desired me that he might be made a Christian; for he thought to be made a Christian was to be endued with all those knowledges he wanted.

'I promised to do my best endeavours; and when I came home, spoke to the master of the plantation, and told him that poor Sambo desired much to be a Christian. But his answer was, that the people of that island were governed by the laws of England, and by those laws we could not make a Christian a slave. I told him my request was far different from that, for I desired him to make a slave a Christian. His answer was, that it was true there was a great difference in that; but, being once a Christian, he could no more account him a slave; and so loose the hold they had of them as slaves, by making them Christians; and by that means should open such a gap, as all the planters in the island would curse him. So I was struck mute, and poor Sambo kept out of the church, as honest and as good-natured a poor soul as ever wore black, or ate green.'

This characteristic story, which shows how easily men play tricks with their conscience, setting at nought the souls of others, and thereby deceiving and endangering their own, exemplifies, also, how naturally the negroes associate the thought of knowledge with power, and of Christianity with knowledge. The planters, also, have always understood the connexion: and, indeed, better, far better is ignorance than that knowledge which, leaving the conscience uninstructed, and the heart in wickedness, arms those upon whom it is bestowed with additional means of mischief. Religion, and religion alone, can be the effectual corrective of this evil: the more, therefore, is it to be regretted, when, as in the case of the Demerara blacks and creoles, religion is dissociated from knowledge; and thus it must be, if the talkee-

talkee should become permanently the language of the popular religion, as well as of common life. If the Moravian version of the Bible should produce this effect, it will, eventually, have occasioned more evil than good: for nothing can correct the radical depravity of this mixed speech. Time and culture have softened, and regulated, and refined the various languages which grew up during the wreck of the Roman empire, as in the various European kingdoms the conquerors and conquered gradually became one people; and they are now nothing inferior to the Latin in perspicuity, nor in sweetness, nor in strength. But in all these cases the materials were good,—precious metals were fused into composites, differing rather in the proportion of their materials than in value; whereas the talkee-talkee is inherently, ridiculously, offensively, and incurably base. In its appearance as a written tongue there is nothing unpleasing, and in its sound it may be as agreeable as it is described to be; but it has been adapted in its construction by ignorant persons, of the vulgarest and coarsest minds, to the lowest state of human intellect.

Let us hope, therefore, that this Moravian version may be used only where no other could be understood, and no longer than while it continues to be thus indispensable; and that the missionaries in Guiana will gradually make Dutch or English the language of the schools. This difficulty will not be greater than Oberlin overcame when he made French the language of the *Ban de la Roche*, instead of the barbarous patois which he found there.

ART. VIII.—*Annales Historiques des Sessions des Corps Législatifs*, Par — et Gautier (du Var), ex-membre du Conseil des Cinq Cents. A Paris. Vols. 10, 1830.

**I**T is impossible to reflect upon the events which have recently taken place at Paris without deep sorrow and serious apprehension; for the overthrow of an ancient dynasty, in itself an occurrence of no common magnitude, may lead to results still more to be deplored, nor can any feeling mind think of the blood which has been shed in the struggle without lamenting over the horrors of civil war. But by the historian and the statesman it is to be regarded also under other aspects; for to them it is matter of curious inquiry what were the causes, proximate or remote, which led to this convulsion. A calm review, therefore, of the political history of France since 1814 may be interesting, as the agents and the principles which have produced the late catastrophe have not arisen at the moment, but have subsisted throughout nearly the



the whole of that period. It may also throw some light upon events which, at first sight, would seem to be as extraordinary as they are important.

Of the transactions of last July, however, we will say nothing, as they are too recent and too much enveloped in mystery, which time alone can unravel, to form the subject of steady contemplation. This alone seems certain—that the injury inflicted upon France by the weakness and indecision of Louis XVIII., was too great to be repaired by the firmness and resolution of Charles X.; that, as the one found concessions unavailing, the other found force insufficient. The royalists have been defeated, and the triumph of the liberals is for a time complete.

Louis XVIII., in the first act of his authority, dated his reign from the death of his nephew, Louis XVII.—thus distinctly treating as invalid all that had been done in the interval since the virtual deposition of Louis XVI.; but although this was the natural and the just theory, it evidently could not, in all cases, be practically enforced. Too many years had elapsed—too many changes taken place—to allow Louis XVIII. to place himself in the situation occupied by Louis XVI. previous to 1790. To support, then, his well-founded pretensions, and yet to accommodate himself to the altered situation of the times, some device was necessary; and he granted (*octroya*) to the people, the present charter, which, among other clauses which we will not now consider, recognised as legal much that had been most illegally done in the revolution, confirmed the laws which had been passed, and rendered valid the contracts which had been entered into during that period; thus sanctioning those most unjustifiable measures—the universal suppression of feudal rights, and the confiscation of private as well as of church property. Of those feudal rights, some, indeed, were highly oppressive, and had been most deservedly abolished; but the sweeping measure which the National Assembly enforced was, in its operation, infinitely more unjust than the evils it professed to remove. For example, in many cases, property had been let at nearly a rack-rent, but with some trifle, such as a liard for five thousand livres, reserved as feudal right. In all such instances it was held that not only the claim to the liard was to be extinguished, which would have been in strict accordance with the decree of the Assembly, but that the tenant should have, as his freehold, the farm which, till then, he had held on lease, because his annual rent of five thousand livres was charged with this trifle of *droits seigneuriaux*. But, while they thus deprived the rich of their property, they carefully preserved to the lower classes those privileges which had been granted to them in return for the feudal services which they were bound to perform. Thus, in

in many places, the vassals were to devote so many days' labour in the year to the lord; for which they held land almost rent free, and had certain rights of pasturage in the lord's forests. The Assembly, in its views of equity, abolished the claim of the lord upon the services of his vassals, but granted the land, till then held at will, in fee to the tenant, and continued to him his rights of pasturage; thus doubly diminishing the value of the lord's estate; and then, to crown the whole, came the confiscation of the church lands, and, afterwards, of the property of the emigrants.

To these evils, the king, on his return, found he could apply no sufficient remedy; and, however anxious he was to be just, he was able to make but very partial reparation to the sufferers. He was only able to restore to the ancient possessors that portion of their estates, consisting principally of woods, which, after confiscation, not having been sold, remained the property of the nation, and thus became crown lands. This act was nearly spontaneous on his part, as the administration was hardly formed at the moment; nor, indeed, when formed, was it found at all competent to cope with the difficulties of its situation. Possessing neither unity of purpose, nor, as a body, firmness of design, no effectual means were taken either to allay or to repress the subsisting discontents. Not only did some dissatisfaction prevail on account of the dethronement of Buonaparte, but great jealousy existed between the old and the new nobility. The former, reduced, in many cases, nearly to penury, and, in all, much curtailed of their ancient wealth, saw, not without natural feelings of sorrow or indignation, their paternal estates in the possession of strangers—often of the very men who had murdered their fathers. Nor was it less galling to see others enjoying the smiles and favours of the crown, to which they thought they had an especial right, as the sole rewards for the confiscation of their property, and for years of exile and misery; while the persons, who were thus preferred, were the very individuals whose exertions had so long kept the Royal house itself in banishment. On the other hand, these—the new nobility, generally the offspring of low families, whose lives had been spent in the rough discipline of camps, and who had won their titles at the point of the sword, were agitated alike with scorn and alarm,—they viewed with contempt men who, pluming themselves upon heroic descent, had never distinguished themselves in the field; nor could they avoid being somewhat afraid lest their newly-acquired estates should be wrested from them, to be restored to those from whose houses they had been wrested by the brutality of revolutionary injustice. This state of affairs was embarrassing; and nothing was done to improve its complexion, either by conciliating the Buonapartists, or

or by giving effectual power to the royalists'. The talents of Talleyrand, and the treachery of Soult, were ineffectually opposed by the presumptuous confidence of the Duc de Blacas, and the weakness of the Abbé de Montesquieu—both, indeed, zealous in the cause, but utterly unfit for their offices. Of the negligence and misconduct of the latter, who was ministre de l'intérieur, no stronger proof can be given than that, in March, 1815, there were found on his table, when Buonaparte was almost at the gates of Paris, among a mass of unopened letters, several, dated many days before, which gave the most distinct warning of the intended invasion. Nor were these letters anonymous; they came from prefects, and other persons in authority in the south of France, and especially in the department du Var, whose means of information and whose intelligence were equally accurate. Amid this extraordinary inattention, and the general treason, the 20th of March arrived, and the military promenade from Cannes to Paris took place. These events, the retreat\* to Ghent, and the battle of Waterloo, we have on former occasions discussed at length; we will, therefore, passing them over, come to the return of the king in July, 1815.

Of the ministry then formed, it is impossible to speak but in terms of the strongest reprobation. How the regicide and double-dyed traitor, Fouché, should ever have been allowed to enter the service of his legitimate monarch, we cannot at this hour understand; and the feelings of the country soon convincing the king of his error, Fouché was dismissed from office on the 21st of September, and, to his great surprise,† found himself in the list of those proscribed by the *loi sur l'amnistie* of January, 1816. Previous to his dismissal, however, he had, with admirable consistency, on the one hand, countersigned an *ordonnance du Roi*, by which some of the most culpable were ordered to be tried for their lives, and others banished from France; and, on the other hand, himself given to those very individuals passports, under false names, to enable them

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\* The retreat to Ghent, like everything else at that moment, was perplexed by treachery and bad arrangements. Marmont, who commanded the army escorting the king, discovered that in his staff he had one traitor, but he could not fix upon the individual; he was, therefore, obliged to write his secret orders himself. His handwriting is literally illegible; and when the Duc de Mortemart, who commanded the rear guard, received despatches directing the line of march he was to follow, he spent the whole night in vain attempts, though assisted by his whole staff, to decipher the name of any one town through which he was to pass. The consequence was, that the operations of the two corps were not properly combined, and the Duc de Mortemart and his rear guard were taken prisoners at Bethune.

† Carnot, included in the list banished by the *ordonnance du Roi*, whose political guilt was certainly not greater than Fouché's, and who was a much more honest man, applied to the latter, as ministre de police, to know where he was to go, in the following terms:—'Où veux tu que j'aille, traître?' The answer was as laconic—'Où tu voudras, imbécille.'



to 'escape from the just vengeance of the laws. Two days after, the rest of the ministry resigned, and were succeeded by the Duc de Richelieu, president du conseil, the Duc de Feltre, the Comtes de Vaublanc, Decazes, &c.—all thought, even including the last, to be firm royalists. Meantime the elections were concluded; for the king had, immediately on his return, dissolved the chambers, regulating the number of members and the qualifications of the electors by ordonnance.' Early in October the chambers met. Among the deputies there was but one feeling, the royalists having been universally successful in the contests. Indeed, so decided was their majority, that this chamber received, as it well deserved, the name of '*La Chambre Introuvable*.' The peers were animated with similar sentiments, the king having, by an ordonnance, excluded from their chamber twenty-nine who had sat in Buonaparte's chamber during the *cent jours*. The vast majority of the remaining two hundred and fourteen were ancient royalists, anxious to support and preserve legitimate monarchy, but not desirous of abusing the power they possessed. During this session, the *Cours Prévôtales* were temporarily established, various laws passed to repress internal sedition, and a bill to regulate the elections, agreed to by the deputies, was rejected by the peers. These were almost the only measures of importance discussed; and yet we have heard this *chambre introuvable* violently arraigned for their conduct—many venturing to accuse them of a fixed design to restore absolute monarchy. It is true that among them were some wrong-headed individuals, who entertained very idle projects;\* but the vast majority were too sensible how impossible it was to return to the former state of affairs, to contemplate, for a moment, so absurd a plan. On the contrary, the conduct of the royalists in 1815-16 was singularly moderate. Being completely in possession of power, supported by an army of foreign troops, and having just reason to execrate and punish the treachery which had, in the spring, again driven them from their country, their return was marked by far fewer punishments than any preceding great revolution. No more than six individuals were executed, and those the most conspicuous of the traitors; only thirty-eight were banished by the king, and a few more ancient regicides, who had accepted the *acte additionelle*, by the law of January, 1816. The rest were left at perfect liberty; and Louis XVIII., and even the Duchesse d'Angoulême, submitted to receive at court the murderers of a brother and a father. With reference to property, their conduct was not less forbearing; although the royalists found their estates in the hands of persons, who had, for the most part, obtained possession of them for sums greatly below

\* The charter by some was called '*La chatte merveilleuse*.'

their real value, no attempt whatever was made to regain them, even under some equitable arrangement. That these estates would be, at some time or another, either wholly or partially restored, was an idea universally entertained in France during the preceding thirty years; and the purchasers of '*biens nationaux*,' therefore, up to the moment of Buonaparte's overthrow, always gave from one-fifth to one-third less for such estates than they would have given, had they been '*biens patrimoniaux*.' On the first return of Louis, some few private agreements were made, under which the old proprietors re-entered into possession, upon repayment of the sums actually disbursed; and most holders of *biens nationaux* would then have been too happy to assent to similar terms. But the language of the king, and the conduct of the chambers, soon encouraged them to higher pretensions. The value of this species of property rapidly increased; and the loyalty of the emigrants was finally rewarded by the nearly total loss of their estates. We affirm, therefore, that our eulogy on their moderation is fully borne out by the facts; for never, on any former occasion of a similar nature—not even at the restoration of Charles II.—did a defeated party regain complete possession of power, which, in accordance with the strictest justice, would have enabled them to indemnify themselves for past sufferings, without, at all events, punishing a considerable number of their opponents, and retaliating, by extensive confiscations, upon those who had plundered them before.

Although, however, the ministry and the chambers agreed perfectly in withholding compensation for pecuniary losses, they differed occasionally on other questions, and a few ultra-royalist deputies used language certainly too violent, both during the session, and, subsequently, in their respective departments. The Duc de Richelieu, therefore, guided, as was generally supposed, by the advice of M. Decazes, whose anti-royalist views then first displayed themselves, took the injudicious step of dissolving the *Chambre introuvable*. He could not, it is true, in every instance control it, but its intentions were excellent, its general views pure and moderate. With a little address, he might almost always have directed it as he wished, but by dissolving it he impaired his influence with the royalists, and lost the golden opportunity, which never again presented itself to him, of repealing certain democratic laws passed in the revolution, of amending some defects in the charter, and of establishing in France a powerful and honourable aristocracy, without which no monarchy can hope firmly or permanently to exist.

The elections which took place, in October, under a new ordinance containing very different provisions from the last, were decidedly

cidedly favourable to the ministry. Almost the first use they made of their majority was, to propose a law on the elections, of a much less royalist tendency, than the preceding plans. In the Deputies, it was carried by 132 to 100; in the Peers, by 95 to 77; and received the royal assent on the 5th February, 1817. By virtue of this law, in the summer one-fifth of the deputies went out, and were replaced by men for the most part friendly to the administration. In the following session, the ministers rejected a proposition made by M. Laine de la Ville l'Eveque, which tended to pay some portion of the claims made by the emigrants upon the public debt, because this would have given more strength to the royalists; but carried a law directed against periodical publications. Another measure, also, was adopted, respecting the recruiting of the army,—than which none could have been more contrary to good order, or more fatally favourable to democratic principles; it was proposed by Gouvion St. Cyr, then *ministre de la guerre*—a man notorious for his anti-monarchical views. It is not for those clauses which re-established a species of conscription that we condemn it so warmly, though even on that ground it must be considered objectionable, but for the regulations contained in it respecting the promotion of officers, and the restrictions it imposed on the due prerogative of the crown. It enacted, that, with the exception of the cadets from the military academy, every one promoted to the rank of a commissioned officer must have been a non-commissioned officer for two years, and he, in his turn, must also have served as long in the ranks. It was further provided, in order to prevent cadets from obtaining a large majority of the vacant commissions, that one-third of the second-lieutenancies in the line, must be given to the non-commissioned officers; that two-thirds of the vacancies in the superior ranks, up to lieutenant-colonels inclusive, must be filled up by seniority; and no officer should be promoted, who had not served four years in his existing rank. The evil tendency of these regulations must be obvious at first sight. It filled the corps of officers with persons, already of a certain age, and utterly unfit, from their education and habits, to hold that distinction. The consequence was, that it banished from among them young men of family, who naturally disliked associating on equal terms with persons not in any respect suited to be their companions. In our service, indeed, it sometimes happens that a soldier, by gallantry and distinguished conduct, raises himself from the ranks, and we hardly ever, if ever, knew an instance in which such individuals were not cordially received by their brother officers. But, with us, these instances are the exception—in France, the general rule. Besides, the regard paid



paid to seniority in so great a majority of cases, together with the useless and absurd length of time an officer was compelled to serve in each rank, could not but have the effect of driving from the service most men of rank and fortune, and of replacing them, in a great measure, especially in the lower ranks, by men who, from birth and habits, were, if not democrats, at least very anti-aristocratical in their feelings. In fact, had it not been that the Royal Guard\* and the Household Troops were not subject to all the provisions of this most unconstitutional and dangerous law, by which an opportunity was afforded of inducing some fit men to enter the regiments of the line, by promise of promotion in these more favourite corps, it would have been difficult to obtain any officers of sound political principles, and on whom the crown could really have depended. That these consequences were contemplated by Gouvion St. Cyr we firmly believe—nay, more, that had he thought he could have carried a more undisguised attack upon aristocratical and royalist principles, he would have attempted it. It was warmly opposed in both Chambers; in the Deputies, MM. de Villele, de Corbières, de Labourdonnaye, and de Bonald, distinguished themselves much, but were defeated by 147, to 92; in the Peers, an amendment, proposed by the Duc de Bellune, was rejected by two votes only, and the bill carried by 96 to 74. The fears of its opponents have already been abundantly verified.

In full accordance with the apprehensions of the royalists, the elections, in the summer of 1818, were very liberal; that party obtained a larger proportion of the returns than on any former occasion: and when the Chambers met, in December, the tone and temper of the deputies were evidently in favour of all its views. In less than ten days after, the Duc de Richelieu, finding that his colleagues were inclined to carry those sentiments farther than even he thought justifiable, and that they, and not he, would be supported by a majority in the Deputies, resigned his office. The Marquis Dessoles, president—Decazes, *ministre de l'intérieur*—Gouvion St. Cyr, *ministre de la guerre*—and Louis, *ministre des finances*—were pretty strong *guarantees* of the course the new ministry would pursue. Alarmed at this state of affairs, a large majority of the peers declared themselves in opposition;

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\* The Royal Guard was composed of eighteen French and six Swiss battalions, eight regiments of cavalry, and a corps of artillery—foot and horse. The Household Troops, of four *compagnies des gardes du corps*,—twelve hundred in all,—all officers; and one *compagnie des gardes du corps à pied*,—three hundred and fifty men,—where the privates were serjeants, the non-commissioned officers lieutenants, and their captain a lieutenant-general. In the late melancholy events, we believe the whole of these troops who were engaged behaved with undaunted fidelity. The conduct of some of the regiments of the line was, it is needless to say, widely different.

and justly attributing much of the evil to the improvident law of elections, of February 5, 1817, they warmly supported an address to the Crown, moved by the celebrated Barthelemy,\* praying the king to propose some modification of that law. Violently opposed by the ministry and the liberals, he was, nevertheless, successful; and, after several divisions, finally prevailed, by a majority of 98 to 55. The proposition was transmitted to the Deputies, without whose assent it could not be presented to the king. The same parties opposed and supported it, but with a very different result—it was rejected by 150 to 94. The fate of this question convinced the ministers that they could not command a majority in the peers. Decazes, therefore,—for to him the measure was attributed,—persuaded the king to take a strong step; strictly legal, indeed, but not for that the less unconstitutional—to create sixty-seven peers at once. The selection, too, of the individuals for that honour greatly augmented the objections to the measure. For out of twenty-nine who had been excluded by the ordinance of the 24th July, 1815, no less than twenty-four (all, we believe, who survived) were in the number of the sixty-seven. Of the remaining forty-three, hardly any were of the old nobility; with very few exceptions, they were chosen from those who had been most distinguished as violent liberals, or for attachment to the republican or imperial governments.

Soon after the close of the session, the annual elections of one-fifth took place, and again added most materially to the strength of the liberals, who carried more than two-thirds of the new members. The ministry now found themselves in a most critical situation. Not possessing sufficient force in their own ranks to carry on the government, they felt that they must ally themselves with the *côté gauche* or the *côté droit*. If with the former, they must have submitted implicitly to their dictation, and then, according to the well-known feelings and the almost publicly-avowed sentiments of that party, a short time would have seen the overthrow of the existing constitution, and probably the deposition of the reigning family. If, on the other hand, they joined the *côté droit*, they must have begun by admitting that they had been wrong in rejecting the proposition made by Barthelemy, since their difficulties arose from the operation of that law of elections which they had then defended. Pasquier, who had then supported the government, now felt his error, and manfully admitting it, communicated his change of opinion to the king, encouraged,

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\* Barthelemy, when one of the directors, had been uniformly and honourably distinguished for his moderation. He was more than suspected of wishing to restore the king, and his conduct, subsequent to his return from Cayenne, was always in the highest degree loyal and estimable.

as it has been supposed, by MM. de Villèle, de Corbières, and Lainé. The king admitted the justice of his views, and determined to dismiss all his ministers except those who were ready to retrace their steps. Among the latter was Decazes; whether convinced that he had erred, or preferring place to principle, we cannot pretend to say, but he not only remained in office, but was made premier. Dessoles, Gouvion St. Cyr, and Louis were replaced by Basquier, Latour Maubourg, and Roy. These dismissals, though sufficient to offend the liberals, were not enough to content the royalists, who justly viewed with dislike the promotion of Decazes. For he was not only well known to have advised the dissolution of *la Chambre introuvable*, and the creation of the sixty-seven peers, but his conduct, after he had united the offices of interior and police, was more than suspected of being influenced, if not guided, by two eminent members of the *côté gauche*. Hence the lukewarmness with which this ministry was supported by the *côté droit*, and the unpleasant situation in which they were placed with reference to the Chambers. Whether in the course of time those difficulties might have been removed, it is impossible to say, for the administration of Decazes was too short to allow a fair experiment. He was premier only from the end of November, 1819, to the end of February, 1820. On the 13th of that month, the Duc de Berri fell by the hand of Louvel. This murder roused general indignation against the liberals; some of whom were, we believe unjustly, supposed to have been actually accomplices, while scarcely any one could venture to deny that their private and public language had been such as naturally tended to arouse the fanatic and treasonable feelings of the wretched assassin. This event, lamentable in every other respect, was to a certain extent fortunate; it materially strengthened the royalists, and weakened the influence of their opponents;—in truth, we believe that unless it had occurred, the royalists could not have recovered their power, and that their complete defeat would have preceded, by a short space of time only, the overthrow of the Bourbon dynasty. The formal impeachment tendered by M. Clausel de Coussergues against M. Decazes, while it shewed the feelings of many, gave the latter an excuse for retiring from office; and he was replaced by the Duc de Richelieu, who, though not belonging to the extreme right, was more acceptable to that party than his immediate predecessor.

The task of the new ministry was by no means easy. On the one hand viewed with suspicion by the liberals, on the other not very cordially supported by the royalists, they further found themselves embarrassed with three laws, presented by their predecessors, but not discussed: the first was, '*Sur la liberté individuelle*,' which



which was equivalent to a suspension of our Habeas Corpus. Nearly all the proposed amendments having been rejected, the law was adopted in the Deputies by 134 to 115, and in the Peers by 121 to 86. The second law, '*Sur les Journaux*,' established a temporary censorship, and was passed in the Peers by 106 to 104, and in the Deputies by 136 to 109. The third law, by far the most important, on the elections, was withdrawn by the new ministers, and another substituted in its place. Almost tumultuous discussion arose on this *projet de loi*, which continued for several days, and during which forty-six members delivered long speeches. The first division gave a majority of one to the liberals; but when an amendment of Camille Jourdan's was put to the vote, which tended to render the Chamber more democratic, and, therefore, more liberal than it then was, it was rejected by 101—133 against 123. Three days after, the main question was decided; namely, that in each department there should be two descriptions of electoral colleges, the one of which, composed of the wealthier and more aristocratical portion of the voters, should, in some manner afterwards to be determined, influence the choice of the members; the ayes were 130—noes, 125. Supported by so small a majority, the ministers thought it advisable slightly to modify their former views, and they therefore consented to an amendment, originally suggested by M. de Courvoisier, the late *Garde des Sceaux*, and moved by M. Boin. At first, it was proposed that the great *départemental* college, composed of one fifth of the whole number of electors, being those who paid the largest amount of direct taxes, should select the deputies out of the lists of candidates presented to them by the *collèges d'arrondissement*. These latter, comprising all the electors not forming part of the great college, were each to name as many candidates as the departments had deputies to return. It was evident that, were this plan adopted, the royalists, who would form the vast majority of the electors of the great colleges, had only to secure a bare majority in one of the smaller colleges, and they then could return for the department deputies entirely of their party. They could hardly be defeated, as by a little management one *arrondissement* could always have been so limited in a department as to include within its bounds a certain majority of royalists. The amendment of M. Boin took away this double choice, but allowed the electors of the great colleges to name directly one hundred and seventy-two deputies; and gave them, also, concurrent votes with the other electors in the small colleges, at the election of the other two hundred and fifty-eight, who made up the actual number of the Chamber. The amendment was adopted by 185 to 66, and the law passed by a majority of 154 to 95, and in the Peers by 141 to 56. It

It was evident that, whether the original proposition of the ministers, or the amendment were carried, the power of the liberals would be greatly diminished. Accordingly, they endeavoured, by every means in their hands, to resist the law; and finding that the two parties were very equally balanced in the Chambers, they did not hesitate to have recourse to intimidation. The old scenes of the early part of the French revolution were, therefore, acted over again. The public tribunes of the Chamber of Deputies were filled with men carefully selected for their known revolutionary principles, and regicides and avowed republicans professedly at their head. The notorious Garat, and Boulay de la Meurthe, were always to be found among them; and the avenues to the Chamber were beset with a kindred mob. When, on the 3d of June, the small but decisive majority of five overthrew the hopes of the liberals, this mob proceeded from words to actions, and frequent and violent riots ensued. That these were actually organized and directed by Foy, B. Constant, Mechin, Chauvelin, Corcelles, C. Jourdan, Lafitte, Manuel\*, and others, the chiefs of that party, we will not positively affirm, for we are not able to bring forward *legal* proofs of such a statement. But when we know that several of those individuals mingled themselves with the most audacious of the rioters—that they, without being able to assign for it any satisfactory reason, were always found in those streets, however distant from their own homes, in which the disturbances were the greatest; and, though received with acclamations by those violators of the public peace, never in any one instance endeavoured, even by advice, to repress their outrages, we cannot avoid suspecting that they were cognizant of the intentions of the mob, and approved of their acts. In more than one instance, indeed, they actually avowed such views. M. Lafitte, on one occasion, on the very steps of the Chamber of Deputies, publicly applauded their conduct; and in the Chamber, not only did he and his brother liberals defend the rioters, and justify their proceedings, but M. Manuel dared to call the troops assassins, while, in fact, they had discharged their duty with the most extraordinary forbearance and moderation. The mobs, besides, were composed of persons who were clearly paid for their day's work, and led on by individuals evidently in higher situations in life; just as, on the occasion of the fête given in the course of last spring by the Duc d'Orleans, the editors of the *Pandore* and *Corsair* were the avowed ringleaders of the rioters. Are we unjust, then, when we express our firm conviction that the

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\* The unfair operation of the law of elections was clearly proved in the case of this member. This violent democrat and anti-Bourbonist was deputy for La Vendée.  
liberals

liberals excited these disturbances, in order to maintain their political influence?

The ensuing elections, including those of the great colleges, were, as might have been anticipated, highly favourable to the royalists, and particularly to the extreme right. The Duc de Richelieu, conscious of the growing strength of that party, was anxious to form a closer alliance with them; and he therefore proposed to M<sup>M</sup>. de Villèle, de Corbières, and Lainé, to accept office under him. They acceded, and the result was, triumphant majorities for the government. On one occasion, the extreme right carried an amendment in opposition to them; on all others, they apparently acted together with great cordiality, till near the close of the session. Yet, to those who looked accurately at the state of affairs, and had an opportunity of being acquainted with what was concealed generally from the public, it was evident that M. de Villèle and his friends were not on satisfactory terms with the rest of the government. At the end of July, 1821, his departure to the country, and the subsequent resignation of himself, M. de Corbières, and M. de Chateaubriand, left no doubt on the subject.

The annual elections of one-fifth, in October, increased the number of the extreme right; and, on the meeting of the Chambers, in November, a temporary coalition between them and the left, for the purpose of overthrowing the ministry, left the latter in a minority, on the Address, of 88 against 166. After two or three violent debates, the fate of the ministry was sealed; and the left had the great satisfaction of finding that their union with the extreme right had the effect of placing the power in the hands of that party, instead of in those of the Duc de Richelieu and his more moderate friends. The announcement of M. de Villèle as premier, and of M<sup>M</sup>. de Corbières, de Peyronnet, le Maréchal de Bellune, de Montmorency\*, and de Clermont Tonnerre, as his colleagues, proved to the royalists the ascendancy of their cause; at the same time, there were among these no names which could reasonably be offensive to the right centre.

During the long and often stormy session which closed on the 1st May, 1822, events of considerable importance occurred in France. Various conspiracies broke out in different parts of the country. In December, 1821, an attempt was made to seize Saumur; in January, 1822, a similar attack, equally unsuccessful, took place at Belfort; others at Toulon, Rochefort, Brest, and Nantes; but in February, the most important occurred again at Saumur, where Général Berton, at the head of an armed body,

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\* M. de Montmorency had in early life been deeply implicated in the French revolution.



for a few hours actually defied the authorities. His force was, however, soon dispersed, and, his retreat being at length discovered, he was taken and executed. In all these insurrectionary movements, the apparent authors and prominent agents were, almost without exception, officers of inferior rank—mostly on half-pay—and students of law and medicine: and though the existence of an organized society, bound, like the Carbonari, by secret oaths, was satisfactorily proved, it did not appear that it embraced any very large number of persons, or almost any individuals of importance. These latter facts came out on the trial of the conspirators of La Rochelle—the last event of this nature which occurred, with the exception of a slight and abortive attempt, in July, near Colmar.

The accused, in all these cases, were tried by the regular tribunals: convictions followed in almost every instance, but comparatively few executions took place. In the course of these proceedings, however, some of the prisoners named B. Constant, Lafitte, Foy, and Lafayette as having been accessory to the designs of Berton; and as this charge was insisted on by one king's evidence, who had given most important information, the procureur-général, M. Mangin (préfet de police at Paris under M. de Polignac), embodied it, as he had a perfect right to do, in the *acte d'accusation*, to the great annoyance of the parties implicated. We do not mean to affirm that the great body of the liberals who adopted the sentiments, would have supported the criminal enterprises, or even were cognizant of the plans, of these wretched traitors; but it is not a little remarkable that many of the conspiracies broke out immediately after the apparently unnecessary visits of certain liberal deputies to those very parts of France, (to which, moreover, these gentlemen were perfect strangers;) and that the mysterious predictions, which they fulminated from the tribune, were often realised by some new explosion. Most undeniably, the avowed chiefs of the conspirators were frequently the personal or political friends of the leaders of that party, and uniformly asserted or intimated that, from the *côté gauche*, they were certain of support!

The debates during the ensuing session were little interesting or important. The strength of the royalists was manifested on an occasion when the liberals were desirous of bringing before the chamber M. Mangin, as having been guilty of a breach of privilege, by introducing the names of deputies in the *acte d'accusation*, at Poitiers. He was defended on the ground that he had only discharged his duty; and on a division, the numbers were, for him, 226—against him, 127. In November, the elections took place. Eighty-four members vacated their seats, among whom

the liberals reckoned four belonging to the great colleges, and thirty-nine of the small; the royalists, twenty-nine of the first, and twelve of the latter. The result of the re-elections was, seven liberals, forty-seven right centre, and thirty extreme right; being the most complete defeat the liberals had till then ever received.

The close of the year teemed with military movements, and the *cordon sanitaire* having been turned into an army of observation, the intentions of the French government became very apparent. Supported as they were, on the question of war with Spain, by immense majorities in both houses, which met on the 28th January, an army, under the Duc d'Angoulême, invaded that country. Our readers are well aware of the result. The contest served only to display the extraordinary folly, imbecility, and cowardice of the whole of the Spanish liberals, with the exception of a few in Catalonia. With respect to the conduct of France, two points for discussion arise—the policy and the justice of her proceedings. As to the first, we never entertained a doubt—the movement served to discourage her own liberals, and to improve the sentiments of the army towards the Bourbons. Those who visited France at that time, or soon after, can well remember how much the army seemed gratified with the war, and of what vast importance it was universally felt to be, that a Bourbon prince should once more have led Frenchmen to victory, easy as that victory was. The justice of the measure depends entirely upon how far the conduct of Spain endangered the tranquillity of France, and how far the former had encouraged sedition in the latter, or interfered with her internal arrangements. It would, perhaps, be difficult strictly to prove either of these two points, but our decided conviction is, that the existence of a revolutionary government in Spain, like that of the *Cortes*, was pregnant with danger to France, and that the whole proceedings of that party showed an anxious desire to revive in France republican feelings, and to overthrow the reigning dynasty. Nor can we have a stronger proof than the encouragement given to those traitors who had escaped from justice in the preceding year, and who were allowed to organize a corps, in Spanish pay, under the tricolor flag, which they ostentatiously paraded on the banks of the Bidassoa, in view of the French army.

The intemperance usually displayed in the Chambers was more than equalled in the following session. Manuel, violent as he commonly was, had hitherto kept sufficiently within bounds to avoid any decided punishment. But on one occasion, he applied terms to the murder of Louis XVI., which were undeniably treasonable, and his expulsion was the consequence. Soon after,  
M. de

M. de Villèle, availing himself of the popularity acquired by the Spanish war, appealed to the people at a general election. The dissolution took place in the end of December, just previous to which, he took another important step, of much more dubious policy,—the creation of twenty-seven peers at one time. It is true, the example had been set by M. Decazes, whose nominations had been productive of great embarrassment to his successors; but it is more than doubtful, whether M. de Villèle did not ultimately lose much more than he gained by following that precedent. The twenty-seven peers he named were, indeed, mostly unobjectionable, but the Upper Chamber was sure to become at length unmanageable, under the repetitions of similar conduct.

The early months of 1824 were occupied with the general election, and the popularity of the government and power of the royalists were aided by means, which, in England, no one would dare to call constitutional: for not only was the influence of ministers very openly exerted, but it was asserted, and in some cases with truth we believe, that persons entitled to vote were kept off the lists by the prefects, if their intentions were known to be unfavourable to the Cabinet—and *vice versa*. The result, however, was, the utter discomfiture of the liberals. Their numbers were so much reduced, that they obtained the *sobriquet* of *La faction des Seize*, in allusion to the sixteen chiefs of the demagogues who governed the different districts of Paris in the time of the Fronde. Indeed, they deserved that appellation, for they could hardly muster more in numbers, and they professed very similar principles. It may easily be imagined, that in such a Chamber, M. de Villèle could meet with little real opposition, and we consider it as one of the greatest errors in his administration, that, instead of forthwith availing himself of his power to carry those laws which he knew to be essential to the prosperity of France, he preferred postponing them to another year. One measure of importance, however, was introduced and carried—the extension of the life of the Chamber to seven years, and its renewal in totality, instead of by fifths. The reduction of the interest on the public debt was soon after proposed. In the Deputies, it was opposed by most of the liberals, and many of the ultra-royalists, but it was carried by a considerable majority. In the Peers, an amendment of Comte Roy having been rejected by 114 to 112, the next day ministers in their turn were defeated, and the law thrown out by 120 to 105. M. de Chateaubriand, who had in this instance violently opposed his colleagues, was immediately dismissed from office; and the day the chambers were prorogued a new organization of the ministry was declared, it still preserving its strong royalist character.



On the 14th September, Louis XVIII. died, after a life of great vicissitudes, and a reign nominally of considerable length, but in fact only of ten years. In youth, he was much inclined to support the first promoters of the French revolution; and at the meeting of the States General, the bureau presided over by him, then Monsieur, was the only one in which those principles were allowed to prevail. A short time proved to him how incompatible were royalty and revolutionary doctrines; and he, as well as his more consistent brother, the Comte d'Artois, since Charles X., was obliged to fly for his life. His great deficiency was want of firmness and political courage; he was easily alarmed by what was apparently the popular cry; and anxious to adopt, not what was ultimately most advisable for the interests of France, but what might most tend to please at the moment. Neither could he endure a firm and decided ministry; and we may observe, that in consonance with such sentiments, a change of ministry always occurred as soon as his servants boldly pursued the course they had chalked out for themselves. In consequence of acting upon this '*jeu de bascule*,' the *Chambre introuvable* was dissolved, and the Duc de Richelieu replaced by the Marquis Dessoles. He, in his turn, was dismissed, to make room for M. Decazes, succeeded by the Duc de Richelieu again. Then MM. de Villèle and de Corbières were introduced into the ministry, removed, and replaced. If we examine accurately into the events preceding each of these changes, we shall find, in almost every instance, that the ejected ministry were beginning to manifest their desire to pursue some decided plan, either royalist or liberal. The king, determined to give a *triumph to neither party*, thought he could please all by preventing such conduct. The consequence of such a course was, that confidence was shaken, liberalism encouraged, and the seeds sown of the events which have since occurred.

The accession of Charles X. was calculated to strengthen the royalist party. He had always shown himself, from the commencement of the French revolution, firm and decided in his political principles and conduct, and his friends, therefore, could rely on his support. The opening, also, of the Chambers, in December 1824, seemed to authorise the expectations that a royalist ministry and a resolute king would be supported by decisive majorities; and one of the first propositions submitted to the chambers, was a measure, in some slight degree indemnifying the emigrants for the loss of their property. Thirty millions of rentes in the 3 per cents. were assigned for this purpose, representing at 75, then about the price of that stock, a capital of nearly 30,000,000*l.*—a sum much below what were the real claims of that class—yet the liberals objected to the plan, as being anti-revolutionary. A commission was appointed to

to receive and decide on each claim, of which the Duc de Tarente (Macdonald) was president—a distinction which that honourable soldier well deserved, for he had, several years before, urged a similar proposition. The law for the reduction of the interest on the national debt passed the peers this year, though not without difficulty and violent discussions, in which Pasquier and Chateaubriand distinguished themselves.

The ensuing year, M. de Villèle brought forward a plan, which he had most unwisely postponed till then, respecting the division of property by will, the law on which subject he was desirous to place on a better footing. His proposition went only to give to the eldest son, when the father died intestate, that portion, of which, by the existing law, the parent might dispose; and to enable a legatee to entail the property upon the child of his child. The latter clause was adopted; the first, though agreed to by the deputies, was rejected by a majority of one hundred and twenty to ninety-four in the peers. This failure may, in great measure, be attributed to the dissension between Villèle and the ultra-royalists, which we will discuss when we come to the moment of his fall. The recognition of Haiti, upon payment of an indemnity, and violent discussions respecting the Jesuits, occupied the attention of France in the latter part of the year. The Abbé de la Mennais, on the one side, and the Comte de Montlosier, on the other, were equally absurd and intemperate. The courts of law were invoked, but their decisions were not conclusive as to the question at issue.

The session of 1827 opened under unpleasant auspices. Though secure of a majority in the deputies, the ministers could not be confident of similar success in the peers. The result of the debates proved these fears to be well founded; for a law, *sur la police de la presse*, which would have imposed very effective restrictions not only on the licentiousness, but, perhaps, upon the fair liberty, of the press, after having been carried in the deputies by two hundred and thirty-three to one hundred and thirty-four, was so ill received in the peers, that the ministers felt themselves obliged to withdraw it, in order to avoid a total defeat. The measure had been very unpopular in Paris, and its fate was hailed with violent acclamations. Compulsory illuminations followed, and riots, which were not repressed without bloodshed. The National Guard, who, as citizens, had taken part in these disturbances, availed themselves of their being assembled for a review, to testify their feelings, not only by cries, indiscreet and even seditious, but by resisting the capture of a soldier, ordered into arrest by the Duc de Reggio, who commanded. Not satisfied with this ebullition, as the regiments marched back from the Champ de Mars, several

several halted under the windows of the ministers, whom they assailed with most violent language. M. de Villèle saw the danger of permitting troops to act as deliberative bodies; and the following morning an ordonnance appeared, by which the whole National Guard of Paris, forty thousand strong, were disbanded; a measure at once salutary as an example and useful in itself; for, on more than one previous occasion, the National Guard had ventured to reason on orders they had received as soldiers, and declined to execute the military commands of their superior officers.

M. de Villèle does not seem to have perceived that, however advisable this step may have been, it tended much to increase his unpopularity. In spite of that, however, he took the bold and decisive measure of dissolving the Chambers. Various reasons induced him to come to this determination. By the new law of elections, the existing chamber, elected but for five years, had prolonged its own existence to seven; and many deputies had intimated their determination not to sit for a longer period than that for which their constituents had imagined they had chosen them. This would have occasioned numerous vacancies; and it was possible that, in the course of two years, the frequent occurrence of elections, in consequence of this determination, might, in addition to the other causes to which we have alluded, render the ministers still more unpopular than they actually were. Besides, it was necessary to augment the number of peers, in order that the royalists might recover the majority which they had lost, through the promotion of 1819, by M. Decazes. In the new creation, seventy-six were ultimately included; many of the leading deputies were necessarily selected, and thus other vacancies would have been occasioned. M. de Villèle trusted, also, that, by taking his opponents by surprise, while his own plans were all formed, he could prevent the possibility of defeat. Accordingly, on the 6th November, the Chambers were dissolved, and the censorship expired the same day. The colleges d'arrondissement were to meet on the 17th, and de département on the 24th; thus allowing but eleven days to organize any opposition. He was, however, utterly mistaken in his expectations. An union was formed between the liberals and a large body of royalists, both ultra and moderate, and the candidates, selected by the combined parties, were everywhere supported with their whole strength: all the arrangements were made in Paris, and implicit obedience was paid to the mandates of the comité-directeur which sat there. The result was the general defeat of the ministerial candidates; out of two hundred and eighty-two eligible presidents of colleges, who are always considered



dered as the government candidates, but one hundred and nineteen were elected; and the liberals, who numbered about eighteen or twenty in the last chamber, had almost a majority in the present, exclusive of the new auxiliaries.

This result was to be expected, when the extraordinary coalition we have mentioned occurred. That the liberals should be hostile to M. de Villèle was natural; but it did seem singular that he should meet with such bitter opponents among those who had once been his firmest friends. To explain this, we must recur to one or two events in his administration. In the first place, he offended many of the ultra-royalists by not choosing to carry into execution the violent measures they urged; but what, above all, lost him the support of many, as well of the moderate as of the ultras, was his plan for the reduction of the interest on the public debt. Our readers will recollect that, when first proposed, it was rejected in the peers principally by a royalist opposition; and the main cause was, the great advantage which Rothschild, who was to have had the loan, was supposed to be likely to derive from the transaction;—it was stated at 35,000,000 francs. The following year, M. de Villèle had recourse to the liberals to enable him to carry his measure; and the royalists were so much offended, both at his success and at his conduct in thus relying upon his former opponents, that they were determined to mark their indignation. Add to this, the removal of M. de Chateaubriand—the creation of seventy-six peers, which disgusted those previously invested with that rank, as diminishing the dignity of their order, and a crowd of aspirants who conceived themselves to have quite as good claims to it as their more fortunate competitors—the supposed support given to the Jesuits,—besides many other minor points—and we think our readers need not be surprised that a strong royalist opposition was formed. Of itself, indeed, it was not sufficient to effect much; but, when united with the liberals, the two parties had almost overwhelming power. We, in truth, are only astonished that, under such circumstances, the ministry were not more universally defeated in the elections.

M. de Villèle, thinking that he had no chance in the Chamber of Deputies, resolved not to encounter the storm, and on the 5th Jan. 1828, he and most of his colleagues resigned. The leaders—himself, MM. de Corbières and de Peyronnet—were created peers, and their places in the cabinet supplied by MM. Roy, de Portalis, de la Faronnays, de Martignac, and de Caux. These were almost all taken from the centre, or extreme right, and most of them had been supporters of M. de Villèle. Previous to the opening of the session, various meetings of the deputies took place:

place : one, the most numerous, composed entirely of liberals, in the Rue Grange Batelière, consisted of from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and sixty; another, 'La Société Piet,' so called from the name of the individual at whose house it met, was ministerial, about one hundred and thirty in number; M. de la Bourdonnaye was leader of a third; and a fourth was 'La Société Agier,' termed by the Villelists 'La défection,' which included those who followed the fate of M. de Chateaubriand—they did not exceed thirty. It was with parties so various, and so little agreeing with each other, that the new ministers were to engage, and the first trial of strength was on the choice of the president. Five candidates were to be named by the Chamber, of whom the king was to select one; but no candidate could be chosen without a majority of one more than a half of the members voting. On the first day, no one had the requisite majority; but M. de la Bourdonnaye failed only by a very few votes. The scrutiny was adjourned till the following day, and the intervening night was spent in negotiations between different parties. At last a coalition was formed between 'La Société Agier' and 'La Société Rue Grange Batelière;' and the result the following day was, that MM. Delalot and Hyde de Neuville, two ultra-royalists, and Royer Collard, Grutier, and C. Perrier—three liberals—were elected candidates—M. de la Bourdonnaye and the government candidate being in a considerable minority. Of these the king chose M. Royer Collard: thus plainly showing his feelings as to the conduct of 'La défection.' The address was then discussed, which was brought forward by M. Delalot. There was little in it offensive to the existing, but much that was hostile to the preceding, ministry—especially the words 'système déplorable,' as applied to the conduct of M. de Villèle. This expression, of course, was violently opposed by his friends—particularly by M. de Montbel, since *ministre des finances*—and on a division, those words were retained, by a majority only of 187 to 173; thus proving the great remaining strength of M. de Villèle's party in the Chamber of Deputies.\* The government took little or no share in the debate, as they did not choose to incur the enmity of either of the two parties by whom this expression was supported or resisted. The vacancies occasioned by double returns were now to be filled up, and the new members were, almost without exception, liberals: which gave that party so great an advantage, that many

\* Many persons are convinced that, had M. de Villèle not shrunk from the contest, he might have maintained his ground. Certainly this division in favour of an ~~ex-minister~~ minister would appear to support that opinion, and his talents, presence, and official power, would have had additional weight. But all the elections on vacancies, occasioned by double returns, would have been against him—and so was the popular feeling.

objectionable questions were carried. Flushed with success, they ventured upon an impeachment of the late ministry. M. de Pompières, after having repeatedly threatened it, at last brought it forward, but in a manner which showed utter ignorance of what we should call constitutional proceedings; for, among his articles, there was one imputing to M. de Villèle *high treason against the people*, for having misrepresented their feelings to the king, a charge, in its very nature absurd. M. de Montbel seconded the proposition of M. Labbey de Pompières, to refer the question to a committee, stating, on the part of M. de Villèle, that a full investigation was all he desired. A committee of nine was appointed, who, after a long interval, presented a report, in which they stated the thirteen alleged charges. Of these, the principal were:—the war with Spain; the disbanding of the National Guard; the support given to the Jesuits and Trappists; the creation of the seventy-six peers; and the management of the elections. On the four most important points they acquitted him; on the others, by a majority of one, they said there was ground for inquiry, but, by a similar majority, they doubted whether there was cause for blame. M. de Montbel urged upon the Chambers the justice of coming to some immediate decision; but the liberals, like English whigs, satisfied with having made France ring for months with charges which they knew to be untenable, postponed the consideration of the question till after the discussion of the budget, when they expected that the Chamber, as actually did happen, would not be sufficiently numerous to deliberate. Thus ended the threatened impeachment; which cast disgrace only upon those who shrank from the investigation they had proposed.

The session of 1829 opened nearly in a similar manner to that of 1828. Again M. Royer Collard was named president, and again the ministry found themselves unable to command a majority composed of their own friends. Their weakness too was increased, by its being well known that the king did not cordially support them. At last they were fairly outvoted, by a union of the liberals with other parties; notwithstanding the various concessions they had made to soften the opposition of the first of those bodies. They had vainly dismissed obnoxious prefects—altered the law respecting the election lists\*—and proposed several other plans, all tending to gratify that party. These, however, conscious of their strength, or rather of the weakness of their opponents, continued to urge them to still more dangerous concessions,

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\* This was in 1828. M. de Villèle, in the peers, proposed an amendment, which would have rendered it much less liberal, which was lost only by one hundred and fifty-two to one hundred and forty-nine.



—threatening louder and louder, at every symptom of hesitation, to drive them from office. At length the king, thinking that he should soon have to fight the battle with the liberals on less advantageous terms, determined to try what might be done with a really royalist government. Dismissing his former ministers on the 8th August, he placed the Prince de Polignac at the head of a new administration, with the portefeuille of foreign affairs. His colleagues were MM. de Bourmont, d'Haussez, de Monthel, de Courvoisier, de Chabrol, and de la Bourdonnaye, and soon after, on the resignation of the last, the vacancy was supplied by M. Guernon de Ranville.

The name of Polignac has long been familiar to every reader of French history. Early in the French revolution, the attachment of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette to the Duchesse Jules de Polignac, drew down upon her family the hatred of the mob. Always faithful to the cause of royalty, the Prince de Polignac and his brother, Armand, now Duc de Polignac, engaged in various plans to effect the restoration of the king. Involved in Georges' conspiracy, they were at last detected; and Buonaparte having been, with great difficulty, persuaded to spare their lives, imprisoned them, first at Vincennes, and afterwards in a madhouse, whence they escaped, in 1814, and, after a series of romantic adventures, which we ourselves have heard them relate, joined the allies. M. de Polignac is known to carry his religious feelings to the borders of bigotry, and his determination to follow the line of politics he had adopted was bottomed on the deep conviction, that a deviation from it would be fatal to the cause of Christianity in France. His intentions were good—his firmness and sincerity undoubted. M. de Bourmont, *ministre de la guerre*, had also passed a singular and eventful life. He and M. Hyde de Neuville were among the last of the Vendean chiefs who submitted. Buonaparte, aware of his talents, was anxious to obtain his services, and, on his refusal, kept him for some time in confinement at Lisbon. He was released, upon accepting an important command, and, wherever he was employed, greatly distinguished himself. When Ney was despatched to arrest the progress of the usurper, on his return from Elba, Bourmont was his *chef d'état major*, and vainly endeavoured to maintain the fidelity of his general and the army; yet almost immediately afterwards he accepted the command of a division under Napoleon, from whom again he fled on the 17th of June, the eve of Waterloo, and joined the British bivouac. This, coupled with the fatal evidence which he gave against Ney, with respect to the transactions at Lons-le-Saulnier, has rendered every liberal his sworn enemy. We must confess we know not how

how to justify his quitting the camp on Mont St. Jean, unless it be true, as we know he has asserted to some of his friends, that it was only on actual compulsion he had again accepted military employment under Napoleon. M. d'Haussez, *ministre de la marine*, is a Breton of good family. Always a firm royalist, he also was implicated in the conspiracy of Georges. The course of years had, perhaps, softened his enthusiasm, and latterly he had been closely connected with M. Decazes, at whose chateau he was staying when his appointment was tendered to him. He had been acting for many years as prefect in various departments, often in most difficult situations, and always with distinguished ability and firmness. M. de Montbel, at first *ministre de l'instruction publique*, then *ministre de l'intérieur*, and ultimately *ministre des finances*, was the intimate friend of M. de Villèle, whom he most ably defended in 1828. He was mayor of Toulouse in very trying times, and his conduct in that office, and the powers he displayed in the Chamber, brought him first into notice. M. de Courvoisier, the late *garde des sceaux*, was *procureur général* at Lyons, where his father, a man of good family, had been an advocate of celebrity. They both emigrated, fought in the army of Condé, and only returned under favour of the general amnesty at the opening of this century. Uniformly moderate in his political views, he habitually sat in the *centre gauche*, over which he had considerable influence. M. de Chabrol, late *ministre des finances*, belongs to a family which has gradually risen from comparative obscurity, during and since the revolution. He has been almost constantly in office, whoever might be premier, and enjoys the reputation of being a thorough man of business. His brother was prefect of the Seine (Paris). M. de la Bourdonnaye, for a short time *ministre de l'intérieur*, is a Breton. The part he has taken in all the discussions in the Chambers very sufficiently shows his political sentiments. Violent in his language, he is as determined in his views; and the Prince de Polignac soon found it impossible to continue in office an individual who would never yield his opinion to that of the rest of his colleagues. M. Guernon de Ranville, *ministre de l'instruction publique*, who came in upon the vacancy created by the retirement of M. de la Bourdonnaye, was an advocate, not much known, but selected, we believe, on account of his decided principles, and his power of extemporaneous speaking, a talent little known among the French. His speech, on the opening of the session, fully realized the ideas his colleagues had entertained of his ability.

Such was the ministry of the 8th August, on its first formation; and never was any administration more violently or more universally

universally assailed by the press, or more furiously denounced as utterly incapable, and unworthy of support. There was no illegal or unconstitutional act which they were not charged with intending to perform—no threat against them spared—no calamity which their appointment was to entail upon France unpredicted. It is, indeed, perfectly true, that among them were not comprised many tried statesmen, or men who had attained high reputation; but neither were the members of the cabinet destitute of acknowledged talent, or undistinguished in the career which they had pursued. Its composition was certainly royalist, but shades of opinion were not excluded, since M. de Chabrol, who belonged to the *ministère Martignac*; M. d'Haussez, the friend of Decazes; and M. de Courvoisier, a leader of the *centre gauche*, formed part of it. What, then, could be more unjust than to launch forth such vehement denunciations, before a single step had been taken, in the slightest degree tending to justify the assertions of the liberals? And shall we pronounce it impossible that these predictions have mainly occasioned their own fulfilment?

On the meeting of the Chamber, its first step was, as we had expected, to select a liberal president. For a hostile address we were equally prepared, but we admit we had rather anticipated an attempt on the part of the government to carry the budget, in preference to the sudden prorogation which ensued; nor can we yet help believing that they would have succeeded in obtaining the supplies they required, had they proceeded. A few, probably, of the small majority of forty, might have been *persuaded* to change sides; and many, we are sure, would have declined pushing matters to extremity. From personal communication with some, we are able to state, that they intended only to testify their disapprobation of the formation of the ministry, by the vote they gave, but would not have carried their opposition further; in other words, there were certain firm loyalists, who thought the change of the 8th August, 1829, too sudden and too complete, preferring a more gradual amalgamation of the Polignac with the Martignac ministries. These (as well as some of the *centre gauche*, though on different grounds) voted for the address, but would have supported the budget. As to the conduct of M. Agier and his party, commonly called *la défection*, it appeared, and appears, to us inexplicable, unless they be ready to admit that they were guided by personal, and not public motives, and were determined to oppose till M. de Chateaubriand should be made premier, and they themselves had all obtained office. Of one fact only are we certain,—that liberalism and royalism are not more at variance, than their language and conduct in 1830 and in 1824.



The prorogation was of course followed by a dissolution. In the interval, the ministry endeavoured to ensure success, by removing all prefects and other officers of doubtful fidelity, and by impressing, in no ambiguous terms, upon all persons employed under the government, the necessity of supporting the ministerial candidates: in a word, though adhering to the strict letter of the law, they did not scruple to repeat, as far as they could, the manoeuvres which carried a majority in 1824.

At the moment of the elections, a fresh change in the administration took place, which certainly rendered them more unpopular. MM. de Courvoisier and de Chabrol resigned, and were succeeded by MM. de Chantelauze and de Peyronnet. The first, the new *garde des sceaux*, was, indeed, little known. He was president of a *cour royale*, and only distinguished for his very decided royalist views. But as to the other, the *ministre de l'intérieur*, though there were few men in France of superior talent, and, perhaps, none more disliked by the liberals, yet he possessed comparatively little authority with the royalist party. He is a native of Bordeaux, bred to the bar, at which he was much distinguished. He had filled important offices, and had always shown great ability and great firmness.

We need not call to the recollection of our readers what was the result of that election. The majority of 40 was swelled to at least one hundred, and the only consolation was, that in general the liberal deputies did not seem to have been chosen from among the most violent of their party. The government, of course, perceived that their success in the Chamber was hopeless, and they accordingly took that most decided step which has led to the expulsion of Charles X., his son, and his grandson. By the 14th article of the charter, the king "*fait les règlements et ordonnances nécessaires pour l'exécution des lois et la sûreté de l'état.*" The ministry conceived that, by this article, the king was authorized to dispense with existing laws. They, therefore, abolished the liberty of the press, dissolved the Chamber, and so regulated the right of voting as to render the election of a thoroughly royalist Chamber certain. We need not say that after such a measure decided steps were necessary to be taken—and that to take such steps with success in such a country demanded consummate prudence and firmness, and most elaborate preparation. We shall not, at this moment, enter into any details of what really was done. It is, however, impossible to withhold the expression of our deepest sorrow at these occurrences. What effect they may ultimately produce on Europe we will not venture to predict, but every day strengthens our fears, that the seeds of a fresh war of principle are sown.

A new king, and a new government (including some, and openly employing many, of the leading Parisian journalists!) have been the first results of this revolution. In the authors of these changes we have little confidence, either from their past history or their almost avowed intentions. They have been, in turn, Jacobins, Buonapartists, and Liberals,—now advocating the wild doctrines of 1790,—now eulogizing the despotism of Napoleon,—and now pretending a wish to support the charter and the Bourbons, while, in fact, they were deliberately and systematically plotting their overthrow. In one thing only have they been consistent—in their uniform hatred to England. As to their qualifications for government, few persons will, we think, differ from us when we admit that we do not rate them high. With two exceptions, the new ministers are men destitute of experience; and, for the most part, they are distinguished only as the authors or promoters of rash and fanciful theories. They are, in fact, the representatives of a party utterly ignorant of what we should call constitutional feelings or constitutional doctrines; nor can we assign a stronger proof to corroborate this assertion, than their attempt to establish by argument, that the late charter was *accepted* by Louis XVIII.

We never could understand how that proposition could be maintained. Louis XVIII. ascended the throne of his ancestors, certainly not against the wish of his people, but as certainly not with their concurrence either asked or tendered. Three hundred thousand foreign bayonets, and the determination of the allied monarchs not to treat with Napoleon or his family, left no option to the country, even had it been consulted; but the cannon on Montmartre restraining the seditious, and the exertions of the royalist leaders arousing the loyal, Louis was replaced in the Tuileries without opposition. It is true that, on the 14th April, 1814, the senate tendered to Monsieur what they termed a constitution, and decreed that he should be called ‘Lieutenant-Général du royaume, en attendant que Louis Stanislas Xavier de France rappelé au trône des Français, ait accepté la charte constitutionnelle.’ But it is as true that Monsieur took possession of the authority, declining to accept the charter, and merely stating what concessions the king would probably admit. Nor was it till the 2d May that Louis XVIII. ‘king of France and Navarre,’ by a proclamation from St. Ouen, dated the nineteenth year of his reign, declining to accept the charter, and repudiating many of the propositions made by the senate as hasty, ill-advised, and impracticable, declared that he would appoint a commission to draw up a charter such as he was willing to grant, and would then submit it to the Chambers; designating

at

at the same time its general outlines. On the 4th June the session opened, and we need only refer to the speeches of the king, and of the chancellor, M. Dambray, to prove that we are correct in stating that Louis XVIII. gave, and did not accept, the fatal charter.

Its general principles were based upon those of the English constitution, from which, however, it differed in several important points, including, as it appears to us, not a few enormous errors: for example; 1st. To the king alone belonged the right of proposing a law, and no amendment could be discussed without his approbation. 2dly The right of voting depended solely upon the payment of taxes, and not on the possession of property. 3dly The ministers had a right to be present and to speak in either chamber. And, 4thly—by the 14th art.—‘*le roi fait les réglemens, et les ordonnances nécessaires pour l'exécution des lois, et la suite de l'état.*’ By virtue of this privilege the king more than once dispensed with existing laws; and, on one occasion, allowed deputies to be elected of thirty years of age, though the charter, in the 38th art., expressly stipulated that they should be forty. By the charter, also, all laws previously passed by any legislative assembly, from the beginning of the revolution, and all decrees and ordonnances whatever, were to continue in force until repealed; by which means all the revolutionary and republican doctrines, which had been brought forward and enforced during those times of turmoil, were maintained. The most objectionable articles, however, were those which struck at the just influence, not of the nobility only, but of the aristocracy. Under one, the power of a father to dispose of his property was limited, not, as with us, by entails, but by being compelled to divide his property equally among all his children, with this exception, that he may give to any one child a portion double what each of the others has. This an estate of 5000*l.* a-year—which is reckoned very large in France, would, if there are four children, be reduced to 2000*l.* in the second generation; and, if similar circumstances occurred in the next, to 500*l.* per annum in the third. Marriage, of course, as females participate equally with males, may sometimes restore the fallen fortunes of a great family, but not sufficiently to prevent the evils which this law inflicts. Peers, indeed, on creation, ought, by law, to entail a fortune on the title; but this provision was often dispensed with; and even were it uniformly enforced, the amount after all is but trifling—only 25,000 francs a-year (1000*l.*) for a duke, and but 10,000 (400*l.*) a-year for a baron. The evils consequent upon this system of disposing of property are many and evident. Among the middling and lower classes the necessary result



result is, that landed property must constantly be sold in order to effect the division; and that, whether sold or not, it is split into small portions, enough, as yet, to give sustenance to the individuals who cultivate them, but utterly incapable of allowing to the proprietors either sufficient means of tilling to advantage, or any prospect of accumulating capital. Hence, in great measure at least, the very indifferent state of agriculture in many parts of France; the deficiency of live and dead stock; the slovenly condition of their farms, and the total want of due inclosures and adequate buildings. Among the higher classes, the effects have been still more injurious. There appeared, and necessarily must have done so, an idle and pauper aristocracy, nearly dependent on the favours of the crown for support; the younger branches possessing just enough to linger on in utter inactivity—looking to no profession but the army (from which even the existing laws, in a considerable measure, exclude them); the heads of families, though comparatively in better circumstances, unable to lend, as in England, a helping hand to the juniors; condemned to see their property melting away before their eyes—in a word, throwing themselves upon the king, to become, if successful, scivile courtiers, or, failing in their expectations, disappointed patriots.

The system under which the country has been governed is also, in our view, not a little objectionable. The multitude of offices existing in every department of administration, and the utter inadequacy of the salaries attached to them, are equally injurious. To select, as an instance, that important branch, the law: there are at Paris a *Cour de Cassation*, consisting of about fifty judges; a *Cour des Comptes*, somewhat resembling our Exchequer, of about one hundred, in three classes; a *Cour Royale* (King's Bench), of fifty-six; twenty-six other *cours royales* in different departments, each on an average having thirty judges; about three hundred and sixty *tribunaux de première instance*, averaging at least ten each; about two hundred *tribunaux de commerce*, averaging six each;—thus making upwards of five thousand seven hundred judges in France, besides the *juges de paix*, whose numbers are enormous. The salaries are various, but very many much under two hundred pounds a-year. Every action brought before the *tribunaux de première instance* may be appealed against before the *Cour Royale* of that district; and a second appeal lies, in many cases, to the *Cour de Cassation*. The consequence of such a number of judges is, as may easily be imagined, the impossibility of expecting unity of sentiment or of conduct. It constantly happens, and recently, too, in cases of vast importance, that two courts differ diametrically in their opinion on points of law: nor is it possible to decide satisfactorily upon such difference; for there

there is no opportunity, as in England, of any conference among the judges; nor, if there were, would there be any hope of five thousand seven hundred individuals coming to any agreement upon a disputed point. It could only be confusion, worse confounded; and, at the close of the conference, each judge would, of course, depart to his own court the better fixed in his previous opinion. In every branch of the government, a similar course has been pursued. In the home department the authority is frittered away among eighty-six préfets, two hundred and seventy-seven sous-préfets, and thirty-nine thousand nine hundred and ninety mayors—each struggling for more than his allotted share of power, and each endeavouring to prove that his neighbouring colleague is erroneous in his judgment or conduct; and, if our limits permitted, so we might go on through every other branch of administration in France.

Such have been, and are, some few of the blessings of the charter; and we are sorry to say that we anticipate no internal improvements, such as the well-being of the state demands, from those who now hold the reins of authority in France. On the contrary, our retrospect can leave no doubt, that the persons who have mainly directed the recent convulsion, and who now reap its chief profits, had been, most of them undisguisedly, the obstinate, malignant, uncompromising enemies of the royal house, ever since its restoration. They hated royalty all along with the rancour of purely republican envy and disgust; they encouraged and protected, throughout, the most basely libellous press that ever disgraced a civilized age and country; they spared no means of corruption—they shrunk from no infamy of companionship; they saw their mark clearly, and they laboured with eager and incessant resolution for its attainment. For the present, those invested by circumstances with the immediate decision have preferred (in the words of one whose character we need not draw, M. de Lafayette) ‘l’érection d’une trône populaire en l’amalgamant à des institutions républicaines;’ but the young and ardent spirits behind are little likely to stop short even here. Nor, indeed, even if the Duc d’Orleans should be continued on his *popular throne*, do we think it possible that he should exert any efficacious control over the elements of disturbance boiling and fermenting around its base. To keep even the semblance of a kingly station, he must, we fear, name the ministers whom others choose to designate, and suffer them to continue, according to their own good pleasure, the grand process of ‘amalgamation.’ This ‘viceroyship over him’ is their idea of a good and free government. They prate about democratic principles—their object has been, and is, a cunning oligarchy of stockbrokers and newspaper editors,

editors, abhorring every source of authority but the purse and the pen; at once deluding the nation by the cant of equality, and defying it by such an organization of national guards as invests them virtually with the whole power of the sword. Of such machinery has the Duke of Orleans consented to be the puppet; under circumstances thus, to all appearance, unattractive, has the throne, which was the object of his father's crimes, become, for however brief a space, their reward.

Beset as the exiled house was, from the hour of its restoration, with jealousies bitterly conflicting, and perpetually threatening an explosion, it will not be denied that France enjoyed under their rule fifteen years of greater prosperity than had ever before fallen to her lot. Such is the fact, 'even their enemies themselves being judges:' never, since the foundation of the monarchy, were personal liberty and property so safe;—never had any government contended with greater difficulties;—none had ever exhibited more painful temperance in the reward of friends, or more magnanimous forbearance towards enemies. Excluding certain political evils from our view, that fine country presented, on the whole, a picture of prosperity which fixed the admiration of Europe. It is not usually, under such circumstances, that governments take the initiative in political convulsions. No man, who knows anything either of the world as it exists, or of that 'old almanac,' history, will believe that the Bourbon princes, under such circumstances, and with such an experience behind them, rushed, of their own accord, upon the fearful chances of a new revolution. They saw that the faction which had never ceased to labour for the ruin of the monarchy were rapidly attaining the utmost height of rebellious audacity—and that the only question was, who should strike the first blow. They saw that, to go on with the charter of Louis XVIII. as it stood, was inevitably to shipwreck the vessel of the state, and they thought to give it a chance by cutting away the masts. The evolution was not successful, and the monarchy went down. We may pity the inexperience, or, if that word will please better, the imbecility of the hands which directed the attempt; but we confess we can discover no reason whatever for doubting that it was prompted by views of genuine patriotism. To say the truth, however, things had come to such a pass, through the workings of the fatal charter, that we doubt if any degree of abilities, or any system of measures, could have ensured success.

'If our own countrymen have eyes to see, or ears to hear, they will profit by this new example of the dreadful uncertainty which hangs over a government not buttressed by establishments. In France the royal house was isolated; there was no aristocracy worthy



worthy of the name—there was no church heartily allied with the crown on the one hand, and with the people on the other—there existed no influences intermediate between the monarch and the mob; and wherever this is the case, any serious difference of opinion between these two powers, instead of reaching through deliberate discussion some conciliatory compromise, is sure to be reduced, at once to blows, and the *immediate* issue is necessarily either a despotism established, or a dynasty overthrown.

We certainly wished that, in the struggle which we had long foreseen, the immediate result might be the re-establishment of something like despotic power in the throne of France; and we did so, because we considered a despotism, in the present condition of the world, as likely to turn out a lesser evil in that mighty country than the other alternative. The past had satisfied us that if Charles X. desired the influence of a dictator, he was incapable of using that influence for any unpatriotic purpose;—that no fretfulness of idle vanity, no fervour of selfish ambition, had tormented his ‘chair-days;’—and that whatever extraordinary power he might obtain, would be held conscientiously, as his only for an extraordinary and temporary purpose—that of endeavouring to lay the foundations of a national aristocracy. As to the other great absent element of national strength and security—a church establishment, we must confess we never indulged in the anticipation of witnessing anything worthy of such a name in France. Charles X., unlike Louis XVIII., was a sincere Catholic; but the popish system had obviously ceased to have any substantial hold on the nation, and his very virtues forbade any expectation of his taking a part in replacing it with a better!

We have seen the result of Charles’s attempt. It will not now be denied that his opponents have carried everything in their own way; they have a king of their own choosing (whom Mr. Brougham eulogizes by saying, that ‘he knows him well,’ and a man more unlike a prince he never beheld’); they have a free press to their heart’s content; they have dismissed all the peers of King Charles’s creation; they are not interfered with by other countries, but, on the contrary, acknowledged with promptitude;—in short, they have obtained all that they, or their friends here, have ever demanded on their behalf. Now, if they go on well—if they do establish a government at once free and firm—if they can, in practice, enjoy a free press, without its running into licentiousness—and all this, without erecting among themselves a wealthy hereditary aristocracy and a powerful church establishment,—we shall freely admit ourselves to have been grievously mistaken;—that we have been accustomed to do the French people gross injustice;—nay, that our whole system of political

faith has been wrong, and that the age of miracles is come again. In the mean time we must be permitted to think, that though it was the clear duty of the British government to acknowledge any prince invested with the sovereignty, or seeming sovereignty, of France, the body of the British nation have done themselves honour, by regarding with stern suspicion the recent progress of events in that country. The meetings, and dinners, and subscriptions, set on foot by our old established disturbers of public peace, have been countenanced by hardly one name which any human being will dare to call respectable. Some of our more influential newspapers were not unnaturally carried away by the first triumph of what the Parisian editors told them was the common cause of *journalism*; but they are obviously retracing their steps already, and simply because their function has nothing in common with that of the Parisian journalists,—because it is their business, and calling, and subsistence, not to dictate, but to reflect, the opinions of the British public. That public is sound at core still: in its ear the names of the ‘drapeau tricolor’ and ‘institutions republicaines’ excite as yet no grateful sensations: in their eyes, the spectacle of an august dynasty, part of it *confessedly* innocent, driven from the eldest of European thrones for the benefit, however temporary, of the descendant of the meanest and most heartless of traitors—this spectacle is still, at the best, a mournful one. Such changes may sometimes be necessary—they can never be otherwise than frightful; but, in a country like France, a change of dynasty appears to us to be a more darkly perilous experiment than in any other; there is no other great kingdom in the world which, in expelling the reigning house, would see itself left without any national institutions capable of lending such support to a new one as might, at least, give it a tolerable chance of consolidating general confidence around it.

Charles X., having been wholly in the right, managed so as to put himself in the wrong: he saw his danger, but miscalculated his strength; and struck, instead of waiting for the blow—which no one now denies would soon have come, if he had waited. It is the part of Europe, and above all of England, honouring his intentions, and pitying his fate, to avoid his tactics,—to keep undeniably, as well as virtually, in the right; and let the aggression, if aggression there must be, come from the triumphant enemies of that unfortunate prince. The elements of disorder are rife in many quarters; but the great Powers of the continent know their strength better than they did on a former occasion; and England, as respects the condition of her armies, was never so well prepared as now.

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